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On the location of Aziris, the earliest Greek settlement on the Libyan mainland

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Abstract

*Herodotus records that prior to the foundation of Cyrene, Greek settlers first claimed the island Plateia, and later settled at Aziris on the Libyan mainland. The exact locations of these sites are uncertain. In this paper the available archaeological, geological, and literary evidence is reappraised and used to contextualize Herodotus' narrative. Through this contextualization the most likely location of Aziris becomes apparent, as well as the pivotal role of this site in the development of Greek settlement in Libya.**

Introduction

Traditional scholarship has it that Greek settlers from Thera founded the settlement of Cyrene in Libya in 631 BC. The settlement was to become the most prominent in the region, so that the entire region became known as the 'Cyrenaian territory', or Cyrenaica. Cyrene is sometimes considered to be the metropolis of many other Greek settlements in Cyrenaica. Principal among these are Taucheira, Apollonia, Euhesperides, and Barce. Together with Cyrene these cities are sometimes known as the Pentapolis, which is an alternative name for the region in the late Roman period.[1]

The foundation of Cyrene is recorded by the historian Herodotus in the 5th century BC. The narrative is largely mythological in nature and seems, among other things, to retroactively explain 5th century BC realities.[2] For instance, the leader of the Theran settlers is a certain Battos, who is also the dynastic founder of the Battiad kings of Cyrene.[3] The myth also explains how Greek settlers, who generally settled in coastal areas, ended up settling some 10 km inland.

The story begins with a visit of the king of Thera, a certain Grinnos, to the oracle at Delphi, where the king is unexpectedly charged to found a settlement in Libya. Grinnos decides to disregard the will of Apollo, explaining that he is too old and does not know where Libya is located. Afterwards, the command is forgotten, and Thera suffers a severe drought. In the seventh year of the drought the Therans turn to the oracle at Delphi for council. The Pythia explains that the Therans have an obligation to found a settlement in Libya. The Therans first find a guide on Crete, who shows the way to an island offshore from Libya, called Plateia. They settle on the island, but the settlement is not successful. After struggling for two years the settlers once again turn to the Pythia for guidance. By now Apollo is becoming vexed and urges them to settle on the Libyan mainland.[4] The settlers then move into a territory on the mainland, called Aziris, a location that is enclosed by verdant vales and has a river running alongside it. Here they dwell for six years, until in the seventh year a delegation of Libyans comes and urges them to move to a better place. The Libyans explain that they know of a place where there is a 'hole in the sky', which would therefore be particularly well suited for Greeks. With the Libyans as their guides, the settlers find Cyre, a spring sacred to Apollo, and found Cyrene.[5]

In Herodotus' narrative the foundation of Cyrene is preceded by the foundation of settlements on the island Plateia and at Aziris. The two preceding settlements appear to fulfill an intermediary role. At Plateia the settlers fail to fulfill the command of Apollo to settle in Libya, while at Aziris they finally comply. It is worth noting that the drought at Thera, which was brought about by disobedience to the will of Apollo, lasts into a seventh year, matching the number of years the settlers dwell in Aziris. It appears that Aziris serves as a place of atonement for the settlers before being allowed to reap the final reward: Cyrene.[6] Despite the important role of Plateia, and especially Aziris within Herodotus' narrative, the two sites have received relatively little historical and archaeological interest. The location of either site is uncertain.[7]

In this paper we will consider the available evidence on the location of Aziris, and use this to put Herodotus' mythological narrative in a wider context. The evidence will comprise geological and

archaeological evidence, and ancient texts. Given that archaeological and geological investigations in the region are limited, the textual evidence will outweigh the other evidence in both quantity and quality. We will find that Herodotus' narrative contains much more information than is evident at a first glance, but that much of this information is presented within an allegorical framework. More importantly, this contextualization of Herodotus will underline the important role of Aziris in the process of Greek settlement in northeastern Libya, and our understanding of this process. We will begin with an examination of the geological context. This will be followed by a discussion of modern archaeological investigations. Finally, we will examine the available textual evidence, starting in the late Roman period and tracing our steps back in time to Herodotus, where this paper started.

Geological context

Cyrenaica comprises a narrow sliver of fertile land, stretching from roughly Benghazi (ancient Euhesperides) to Dernah (ancient Darnis). Beyond Dernah the landscape becomes increasingly more arid, up to the Bay of Bombah, from where the arid steppes and deserts of ancient Marmarica stretch out. The dramatic difference between Cyrenaica and the surrounding regions can be explained geologically. Much of northeastern Libya is part of a raised limestone massif, called the Barce plateau. The plateau is bisected by numerous parallel vaults, and tectonic pressure has raised the formations between these vaults, creating a string of stepped mountains known as the Jebel al-Akhdar, which translates to 'the Green Mountains'. The mountains are aptly named, since they are the key element in the mechanism that ensures the fertility of Cyrenaica: water that evaporates over the Mediterranean is forced to precipitate on its northern faces, watering Cyrenaica. Consequently, this mechanism deprives the surrounding territories of much water. The Jebel al-Akhdar also form the physical boundary between Cyrenaica and the more arid surrounding territories (*fig. 1*).[8]

The relative isolation of Cyrenaica probably allowed unique species of flora and fauna to develop there. At least one unique plant from the region is known to have existed in antiquity: *silphium.* The plant is believed to have been a subspecies of the genus *ferula*, to which medicinal qualities were attributed in antiquity.[9] Cyrenaica is not only isolated because of the arid regions that surround it, but also because it has a coastline that is generally difficult to approach from the sea. Since much of northeastern Libya is part of the Barce plateau, most of its shores consist of steep cliffs.[10]

Natural harbors are rare in Cyrenaica, since these generally require coastal flatlands and a beach. Outside Cyrenaica, this difficulty is probably compounded by the fact that places where potable water can be found become increasingly rare. Some coastal flatlands do occur, and are formed from natural saltpans, or *sabkhas*. Generally these are confined to narrow beachheads at the mouths of wadis (natural drainage channels), though more extensive flatlands can occur where multiple wadis terminate and/or the coast does not suffer from maritime erosion. In addition, wadis are the most likely places to find potable water in the more arid regions. Wadis can function as conduits for groundwater, so that even if there is only very little water, that water is likely to be closest to the surface in the beds of the wadis. This feature of wadis sometimes makes them suitable for small-scale agriculture as well.[11]

The Libyan coast includes only few islands. A set of two small islands, and a peninsula that may have been an island in antiquity, are located in the Bay of Bombah. It is generally assumed that one of these is likely to be ancient Plateia. There is, however, some confusion in modern literature about the names of the islands. The name of the peninsula is Bombah, but is sometimes referred to as Bumbah. The larger of the islands is known as Jazirat al-Ulbah, though it is often referred to as Bomba in modern literature. The final island, the one located furthest offshore, is named Jazirat al-Barda'ah, though it is alo referred to as Jazirat al-Marakab. Opposite the islands lie coastal flatlands where numerous wadis terminate and numerous *sabkhas* have formed. Today the small town of at-Tamimi is located on these flatlands.[12]

Modern scolarship

From a landscape perspective, the Bay of Bombah seems a textbook example of a region preferred by Greek settlers. Greek settlers often sought out places that offered some degree of protection, such as an island or a headland, preferably with a reliable source of potable water, and natural harbor(s) close at hand. In other words, Greek settlement overseas tends to have a strong maritime focus. This is perhaps best exemplified by Syracuse, where the original settlement was limited to the island Ortygia with its natural spring

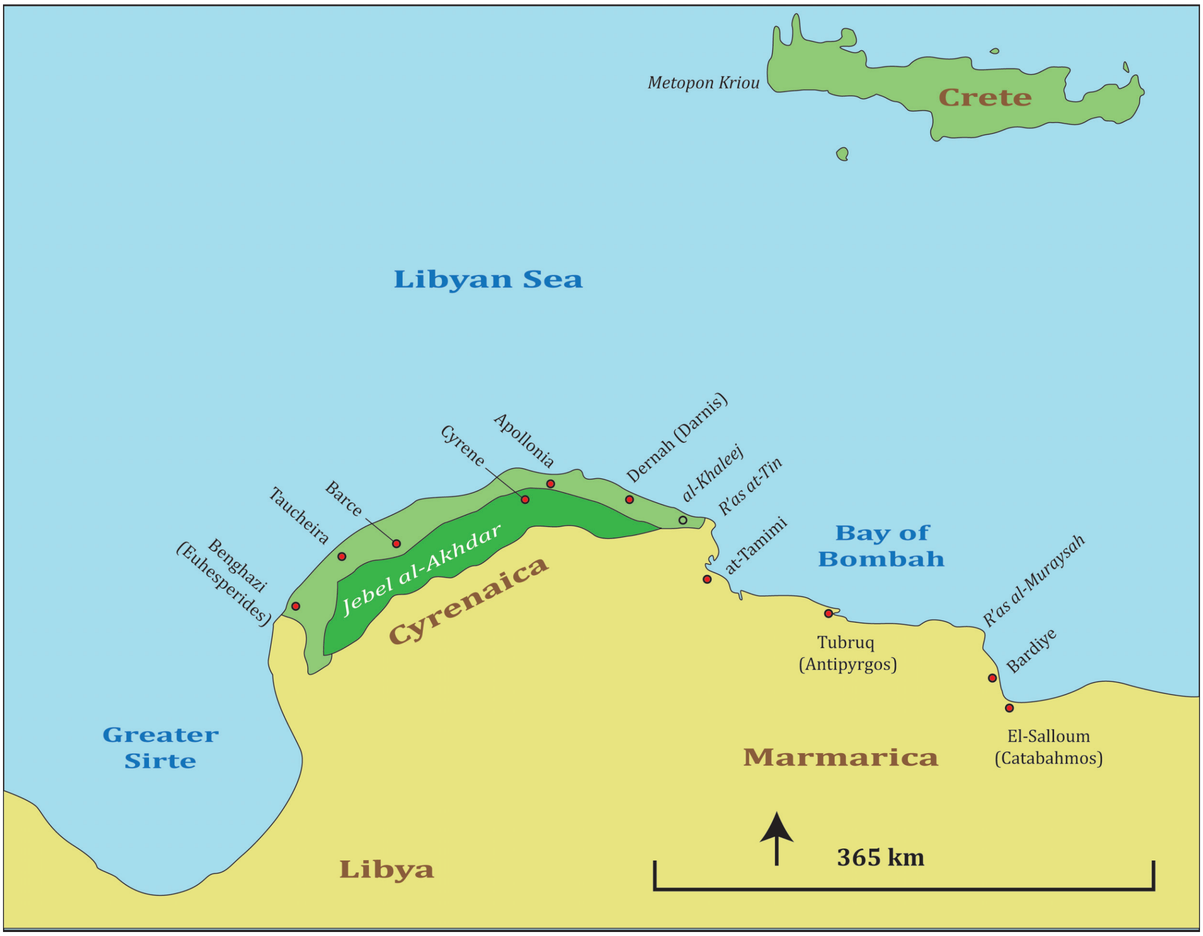

Fig. 1. Map image of Northeastern Libya and Crete with locations mentioned in the text (map by author).

Arethousa.[13] As settlements grew, they generally became increasingly dependent upon the agricultural potential of their hinterland, into which they tended to expand. In most cases the original settlement would be integrated within this wider territory (as for example in Syracuse), but this was not necessarily so. For example, Pithekoussai is eventually abandoned after the foundation of Cumae on the Italian mainland. Likewise, Borysthenes in the Black Sea region dwindles after the foundation of Olbia.[14] A similar scenario is plausible for Plateia, Aziris, and Cyrene, given that the fertility of Cyrenaica far outstrips the agricultural potential of the areas around the earlier settlements.

The Frenchman Jean-Raymond Pacho was one of the first Europeans to visit northeastern Libya in modern times. He travelled the region in 1823 and readily identified the area around the Bay of Bombah as the most likely location of Aziris. His argument relies on his personal observations, accompanied by sporadic information gathered from local inhabitants, and a familiarity with ancient literature. He identified the main wadi that terminates near at-Tamimi (the Wadi at-Tamimi) as the river Paliurus mentioned in Ptolemy's *Geography*, as well as the river that runs along the site of Aziris in Herodotus' *Histories*. In addition, he points out that Aziris, according to his interpretation of Herodotus' narrative, ought to be located directly opposite Plateia, which he locates on the island of Bombah. Whether he means Jazirat al-Ulbah, or the Bombah peninsula is not entirely clear.[15]

More recent research provides an alternative location for Aziris: an archaeological site discovered near the mouth of the Wadi al-Khaleej. The site is perched atop a promontory, located between R'as at-Tin and the city Dernah. The Wadi al-Khaleej lies in an impressive gorge that flanks the site, and could be interpreted as the river mentioned

by Herodotus. The archaeological site was discovered by a Mr. Stewart Perowne, who triangulated the location of Aziris, based on distances recorded in an ancient text of unknown authorship and uncertain date, known as the S*tadiasmus Maris Magni*. This text will be treated in more detail when we will discuss the literary evidence.[16]

The al-Khaleej site was visited twice during the 1960s. The first visit was by Theresa Howard Carter, who led an unsystematic survey of Cyrenaica, aiming to discover archaeological sites dating to the Bronze Age. The results of the survey were published in preliminary form in *Expedition*. The survey-team produced a rough sketch-plan of the al-Khaleej site, on which were plotted the outlines of fortifications and areas of stone-built structures of which the function is unknown. In addition to the plan, the team collected a sample of potsherds, which was roughly dated to range from 600 to 200 BC, whereupon it was tentatively suggested that the site is in fact Aziris.[17]

The al-Khaleej site was revisited by Sir John Boardman and John Hayes in 1964, who were working at Taucheira at the time. Their visit was not part of a wider reconnaissance program, so it can also be classified as an unsystematic survey. This team also collected potsherds from the site. Only a selection of this material has been published in detail. In 1966, Boardman published an overview of the ceramic evidence available at the time concerning foundation dates of Greek settlements in Cyrenaica. This publication includes a discussion of the material from the al-Khaleej site. Boardman divides the collected potsherds into two groups. The first group is identified as comprising 'mainly Hellenistic' material, with a few fragments that date as early as the 4th century BC. This material remains unpublished. The second group is identified as 'Archaic', and comprises material from the 7th century BC. These include Protocorinthian wares, which he estimates to the mid-7th century, and Rhodian bird-bowls, which he estimates to the third quarter of the 7th century. In addition to these there are fragments of Cretan wares with decorative schemes that were current in Crete in the Late Geometric and the Early Orientalizing Period (i.e. 725-675 BC), as well as cups that find parallels in Well G on Samos, which he dates 640-630 BC. Boardman concludes that none of the material necessarily postdates 631 BC, the traditional date for the abandonment of Aziris. Consequently, he suggests that the Hellenistic material probably belongs to the visible structures of the site, while the Archaic material belongs to a preceding settlement, and that the collected Archaic potsherds reflect a relatively brief period of occupation in the latter half of the 7th century BC. This corresponds well with Herodotus' narrative, so that Boardman argues that the al-Khaleej site is likely to be Aziris.[18]

The material published by Boardman was reappraised by Peter James in 2005. He points out that the dates suggested by Boardman are too optimistic, and that most of the material he discusses must date in the first half of the 7th century, rather than the second half. He makes similar observations for other sites in Cyrenaica. Consequently, he argues that the dates for Archaic ceramic sequences need to be adjusted by 3 to 4 decades to harmonize between (traditional) historical and archaeological chronologies. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss historical and archaeological chronologies in great detail. James does not reject the plausibility of Aziris being located at the al-Khaleej site, nor does he reject the relative chronology provided by Herodotus (i.e. that settlement at Aziris precedes settlement at Cyrene). For the purpose of this paper it is sufficient to accept that the relative chronology remains unchallenged, and that there is ceramic evidence from the al-Khaleej site that indicates that the site is of sufficient antiquity to be plausibly identified as Aziris.[19] A more jarring problem is the fact that there is no island opposite the al-Khaleej site, as Herodotus' narrative suggests, and as also Boardman acknowledges.[20]

Literary evidence

Now that we have examined the geological and archaeological contexts, we can proceed to the literary evidence. The dates of the evidence ranges from the 6th century AD to the 4th century BC and will, for convenience sake, be divided into two groups. One group comprises only Greek geographers, dating to the 2nd century AD and earlier. This group includes the famous geographies of Ptolemy and Strabo, but also two less well-known works: the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* and the *Periplous* of Pseudo-Skylax. The sources in the second group are more mixed, but all postdate the 2nd century AD. This group includes two geographical sources: the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti.* In addition to these, it includes the *Ethnica* of Stephanus of Byzantium and a letter by Synesius of Cyrene, known as *Epistle 5*. We will first discuss the later sources and turn to the Greek geographers in the next paragraph.

The *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* are both geographical sources that

provide extensive sequences of toponyms. Each sequence represents a Roman road, and each toponym a place of consequence on that road, with the distances between these places carefully recorded. The works effectively present the entire complexity of the Roman road-system in an abstract and orderly fashion. The *Tabula* is probably based on material from the 3rd or 4th century AD and includes a route from Apollonia, the port of Cyrene, to Alexandria, which passes through Paliurus, but makes no mention of Aziris (*table 1*).[21] The *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* probably dates to the reign of Caracalla in the early 3rd century AD. This source describes two routes from Cyrene to Alexandria, neither of which includes Aziris. The routes vary between Darnis and Catabathmos, modern Dernah and el-Salloum respectively. One of the routes does pass through Paniuris, which is probably the same as Paliurus (*table 1*).[22] The most likely reason why Aziris is not mentioned in either source is that these sources record overland routes that bypass many small coastal settlements. It is of course also possible that there was no settlement named Aziris at that time.[23]

In addition to geographical sources above, there are two sources in this group that do make mention of Aziris. The first is *Epistle 5* by Synesius of Cyrene, from the early 5th century AD. In this letter to his brother, Synesius describes a harrowing sea-journey from Alexandria to Apollonia. After a series of difficulties their ship is guided into a small port by a helpful local man. Synesius believes the port to be called Azarion. Apart from the likeness in name, Synesius fails to offer any more detailed information on the location of Azarion but focuses instead on the peculiar appearance and habits of the local women.[24] The second source is the encyclopedic work of geographical and ethnographical information known as the *Ethnica*, written by Stephanus of Byzantium in the 6th century AD. The *Ethnica* includes an entry on Azilis, which is probably the same as Aziris. The entry states that Azilis is a Libyan city, although some sources do not call it a city, but a region and a river instead. It also states that citizenry of Azilis has no unique cultural or ethnic features, but resembles the Libyans and Egyptians.[25]

The Roman roadmaps and the other late sources do not provide any good indication for the location of Aziris. At best, it presents an image of Aziris as a marginal settlement that is hardly connected to the outside, Greco-Roman world. It seems plausible that the Roman road-system bypassed the small port altogether, which may have exacerbated the peripheral nature of the place.

Greek geographers

In this paragraph we will look at the works of four Greek geographers. Most of these can be included into the heterogeneous literary genre of the *periplus*. Sources in this genre generally provide topographical information in a sequential manner (i.e. in a direction of sailing), and are for the most part limited to coastal zones. Most geographers provide some additional information about places and the distances between them, but the quantity and the quality of this information varies greatly between individual geographers.[26]

The first source we will look at is the *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy, which dates to the 2nd century AD. This work transcends the periplus-genre, as it contains extensive lists of topographical places with coordinates. These also include locations inland. Coastal zones, however, are presented in sequence as well. In the case of Libya, the description runs from west to east. In addition, Ptolemy documents where certain provinces and smaller administrative districts begin and end. Ptolemy draws the boundary between Cyrenaica and Marmarica at Darnis, from where Egypt begins (i.e. Marmarica is considered a district within Egypt). Directly east of Darnis he locates a village called Axulis/Azalis. The spelling of the name varies between manuscripts, but it is very likely to be the same as Herodotus' Aziris. East of Aziris he places Greater Chersonesos, after which come Phthia and Paliurus (*table 1*).[27] It is worth noting that Ptolemy records both Aziris and Paliurus separately, and locates them on either side of Greater Chersonesos.

The second source is the *Geography* of Strabo, dating to the 1st century AD. Of all ancient geographical texts, this one is perhaps the most accessible. It sometimes reads like a modern travel guide, providing navigational aids as well as abundant trivia en route. His description of the Libyan coast runs from the west to east and ends at the border of Egypt, which he places at Catabathmos.[28] Aziris does not appear in this work, but he does mention Paliurus, which he describes as a village associated with a temple of Herakles just beyond Chersonesos (*table 1*). Strabo is tempted into a short digression, in which he describes that there is a sea-passage from Chersonesos to a 'place' in Crete.[29] This sea-route between Libya and Crete is also given in the description of Crete elsewhere in the *Geography*, where it is stated that one can reach Chersonesos in Libya by heading south from Kriou Metopon, on the extreme west of Crete.[30]

TABLE 1: TOPONYMS IN ANCIENT TEXTS

Pseudo-Skylax *4th century BC*	***Stadiasmus Maris Magni*** *date uncertain*	***Strabo*** *1st century AD*	***Ptolemy*** *2nd century AD*	***Itinerarium Antonini*** *3rd century AD*		***Tabula Peutingeriana*** *3rd or 4th century AD*	***Equivalent*** *Modern*
				Route I	*Route II*		
Port of Cyrene	Apollonia	Apollonia	Apollonia	(Cyrene)	(Cyrene)	Apollonia	Soussah
Naustathmos	Naustathmos	Naustathmos	Naustathmos				*R'as al-Hilal*
	Erythron		Erythron				Athrun
	Chersin		Chersis village	Limniade	Limniade	Agabes	Kirissah
Afrodisias Island	*Afrodisias Island*						
	Zephyrion	*Zephyrion*	*Cape Zephyrion*				
	Darnis		Darnis	Darnis	Darnis	Mandes	Dernah
	Azaris	Zephyrion (allo)	Axulis/Azalis village				*al-Khaleej*
Azirides Chersonesos	*Chersonesos*	*Chersonesos*	*Greater Chersonesos*	Hippon	Hippon		*R'as at-Tin*
	Dionysion						
	Phaian		Phthia		Papi		Bombah
Plateia	*Plateia*						*Jazirat al-Barda'ah*
Aëdonia	*Sidonia*		*Aëdonis*				*Jazirat al-Ulbah*
	Paliouros	Paliouros	Paliurus		Paniurus	Paliurus	at-Tamimi
	Batrachon		Batrachos	Mecira sive Helem	Mecira	Mecira	
Lesser Petras	*Lesser Petras*		*Lesser Petras*				
Antipyrgos	Antipyrgos		Antipyrgos	Badrin	Iucundiu	Antipegus	Tubruq
Kyrthanion	Kythania		(S)Kyrthanios				
	Catania		Kataionion			Cardus	
Menelaos	Menelaos	Menelaos	Menelaos				
	Kardamin	Ardanixis	Ardanis	Ausufal	Gereatis	Hemeseus	
Greater Petras	*Petras*		*Greater Petras*				*R'as al-Muraysah*
	Eurheia						
	Panormos		Panormos				Bardiyah
	Suké						
Plynous	Catabathmos	Plynous/Catabathmos	Greater Catabathmos	Catabathmos	Catabathmos	Catabathmus	El-Salloum

Table 1. A schematic overview of the sites mentioned by various ancient sources (from early to late) in sequence from Apollonia to Catabathmos. Names in red are probably located inland, rather than on the coast, and likely do not correspond with names in other columns. Cursive writing indicate topographical features rather than settlements. The final column contains probable modern parallels.

The third source we will discuss is the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, which is of unknown authorship and of uncertain date.[31] In it, the Libyan coast is described from east to west, starting at Alexandria. The *Stadiasmus* offers distances in stades between consecutive locations, and regularly includes concise additional information. Usually this information reveals where potable water can be found, but sometimes more vivid descriptions of locations are included as well. Aziris appears in the *Stadiasmus* as Azaris, a port located 100 stades west of Chersonesos and 150 stades east of Darnis (*table 1*). In addition, it is mentioned that the coastline between Chersonesos and Aziris comprises steep cliffs, and that at Aziris there is fresh water and a mighty river. Paliurus also appears in the *Stadiasmus*, and as in Ptolemy's *Geography*, Aziris and Paliurus are treated as separate places located on either side of Chersonesos.[32]

The fourth and last source we will discuss is the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Skylax, from the 4th century BC. In it, the African coast is discussed from east to west, and distances are given in terms of days sailing required (for example: at a day's worth sailing distance). The identification of locations is aided by occasional additional information. Aziris is not mentioned as a location, but rather in an awkward plural form closely associated with Chersonesos: the Azirides Chersonesos. It appears twice in the text. It is first mentioned in the description of Crete, where Pseudo-Skylax explains that by heading south from Kriou Metopon in western Crete one will come to Azirides Chersonesos in Libya.[33] The second appearance is in the description of the Libyan coast. Here we are told that Azirides Chersonesos is located at a sailing distance of one day from a place called Lesser Petras, and that between these two places lie two islands called Plateia and Aëdonia (*table 1*). In addition, it is mentioned that from Azirides Chersonesos onwards the Cyrenaian territory begins and silphium starts to appear in the fields.[34]

Synthesis

We have seen that our late sources are unhelpful in locating Aziris, and that they at best offer an image of a peripheral village at the very margins of the Greco-Roman world. The Greek geographers, however, provide considerably more information. In this section we will collate this evidence and integrate it with the geological and archaeological evidence. From this we will build a frame of reference which we will use to contextualize Herodotus' narrative, as well as identify the most likely location of Aziris.

Aziris does not appear in all the Greek geographers examined, but a place nearby called Chersonesos does. The name Chersonesos is unfortunately rather generic and could indicate any headland, promontory and/or cape. Only Pseudo-Skylax links it more closely to Aziris by calling it the Azirides Chersonesos. The same author as well as Strabo indicate that this Chersonesos is the location from where one would travel between Libya and Crete. It is plausible that Chersonesos is an important natural navigational marker on this route, probably the first feature of the Libyan coast visible for sailors from Crete. Plotting the route on a map, one can identify the cape called R'as at-Tin as the most likely location (*fig. 2*).[35]

The sources that do mention Aziris place it between Chersonesos and Darnis (i.e. between R'as at-Tin and modern Dernah). The archaeological site located at the mouth of the Wadi al-Khaleej is located on this stretch between R'as at-Tin and Dernah. Furthermore, the *Stadiasmus* describes that the coastline between Chersonesos and Aziris consists of steep cliffs, and this also matches the coastline between Dernah and R'as at-Tin. This evidence strongly suggests that the al-Khaleej site is in fact ancient Aziris. Of course, the site was originally discovered based on distances recorded in one of these sources.[36]

The al-Khaleej site, perched on its promontory, appears to be a rather awkward location for a Greek settlement overseas. We have discussed that Greek settlement overseas tended to display a strong maritime focus, and that the area around the Bay of Bombah seems a much more promising area for Greek settlement. In addition, the Bay of Bombah includes a number of small islands, which is likely to include ancient Plateia. Given that the generally accepted reading of Herodotus' narrative strongly suggests that Aziris must be located opposite Plateia, the area around the Bay of Bombah appears a more promising location for Aziris.

J.-R. Pacho originally identified the Bay of Bombah area as a likely location for Aziris, and at the same time identified the Wadi at-Tamimi as the river Paliurus from Ptolemy's *Geography*.[36] Paliurus appears in most texts, though not necessarily as a river. The sources that mention it place it close to Chersonesos. Strabo and Ptolemy both describe the African coast from west to east, and place it just beyond Chersonesos. The description in the *Stadiasmus* runs in the opposite direction, and places it just before Chersonesos. All three descriptions could place Paliurus in the Bay of Bombah, near

at-Tamimi, agreeing with Pacho's identification (see *table 1*). However, Paliurus and Aziris appear as separate entities in both Ptolemy's Geography and the *Stadiasmus.* Both sources place the sites at either side of Chersonesos. Consequently, it would be impossible for the river Paliurus (i.e. the Wadi at-Tamimi) to be the same river that runs along Aziris. It seems that Pacho's identification is inaccurate, and that if Paliurus is to be found near at-Tamimi, then Aziris cannot be located there. Thus, the al-Khaleej site seems to be the more likely location for Aziris, despite the relative merits of the Bay of Bombah (*fig. 2*).

It is worth noting that Pseudo-Skylax specifies Chersonesos with Azirides. This may indicate that Azirides is conceived of as a region closely associated with Chersonesos, or that Chersonesos is located within a region of that name. Perhaps Pseudo-Skylax is one of the authors that Stephanus of Byzantium has in mind, when he mentions that some consider Aziris a region rather than a town. The islands Aëdonia and Plateia are placed halfway between Azirides Chersonesos and a place called Lesser Petras in the *Periplus*. If these are indeed islands in the Bay of Bombah, then this suggests that the Bay of Bombah area ought not to be included in the Azirides region. Accordingly, we ought to place the Azirides west of R'as at-Tin, perhaps stretching as far a Dernah (*fig. 2*).[38] It is also worth noting that this would more or less correspond with the zone where the fertility of Cyrenaica gradually makes place for the aridity of Marmarica. That it is an ecological boundary is also noted by Pseudo-Skylax, as he indicates that from Chersonesos onwards silphium starts to appear in the fields.

Finally, the ceramic evidence from the al-Khaleej site suggests that there is a substantial gap in habitation between the 7th and the 4th centuries BC. Herodotus' *Histories*, and probably also Pseudo-Skylax' *Periplous* were produced during this gap. This makes it possible that there simply was no settlement to refer to by Pseudo-Skylax, but that the name Azirides was associated with the approximate area of the former settlement. In addition, the possibility that there was no settlement at Aziris in Herodotus' time warrants a reexamination of his narrative, to which we will turn in the next section.

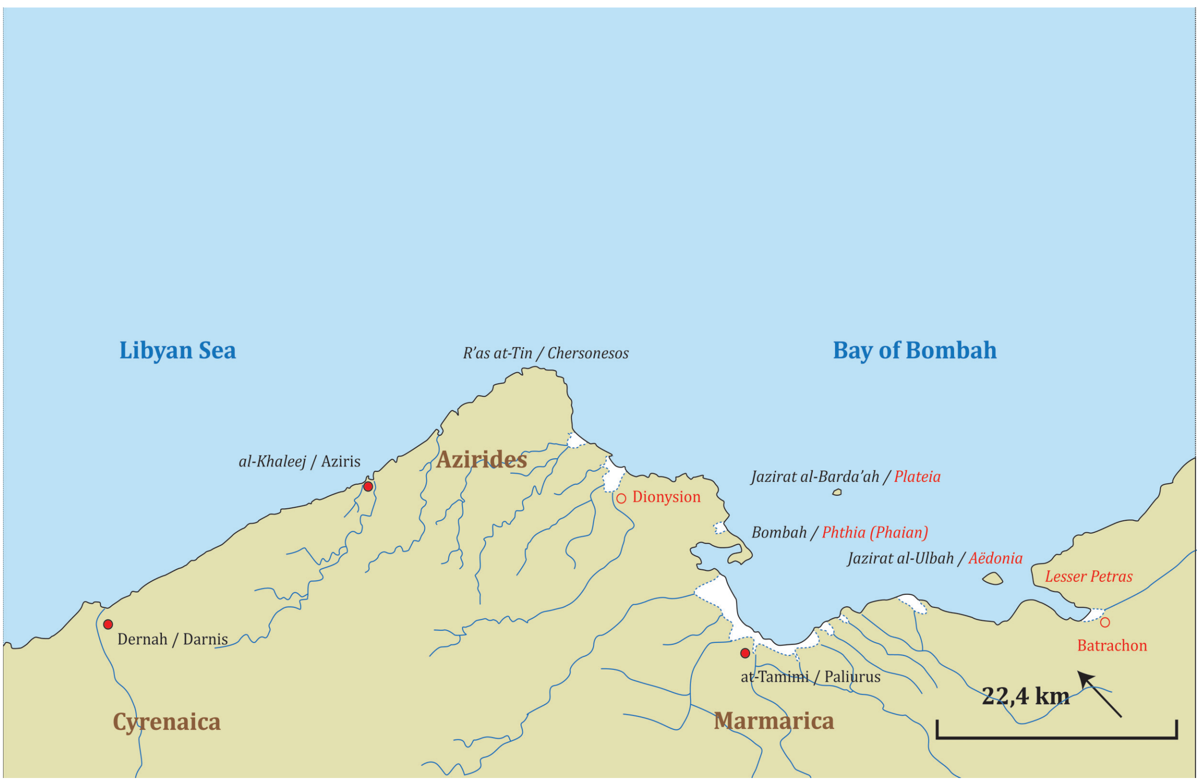

Fig. 2. Map of the Bay of Bomba. Modern names precede ancient names, and cursive print indicates topographical features rather than settlements. Names printed in red are uncertain (map by author).

Herodotus in context

The central theme of Herodotus' narrative about the foundation of Cyrene is that the Therans were commanded by Apollo to settle in Libya. Initially the Therans are reluctant to comply, but eventually they obey, and ultimately they get their reward: the spring Cyre, the future site of Cyrene. That the spring is sacred to Apollo is no coincidence. During the myth the Therans pass through four stages. In the first stage they disregard the will of Apollo and are punished with a severe drought. When they consult the Delphic oracle on the drought, they are reminded of Apollo's command. They now enter the second stage, where they attempt, but fail to obey Apollo. The Therans send out settlers, who unsuccessfully try to set up a settlement on Plateia. After two years of struggle the settlers return to the Delphic oracle. Apollo, now somewhat exasperated, explains that they have to settle on the Libyan mainland in order to fulfill his command. The settlers then enter the third stage, in which they finally obey. The settlers move to Aziris on the Libyan mainland where they dwell the same number of years that the drought lasted. In this way they atone for their earlier disobedience. After their atonement they can enter enter the fourth and final stage, in which Apollo rewards them by disclosing the location of the spring Cyre.[39]

The locations mentioned by Herodotus appear to be situated in three different ecological zones. Cyrene lies in the heart of fertile Cyrenaica, Aziris in a transitional zone between Cyrenaica and Marmarica, and Plateia lies offshore from arid Marmarica. I would like to argue that the four stages that the Therans pass through in Herodotus' narrative are in fact allegorical references to these ecological zones. During the first stage the Therans are afflicted by a severe drought that turns their homeland into the equivalent of a desert. During the second stage they settle on Plateia, but the aridity and/or salinity of the area prevents the settlement to flourish. In the third stage they settle at Aziris, which is in a transitional zone between the desert and the fertility of Cyrenaica. Finally, in the fourth stage, the settlers reap their reward in the shape of Cyrene.

The ecological opposition between Cyrenaica and the rest of Libya also finds expression in the narrative. Herodotus explains that there is 'a hole in the sky' over Cyrenaica, metaphorically explaining a greater precipitation in the area caused by the Jebel al-Akhdar, and the associated fertility. In contrast, Herodotus provides the epithet 'sheep-feeding' (μηλοτρόφον) for Libya in his narrative. This may allude to the fact that the more arid regions outside Cyrenaica are suited for pastoral activities, but not for agriculture.

The four stages probably also indicate a transformation from a maritime focus to an orientation on arable land. During the first and second stage, at home in the Aegean and at Plateia, the Therans retain a strong maritime focus. During the third stage they settle at Aziris, a transitional place that is much better watered than Marmarica, but still retains a strong connection to the important navigational marker Chersonesos. Finally, during the fourth stage, the settlers move inland, abandoning the coast in favor of the agricultural potential of Cyrenaica. A transformation from a maritime focus to an agricultural one is not unique to Cyrene, but one that can be observed with many Greek settlements overseas. What does stand out as peculiar is that the settlers shift over rather large distances each time, and ultimately end up some 10 km inland.

As we have discussed above, there are two plausible locations for Aziris. The first location is the al-Khaleej site, which is supported by most textual evidence and the most recent archaeological investigations. The second location is the Bay of Bombah area, which more closely resembles the land- and seascapes of early Greek settlement overseas, and appears to be supported by Herodotus. It is essentially the reading of the following passage in Herodotus that makes the identification of Aziris problematic: '… ἔκτισαν αὐτῆς τῆς Λιβύης χῶρον ἀντίον τῆς νήσου τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἄζιρις, …' (Hdt. 4.157.3). The general reading of this passage is that the χῶρον, which is called Aziris, must be located physically opposite the island, indicating that ἀντίον is read in a local sense, signifying a physical opposition.

I am of the opinion that the general reading of the passage in Herodotus is inaccurate and fails to do justice to the wider context of the narrative. It is in fact a rather elegantly composed sentence that I wish to discuss in detail here. The direct object of the verb (ἔκτισαν) is territory (χῶρον), flanked on either side by clauses in the genitive. The first is a partitive genitive, which describes what the territory is part of (i.e. the Libyan mainland). The second one is a separative genitive, which describes what the territory is not a part of (i.e. the island). It is worth noting that these clauses are in opposition to one and another not only in meaning, but also in grammatical use of the genitive case. In addition, this opposition between mainland and island is expressed physically in the sentence by locating them on either side of the

direct object. It is in this context that we should also understand ἀντίον. It is not a preposition, but rather an adjective that agrees in case, number, and gender to the direct object. This suggests that the direct object, the territory, includes an inherent opposition, expressed by the genitive clauses on either side of it. It is the fact that the territory is a part of the mainland that makes it opposite to the island, and this is a conceptual opposition rather than a physical one. A conceptual opposition would fit the wider narrative very well. In order to fulfill the command of Apollo, the Therans need to settle on the Libyan mainland (i.e. *not* the island). The exact spatial relationship between this place and the island is, from a narrative perspective, of no consequence.[40]

If we accept this alternative reading, then Herodotus' narrative no longer includes a good geographical indication of the location of Aziris, although we still have a description of the site. This description seems rather generic, but can apply to the al-Khaleej site. The site does indeed have vales on both side of it and a river running along one side (i.e. the Wadi al-Khaleej). We have already seen that the ceramic evidence from the al-Khaleej site makes it possible that it was not settled in Herodotus' day. This may explain why his description is rather generic. He may not have known exactly where Aziris was located. Consequently, our later sources are likely to be more accurate than Herodotus' *Histories* for the purpose of locating Aziris, and as we have discussed above, these strongly point towards the al-Khaleej site.

Conclusion

Herodotus' narrative on the foundation of Cyrene is largely mythological in nature. A mythological framework is well suited to discuss topics in an allegorical manner. In order to properly understand a narrative of this kind, a solid understanding of the wider context is necessary. To come to grips with this context we have examined geological and archaeological evidence, and other ancient texts in particular. It has become apparent that Herodotus' narrative does not provide an accurate location for Aziris, and that for the purpose of locating Aziris later sources are more reliable. The later sources strongly suggest that the archaeological site discovered at the mouth of the Wadi al-Khaleej is the most likely location of Aziris.

Aziris plays a pivotal role in Herodotus' narrative. It serves as a place of atonement for the Therans, who were initially disobedient to the will of Apollo. Atonement at Aziris is a prerequisite for the settlers to claim their ultimate reward: Cyrene. The Therans pass through a number of stages before coming to Aziris and fulfilling the will of Apollo. I am of the opinion that these stages reflect two interrelated historical transitions undergone by the Greek settlers in Libya. The first is a transition from a maritime focus to an agricultural one, and the second a transition from an arid ecological zone to a well-watered one. In both of these transitions Aziris lies halfway between the two extremes, and much like in Herodotus' narrative, represents the tipping point between the two.

It is not uncommon for Greek settlements overseas to shift from a maritime to a more agricultural focus. What stands out for Cyrene and Aziris is the fact that this transition finds such an explicit geographical expression. Consequently, Aziris and its environs offer a unique opportunity to study the formative period of a Greek settlement overseas. This promise is increased by the fact that the region is still very much a marginal zone, which allows for a good preservation of archaeological remains. In addition, the available ceramic evidence suggests that the 7th century BC settlement may not have been inhabited for a particularly long period. This gives Aziris a great potential for contributing to our understanding of ceramic sequences and their dates. A more thorough understanding of Aziris and its environs will undoubtedly greatly enhance our understanding of the formative processes that shaped Greek settlements overseas, and Libya in particular. In short, the potential of Aziris begs for further archaeological and geological investigations. Threats posed to the cultural heritage of Libya by recent political instability may in fact make further investigations imperative.

Notes

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1 Austin 2004, 1235-1236; Malkin 1994, 169-174; Chamoux 1953, 14-15; for a dissenting view, see: Constanzi 2013.
2 Wesselmann 2011; see also: Hall 2007, 100-106.
3 For more detail see: Hdt. 4.154-155; see also: Chamoux 1953, 128-143.
4 See: Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 683.
5 Hdt. 4.150-158.
6 See also: Malkin 1994, 169-174.
7 Austin 2004, 1236.

8 El-Hawat/Abdulsamad 2004; Elrashedy 2002, 4; Chamoux 1953, 11-17, see also: Jones/Little 1971, 64-65.

9 For more detail, see: Koerper/Kolls 1999; Chamoux 1953, 246-263; see also: Hdt. 4.169.

10 Elrashedy 2002, 4; Chamoux 1953, 11-17, see also: Jones/Little 1971, 64-65.

11 Şen 2008.

12 Boardman 1966, 149-150; see also: Carter 1963, 23-25.

13 For numerous indications about the maritime focus of early Greek settlements overseas, see: Boardman 1999, 161-185; for Syracuse in particular, see: 172-173; compare also: Solovyov 1995, 10-18.

14 Solovyov 1995, 128-132; see also: Boardman 1999, 185-189.

15 Pacho 1827, 51-54, 86; note that Pacho identifies only two islands: Bombah and Ain al-Gazal.

16 Boardman 1966, 150.

17 Carter 1963, 24-25.

18 Boardman 1966, 150-151.

19 James 2005, 4-6.

20 Boardman 1966, 150; see also: Boardman 2011.

21 *Tabula Peutingeriana* § VIII-IX.

22 *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* 67-71.

23 See: Prontera 2003, 7-15; Miller 1916, 874-875.

24 Synesius of Cyrene *Epistle* 5.190-235; see also: Long 1992.

25 Steph. Byz. Ἄζιλις.

26 See: Shipley, 2011, 8-21.

27 Ptol. *Geog.* 4.5.1-4.

28 See: Radt 2002, Band 8, 433.

29 Strabo *Geographika* 838; the exact name of this 'place' in Crete is uncertain, see: Radt 2002, Band 8, 545-546.

30 Strabo *Geographika* 474.

31 The date of the *Stadiasmus* is uncertain. C. Müller dates it to the 3rd century AD, but with older elements that may date as far back as the 2nd century BC, see: Müller 1882, cxxiii-cxxviii; more recent studies seem favor a date in the first half of the 1st century AD, see: Medas 2009, 338-344. .

32 *Stadiasmus* 40-47.

33 Pseudo-Skylax *Periplous* 47.1.

34 Pseudo-Skylax *Periplous* 108.

35 Although the cliffs to the west of R'as at-Tin might be more visible, see: Shipley 2011, 126.

36 Boardman 1966, 150.

37 Pacho 1827, 51-54.

38 See also: Shipley 2011, 126.

39 Consider: Wesselmann 2011, 300-335.

40 Compare: Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 683-686; for the use of ἀντίον see: Liddell/Scott 1968 ἀντίον, entry 2.

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Far from the Fountain: Inscriptions on Bronze *Hydriai* and the Uses of Water Jars in Ancient Greece

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Abstract

This article examines over 50 inscribed bronze hydriai *and considers the functions that vessels of this type served beyond water-related tasks. The inscriptions attest to usage as prizes for athletic contests, votive offerings, gifts exchanged, treasured possessions, and farewells to the deceased. A few may record their weights. Literary references, artistic representations, and inscriptions referring to the vessels are considered alongside the evidence from the inscribed vessels themselves, as well as key archaeological circumstances. The study results in a fuller understanding of the central role of the bronze* hydria *in ancient Greece, serving men and women in life as well as in death.**

Introduction

Collecting, transporting, and storing clean water are universal, timeless concerns, no less so today than in antiquity. Indeed, Pindar describes water as 'best' alongside praises of gold and the sun itself in his honeyed praise of the Olympic games.[1] Intimately related to its function, the word *hydria* undoubtedly derives from the word for water, *hydor*. The form was well-suited to its primary water-carrying purpose, with a characteristic full, rounded belly for holding water and a long, narrow neck for reducing evaporation, preventing spills, and protecting its contents from contamination (*fig. 1*). Three handles enhanced the functionality; the two horizontal handles aided in lifting while the vertical one helped in stabilizing the vessel during transport and also facilitated pouring, when necessary.[2] The added foot allowed it to stand on its own. Although exceptional large and small versions of the shape were made for special purposes, a single person could carry a *hydria* of normal size, ranging between ca 35 and ca 50 centimeters in height. The strength of the *hydria*'s functionality lies in its portability and stability for storage, which could be applied to water or any other contents placed therein.

The primary function of the *hydria*, no matter its material, seems at first to be straightforward: it was made for fetching and holding water. However, this simplistic view is complicated by successive phases of use and the potential for appropriating the vessels for other, diverse purposes. As is well known, the traditional associa-

Fig. 1. New York 26.50 (cat 1.4) (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

tion of *hydriai* with female, domestic activities stems primarily from numerous scenes on black- and red-figure vases of finely dressed women gathered at fountain-houses with their water jars.[3] However, even a cursory scan of the evidence that serves today as a record of the varied ways that *hydriai* were used challenges this narrowly domestic, gendered perspective. A more nuanced view demonstrates that the shape served the community in diverse ways in addition to its primary water-related tasks, regularly serving as votive offerings, expensive gifts, ossuaries, and valuable grave goods and occasionally as ballot boxes, repositories for money, treasure, tribute, and even impromptu weapons.[4]

Because the need for water containers spanned every socioeconomic class, it is not surprising that *hydriai* were made in large quantities and in various materials and sizes. Standard-sized ceramic vessels survive plentifully, and were most common. Luxury versions of the type were made in miniature in glass and alabaster, at full scale in bronze, silver, and gold, and oversized in marble. Silver *hydriai* have mostly vanished and gold examples are (so far) only known through literary and epigraphic sources but because bronze examples were used so often as cinerary urns and grave goods, many more have been preserved; at least 600 survive today from the early Archaic through the Late Hellenistic period.[5]

While bronze was substantially less commercially valuable than its precious metal counterparts (a factor that may have contributed strongly to the preference for eventually consigning it to the tomb), it shared an elite status with the precious metals and recalled their luxury and expense. Gleaming bronze also held its own esteemed position in the Greek world, often associated with heroism and valor. From a technical perspective, it may also be significant that copper has an inherent antibacterial property that serves to protect its contents, making it particularly ideal for a container meant to hold water.[6] Although no records survive that demonstrate the Greeks knew about this practical advantage, they might well have understood from experience that a bronze container was good for collecting and storing clean, potable water. In the case of the bronze *hydria*, it seems that a combination of familiarity, luxury, and utility made the type highly desirable for a variety of uses.

References in ancient literature, epigraphy, and art are critical sources for recovering the functions of the ancient *hydria* in general terms. However, it is often difficult to discern precisely what kind(s) of *hydriai* were appropriate for each task, since materials are rarely specified. The great disparity between regular usage in domestic and sacred contexts above ground and their nearly exclusive excavation from cemeteries complicates the situation further (even when good records of discovery have been kept).

Despite these problems, a few sources are particularly helpful in understanding the functions of the bronze *hydria* specifically. Iconographic analyses of the sculpted reliefs added to nearly 500 of the surviving vessels raise intriguing possibilities for imagining how they might have been used but these suggestions cannot always be confirmed. Likewise, archaeological contexts reveal the vases' final circumstances and in some exceptionally well-documented cases, help to determine the gender or socioeconomic position of the last owner, but typically do not reveal much else about the various purposes they may have served before they were buried.[7] Inscriptions added to at least 50 of the extant bronzes confirm some of the roles that these specific vessels played in life before they were removed from circulation. When considered together, the inscriptions along with the suggestive iconography and informative contexts reveal a much fuller picture of the functions of this vessel type than have been understood previously. This essay primarily focuses on the contribution of the inscriptions.

It is an unfortunate truth that many of the inscribed vessels do not come from securely identified archaeological contexts and raise ethical reservations, but the evidence they add to the historical record is critical. Considering the corpus in its entirety allows a comprehensive understanding of the information it can provide, sometimes revealing names, places, and events not otherwise accessible today and elsewhere reiterating the existence and importance of previously recorded identities.

The tradition of inscribing bronze *hydriai* seems to have begun as early as the beginning of the 6th century BC but was especially vibrant in the later 5th and 4th centuries. The inscriptions can be divided into at least five categories, marking vessels that served as prizes, votive offerings and sacred implements in sanctuaries, gifts, personal names, and funerary commemorations.[8] A final type of inscription may indicate the weight or commercial value of the object but this economically relevant information is recorded far more frequently on precious metal vessels because of their greater intrinsic worth, such as on the silver *kalpis* from the 'Prince's Tomb' at Vergina.[9] These inscribed vessels securely

demonstrate at least a few of the diverse functions of bronze *hydriai* beyond the expected water-carrying capacities, confirming that the shape played important roles in men's lives as well as women's, acting as sacred and mundane vessels to aid both the living and the dead.

While all of the inscribed vessels enrich the historical record, revealing certain functions and offering evidence for deducing uses for similar objects lacking epigraphic testimony, a few are particularly valuable. For instance, at least six record evidence for local games and contests not otherwise attested, bringing our attention to unique practices that hitherto have been lost.[10] Vessels marked as property of particular deities signal cultic dimensions beyond the expected dedications and votive offerings, confirming practices that often are assumed but rarely documented amongst such objects.[11] Several preserve personal names that may help to locate the place of manufacture or (at least partially) trace the circulation of objects as they made their way around the Mediterranean.[12] Prices and weights serve as useful reference points for considering issues of ancient economy and scales of value.[13] These vessels and their inscriptions remain valuable documents of the exchange of objects between multiple hands, securely documenting that the vases were handed down between generations, won and dedicated to the gods, exchanged between friends, and treasured as important personal possessions.[14]

Almost all of the inscriptions are placed on the upper side of the mouth and usually consist of letters created with a series of small, punched dots, as seen on the particularly fine example of an otherwise undecorated Classical *kalpis* in Virginia (*cat. 6.1*). Occasionally, the letters were chased directly into the surface, as on *New York 26.50* (*cat. 1.4*, *fig. 2*) or *Nemea Br 379* (*cat. 2.1*, *fig. 3*). The choice of technique (stippled or chased) may be taken simply as a stylistic choice or perhaps, in some cases, an indication of planned versus *ad hoc* marking, based on the presence of chased lettering on what seems to be the later inscription(s) on the vessels with more than one marking.

In most cases, a single inscription appears, testifying to a single moment in the life of the vessel. However, at least eight were marked more than once, attesting to at least two phases of use for the same *hydria*.[15] While only documented by these inscriptions in a few instances, the multivalent utility and longevity of these vessels must have been common, fitting well in the documented Greek tradition of passing down valuable (and often metallic) objects as family heirlooms and exchanging them in various ways as gifts. Myth-

Fig. 2. New York 26.50 (cat. 1.4), detail (after Mertens 1985, 5).

ological paradigms for such a practice can be found in stories such as that of Achilles' golden amphora and Thoas' krater, both repurposed for various uses long after their initial production.[16] Epigraphical testimonia also suggests that objects of this type retained their material value over time, as seen in sacred inventories that seem to refer to the same vessels over a period of generations.[17] Archaeological evidence provides a similar perspective. For instance, *Pompeii 21803* (*cat. 1.6*), which bears a single inscription marking it as a prize in the games of Hera at Argos, was originally manufactured in the 5th century BC but later discovered buried under layers of Vesuvian destruction at Pompeii from 79 AD, where it had been repurposed and outfitted with a spout in the center of its thin-walled body.[18] Without the inscription, we could potentially retrace the steps of the vessel based on its shape and decoration but with it, we are able to more accurately reconstruct the long journey that took this vessel across the sea over a period of nearly 500 years. The inscriptions aid in understanding the dynamic functions assigned to these axiomatic vessels and assessing their status within ancient Greek culture.

1. Bronze *Hydriai* Awarded as Prizes

More than half of the surviving inscriptions document prizes awarded in athletic contests, a function and ratio that runs counter to our expecta-

Fig. 3. Nemea Br 379 (cat. 2.1), image(s) courtesy of www.HolyLandPhotos.org.

tions of both the sphere of use and the gender of the person using it.[19] The inscriptions typically identify the location of the games and/or name of the deity or hero in whose honor they were celebrated.[20] When it is included in the text, the location of the games typically appears in the genitive case, often preceded by the preposition ἐκ. If the god or hero to whom the games were dedicated is mentioned, it nearly always appears in the genitive, sometimes following παρά, while in a few cases the noun (i.e., the name) appears in the dative after ἐπί. One fragmentary plain bronze *kalpis* from the Classical period (*cat. 1.1*) borrows the standardized form of the Panathenaic inscription but distinguishes itself by specifying that it came not from the games of Athena, but of Artemis in Athens: 'Ἀθε̄́νε̄θεν ἄθλο̄ν παρ' Ἀρτέμιδος.'[21] Elsewhere, *Princeton y1985-9* (*cat. 1.2*), a fragmentary Classical bronze *kalpis*, has a partially preserved inscription that may function similarly to the images on the back of the Panathenaic amphorae, naming a specific event. Here, the fragmentary word, 'ΠΑΛΑ[--' could denote that the *kalpis* was a prize for wrestling.[22]

The inscribed prize *hydriai* attest to both major and minor athletic contests throughout Greece and along the western coast of Asia Minor. The most well represented athletic events amongst the group are the games for Hera in Argos, which are mentioned four times. *New York 26.50* (*cat. 1.4, figs 1,* 2), *Ankara* (*cat. 1.5*), *Pompeii 21803* (*cat. 1.6*), and *Copenhagen I.N. 3293* (*cat. 1.7*) all were decorated with similar graceful images of an abbreviated female figure at the top of the vertical handle and three of the four (*Ankara*, *Pompeii 21803*, and *Copenhagen I.N. 3293*) bear identical inscriptions: παρ'Ηέρας Ἀργείας ἐμὶ τôν ΗαϝέθλονThe(‘I am [one] of the prizes from Argive Hera').[23] The fourth (*New York 26.50*) has an abbreviated version of the same text: παρ'Ηέρας Ἀργείας Ηαϝέθλον.

On their own, this clearly articulated group with similar decorations and attested status as prizes from the same contests might lead us to propose that the suggestive iconography is enough to identify as prizes the nearly 20 additional vessels that have similar sculpted additions but lack the inscriptions. However, this projection, discussed at length by P. Amandry, is complicated by the presence of at least one vase with comparable ornamentation, *Nemea Br 379* (*cat. 2.1*, *fig. 3*), which bears an alternative inscription indicating ownership rather than victory. The added text in this case reads τô Διός εἰμι τô Νεμέαι, demonstrating that it belonged to Zeus at Nemea rather than Hera at Argos. Its findspot in a well in the sanctuary at Nemea suggests that Zeus was the final owner of the vessel. Its eventual use in a sacred context does not preclude it necessarily from having been used for another purpose, or even having been a prize elsewhere first, although it was not inscribed as such if that were the case.[24] Two other objects - a *lebes* from Piraeus and a rod-tripod from Tomb II at Vergina, each bearing prize inscriptions from the same games for Hera have also been discovered.[25] It seems that the *inscription*, rather than the suggestive iconography, seems to be the critical feature that marks the vessel as a prize in this case and the vessels comparable in ornamentation to the explicitly-

Fig. 4. Atlanta 2004.25.1 (cat. 1.8), detail (Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta).

named Argive prizes cannot be presumed to have served the same function; indeed, if they were used as prizes, we can be fairly sure they did not function as such in the games at Argos because of the distinct lack of documentation, which appears in the four named *hydriai*, the *lebes*, and the rod-tripod. This mélange of objects recalls the assortment of repurposed objects Achilles assembles for the competitors and Pindar's poetic description of the 'countless works of bronze' given to winners in the Argive contests and stands in marked contrast to the standardized awards offered at other games.[26]

Like the Argive inscriptions, which clearly state both the location of the games and the divinity worshipped, a *hydria* now in Atlanta (*cat. 1.8*, *fig. 4*) is inscribed 'ἐκ Φωκέων ἄεθλα παρὰ Διοσκόϱοιον,' which may be understood as games for the Dioskouroi from the Central Greek region of Phokis.[27,28] Neither the sanctuary nor the contests are attested historically, thus making this vessel a particularly important primary source.

This Phokian inscription is also particularly valuable because of its potential implications for the fragmentary second inscription on the Argive-

prize vessel in Ankara (*cat. 1.5*), found in Sinope, a port town on the Turkish coast of the Black Sea. The last part of the text is easily restored as 'Α [ΕΘΛΑ] Π[ΑΡΑ] Δ[Ι]Ο[Σ]ΚΟΡΟΙΝ' and understood as 'the games of the Dioskouroi' or perhaps the 'prizes from the Dioskouroi.' The beginning, however, which names the location of the contests, is less clear but might be read as the same contests from Phokis, (rather than Pheneos, as Amandry had previously suggested), thereby adding a second reference to the newly (re)discovered events. [29]

A Late Classical *kalpis* in an American private collection (*cat. 1.9*) also refers to hitherto unknown games. It is inscribed ἆθλον ἐγ Μυλάσων Ζηνοποσει (δεῶ)νος, indicating that it was given as a prize at the games of Zenoposeidon in Mylasa. Although this particular event is as yet undocumented elsewhere, temples in this city seem to have been dedicated to Zeus Karios and Zeus Osogos, in addition to a Roman stoa with columns inscribed to Zeus Osogos and Zenoposeidon, providing a frame of reference for the inscription on the Late Classical bronze *kalpis*.[30]

In some cases, the formula is reversed, giving the location of the contests first and then naming the dedicant, such as on a now-lost *kalpis* from Rhodes (*cat. 1.10*) bearing an inscription that awarded as a prize in games of Helios on Rhodes: ἆθλον ἐγ Ῥόδο παρ' Ἁλίο.[31] According to Pindar's seventh Olympian ode, the sun god Helios discovered Rhodes, a 'rich, productive land for men and a kindly one for flocks' beneath the water and ordered it to be raised from the depths of the sea to be 'his own prize of honor.'[32] His cult was served with a festival with burnt offerings and games; we might propose that this bronze *hydria* was one of the prizes from these contests.[33]

In many cases, the inscriptions are more concise, requiring us to speculate on either the place or occasion for the prize offered. A *hydria* now in an American collection (*cat. 1.11*) comes from the games at Sounion, presumably dedicated to Poseidon. Its inscription reads simply, ἆθλα ἀπὸ Σουνίο. The use of ἀπὸ is unique amongst the surviving inscribed *hydriai*. A second, possibly related, vessel found in a cemetery at Pydna (*cat. 1.12*) is inscribed Ἀθ[ε̄]ναῖοι ἆθλα ἐκ Ποσειδωνίο, 'The Athenians [gave these as] prizes, from the sanctuary of Poseidon,' which N. Kaltsas interprets as coming from the Poseidonia rowing contests held at Sounion.[34] D.G. Kyle suggests that the Athenians sponsored a boating contest at Sounion for Poseidon, in addition to the penteteric festival that Herodotus mentions.[35] The vessel itself can be dated by shape to the middle of the 5th century BC, which accords with the chronology suggested by the epigraphic evidence. Either of these games would have been potentially appropriate occasions for winning this bronze *kalpis*.

Evidence for bronze *hydriai* given as prizes in games held throughout Central Greece is abundant, in addition to the games in Phokis discussed above. Two later 5th-century plain *kalpides* (*cats 1.13 and 1.14*) both bear inscriptions reading τôν Θέβαις ἀίθλον. The Boiotian origin of these two inscriptions is strongly suggested also by the spelling *aithlon*, rather than *aethlon* or *athlon*.[36] Games in Thebes in honor of Herakles and Iolaos are attested historically and also in literature, on the basis of Pindar's praise of the victorious Diagoras of Rhodes for his feats in games at Thebes.[37]

Another inscription (*cat. 1.15*), gives a different Boiotian context. It reads "τôν Τανάγραις ἀέθλον," apparently referring to previously unattested games in Tanagra. Pausanias does describe a sanctuary of Herakles, one of Dionysos and two for Hermes, whose birthplace was reputed to be in Tanagra, in the area, as well as a sacred grove for the local hero Eunostos.[38] Archaeological evidence identifies structures and areas dedicated to a wide array of gods, heroes, and locally significant figures, all of which may have been the reason for games with bronze vases awarded as prizes.[39] Similarly, *Ioannina 302 (cat. 1.16*) was inscribed Η]ερακλέος ἐς Θεσπίας, '[a prize (?) from the games] of Herakles, from Thespiai].'[40] Pausanias also refers to a Sanctuary of Herakles in this location, although games are not recorded.[41]

Elsewhere, a Classical vessel (*cat. 1.17*) is inscribed ΕΚ ΛΕΓΟΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΕΤΗΛΟΝ: ΑΙ. The text, interpreted literally, seems to refer to games in an (as yet) unknown site called Legoros. Taken more broadly, it might be understood as 'e(k) Kletoros,' speaking of contests in the (known) town of Kleitor in Arcadia, although reading it as such is perhaps problematic given the relatively fine preservation of the inscribed letters.[42]

Sometimes, the situation is reversed, wherein the deity or hero in whose honor the games were celebrated is mentioned in the inscription without the geographic location. Such is the case with three inscriptions from games of the Dioskouroi, which appear on *New York 1999.460* (*cat. 1.18*, *fig. 5*), a now-lost vessel from Chersonesos (*cat. 1.19*) and *Thessalonike Py 208* (*cat. 1.20*).[43] The inscriptions each read ἐχς Ἀνακίο ἆθλον, 'a prize from the sanctuary of the Anakes,' or perhaps, '[a prize] from the games of the sanctuary of the Anakes,' if we take the last word as ἄθλōν. Anakes ('Lords') is

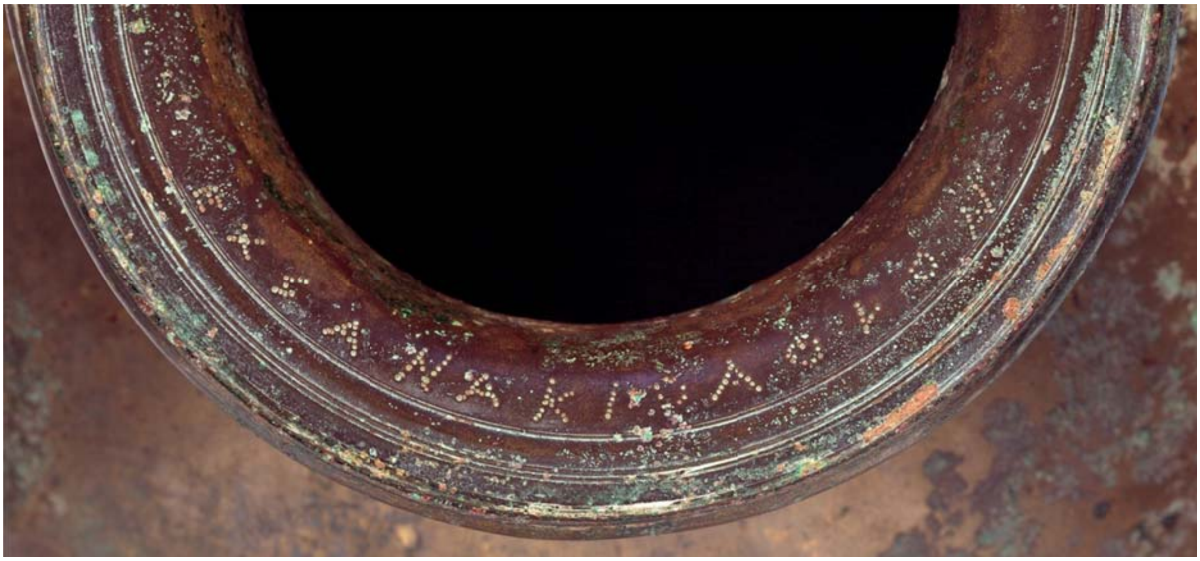

Fig. 5. New York 1999.460 (cat. 1.18), detail (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

an epithet that refers to the twins Kastor and Polydeukes, the Dioskouroi.[44] Several ancient authors explain the origin of this name, including Plutarch, who expresses the significance the pair had to the Athenians, specifically.[45] Furthermore, the temple of the Dioskouroi in Athens was called the Anak(e)ion and a boundary stone marking one side of the area sacred to the Anakes has been recovered from the Athenian Agora.[46]

Although all three of these *hydriai* omit the location of the games, we may be able to narrow down the possibilities by considering some of the peculiarities of the inscriptions. For instance, the single character *xi* in each case is replaced with a phonetic equivalent using two letters *chi* and *sigma*, i.e., ἐχς instead of ἐξ. According to L.H. Jeffery and A.W. Johnston, this particular letter substitution is attested for Attica, Boiotia, Aigina/Kydonia, Paros, Thasos, Rhodes, Gela, and Akragas.[47] The three-bar sigma suggests either an Attic or Aeginetan origin.[48] Given the character of the lettering and the importance of a cult of the Dioskouroi who are referred to specifically as the Anakes by ancient authors, it is likely that these three *hydriai* may have come from games in Attica, possibly even Athens itself. [49] These factors suggest that an Athenian, or at least someone trained in the Attic tradition was responsible for inscribing them, offering further evidence for a strong Athenian/Attic tradition of using bronze *hydriai* as prizes, which earlier was suggested by the appearance of Nike with *hydriai* on numerous painted ceramic vases. The relative prominence of references to the Dioskouroi on these inscribed vessels is intriguing but at present, without more extensive evidence, no further conclusions can be drawn.

Not all Greek games were held in honor of gods or major Panhellenic heroes. Local heroes could also be commemorated with contests, similar to those events that Achilles organized for Patroklos. One particularly fine inscription tells us that the *kalpis* (*cat. 1.21*) was given in games in honor of Protesilaos in Phthia, a region of Thessaly.[50] The inscription reads ἐχ]ς αἰαιίας τᾶς Φθίας ἔθλον παϱ᾽ Πϱοτεσίλ[α], which might been taken as 'from the land of Phthia, a prize from the games for Protesilaos.'[51] Pindar writes that games were established in Phylake (Thessaly) in honor of this mythical Thessalian aristocrat and hero, the first of the Greeks killed at Troy, praised as 'war-like' and 'great of heart' by Homer.[52] Perhaps even more so than the games for gods that are otherwise unknown from a particular location, this vessel attests to a unique local practice that otherwise would be lost entirely. Likewise, the inscription on *Berlin 30636* (*cat. 1.22*) refers to a set of (hitherto unknown) games held in honor of a man named Leophantos son of Lampros in Lampsakos, in Mysia, on the Hellespont: ἆθλον (or ἄθλον) ἐγ Λαμψάκο ἐπὶ Λεοφάντο τô Λάμπϱō, which not only alerts us to a new event but also provides evidence for games held in honor of an individual (not of divine, heroic, or otherwise mythological status) in the Classical period.

Although the term μαχεία on the vessel discussed above (*cat. 1.3*) is unique among the sur-

viving group, at least one other inscription also refers to a war or a battle. *Thessalonike 5243* (*cat. 1.23*), a plain *kalpis* from the second half of the 5th century in the course of rescue excavations in Karabournaki, near Thessalonike, in Macedonia has a spectacular inscription that reads, in small, neat letters in full Ionic script, Ἀθε̄ναῖοι ἆ{ο}θλα [ἐ]πὶ τοῖς ἐμ τῷ πολέμῳ, 'The Athenians [gave these as] prizes in honor of those who [died] in the war.' This same lengthy inscription is found on at least two other bronze vases, a *lebes* in the Kanellopoulos collection in Athens, which was found in Marathon, and another discovered in the Athenian area of Ambelokipi, presenting a situation similar to that in Argos, wherein different kinds of objects were selected and marked as prizes for the contests.[53] The 'war' might refer to the battles against the Persians, in which case the *hydria* would come from games celebrating the Marathon dead.[54] Alternatively, the term could also be nonspecific, as in annual Athenian casualty lists, where the 'war' refers to all of the military campaigns of that year.[55] In that case, as M. Tiverios proposes, the *hydria* may have been a prize from the *Epitaphia* festival, which went with the winning contestant to Therme when he was sent to the north.[56] C. Clairmont suggests that it may have been warded in the torch race, like the competitors in the *lampadedromia* on the bell krater from Gela and oinochoe from Athens mentioned above.[57]

Victory in agonistic contests and heroism in war were strongly associated with one another, and bronze vessels could be used to honor both. At least one privately owned vessel (*cat. 1.3*) claims to have been prize from war, rather than from an athletic contest, μαχεία ἐμμὶ τôι Δαμίππoι, 'I am a war-prize for Damippos.'[58] Although this inscription is the only epigraphically attested instance of such a practice, several bronze *hydriai* have been found serving as both grave goods and ossuaries in the tombs of warriors, judging from the weapons and armor discovered with the tomb occupants.[59] Taking a bronze *hydria* as a spoil of war seems to have been shown on a wall painting in the Knidian Lesche at Delphi, judging from Pausanias' description of a scene of the Greeks departing from Troy after they had sacked the city in which 'Echoax [goes] down the gangway carrying a bronze urn [ὑδρίαν ἔχων χαλκῆν].'[60]

2. Bronze *Hydriai* as Sacred Objects and Votive Dedications

Beyond prizes, bronze *hydriai* also were designated as property of the gods and offered as votives in sanctuaries, where they may have been used in sacred rituals, kept as valuable reserves of currency, or appropriated for conducting routine activities.[61] Metallic *hydriai* were regularly listed in inventory inscriptions and bronze versions, specifically, have been found throughout Greece in sanctuary contexts.[62] Scenes on several ceramic vases suggest some religious activities that might have required a *hydria* in a sanctuary.[63] Sacrifices required water for cleansing and extinguishing the flames. A small black-figure *oinochoe* from the latter half of the 6th century by the Painter of the Half-Palmettes or the Haimon Painter shows a woman running to right as she extends her hand to pour water over a flaming altar.[64] On a red-figure *stamnos* from the mid-5th century alternatively attributed to the Hektor Painter, the Peleus Painter, or the Group of Polygnotos, *Munich 2412*, a figure of Nike pours water from an obviously metal *hydria* into a *podanipter* set in front of a bull that is being prepared for sacrifice.[65]

An Early Classical *hydria* (*cat. 2.1*, *fig. 3*) found in a well in Nemea, is inscribed 'I belong to Zeus at Nemea,' (τô Διός εἰμι τô Νεμέαι). It is likely that four disassociated feet of bronze *hydriai* that are similar in shape and excavated from the same well also belonged to sacred vessels, presumably kept as cult paraphernalia and used in service of sacred rituals.[66]

Similarly, at least four vessels are specified as 'sacred to' a deity. The term ἱερά appears on a plain *kalpis* (*cat. 2.2*) offered to Demeter from the late 5th century that reads ἱερά Δάματρι.[67] A second vessel (*cat. 2.3*), must attest to the same sanctuary with its similarly unusual substitutions of *alphas* for the usual *epsilons* in the goddess' name. Here, a second inscription reveals its sacred status also to Artemis ('ἱερά Ἀρτέμιδι Παφρακίαι).'[68] K. Phrangandreas proposes that either the deities were worshipped in the same location or that the vessel was first inscribed to Demeter and then later re-used in a (possibly) nearby cult of Artemis Paphrakia.[69] Both the letterforms and the presence of these two specific goddesses together suggest a location in Arcadia for the *hydria* in Olympia, which helps us to locate a potential site of origin (or at least one stop along the way) of the vessel in Baltimore.[70] A third vessel, a Classical *kalpis* (*cat. 2.4*), was dedicated to the Muses, a designation that brings to mind Boiotia, from whence other inscribed bronze *hydriai* have been discovered (e.g. *cats 1.12, 1.13, 1.14*).[71]

Finally, an Archaic bronze *hydria* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (*cat. 2.5*, *fig. 6*), has two inscriptions: Καλλίαϙ and Ἡρακλέος ἱερά, the

latter attesting to its sacred status in a sanctuary of Herakles. The first word in tentative, lightly punched letters that D. von Bothmer identifies as characteristic of an Elean dialect may suggest that the owner's name was Kalliar (i.e. Kallias).[72] The second part of the inscription is clearly written in a different hand and as von Bothmer notes, a different dialect. Perhaps we might explain the combination by proposing that the vase, once owned by a man named Kalliar, attesting surely to at least two distinct phases of its use.[73] The situation finds a good parallel in a doubly inscribed Archaic bronze krater recorded in the Lindian Chronicles. The first records a gift exchange between male friends Daidalos and Kokalos ('Δαίδαλος ἒδωκε ξείνίον με Κωκάλωι); the latter documents a dedication to the Lindian Athena (Φάλαρις ἒξ Ἀκράγαντος τᾶ[ι Λι]νδ[ί]αι Ἀθάναι).[74]

Whereas the previous vessels might be identified more precisely as the 'property of the god,' at least two bronze *kalpides* were inscribed clearly as offerings from private individuals, like the famous Mantiklos Apollo, whose inscription beseeches the god for favors on behalf of the dedicant.[75] The first, a *kalpis* from the second quarter of the 5th century (*cat. 2.6*), names not only the deity and the location but also its dedicants. The inscription, found near to the proposed site of Zeus Hellanios and written in a local Aeginetan script, reads 'Πλάθο̄ν ⁝ Ἐκεσθένες ⁝ ἀνέθεν Ηυιοὶ ⁝ Προκλέος ⁝ Ηελλανίοι : Διί,' which J.P. Harland translates as 'Plathon (and) Ekesthenes, sons of Prokles, dedicated (me) to Zeus Hellanios.'[76]

Similarly, a fragmentary bronze rim from the Athenian Akropolis (*cat. 2.7*), was offered to Zeus Herkeios by a woman on behalf of herself and her children: Ζε̄νὸς : Ἑ[κείο – – – Η]αυτε̂ς : καὶ παίδον : θε̂κεν : ἄγαλμα : ἐτεόν. As the god to whom one appealed for safety against and who ruled over concerns of the family and domestic matters (in his aspect as Herkeios), this woman's dedicatory appeal for her family is particularly appropriate (although there is perhaps some irony between the financial distress suggested by the inscription and the fineness of the object itself).[77] The dedication is poetic in gesture as well as in metrical verse, written as an elegiac couplet.[78]

Overall, the *hydriai* owned by and offered in sanctuaries attest to the vital position of the *hydria* in ancient Greece, required for successful cult activities and an appropriate gift for a god(dess). We might suspect that the life-giving nature of

Fig. 6. New York 57.11.12 (cat 2.5), detail (photo author).

water, which remained the primary association of the *hydria* despite its multipurpose appropriations, lent an inherent potential for fulfillment, growth, and regeneration that made the water jar a particularly desirable offering in sacred contexts.

3. Bronze *Hydriai* as Gifts

Aside from their votive possibilities, vessels of this type also were exchanged as personal gifts between friends and family members and as more official presents offered between dignitaries. At least eight inscribed vessels clearly attest to this practice, in addition to an early Archaic *hydria* in Berlin (*cat. 3.1*) inscribed simply with the single word ΦΙΛΕ, which we might imagine as a simple gesture from one friend to another.[79] These inscriptions are particularly valuable because they seem to suggest that the vases were more often given between women (which raises further economic and literacy questions), than as gifts to women from men or between men, thereby strengthening the feminine association of the shape but without reserving it exclusively for that sphere. Although plenty of literary evidence exists for exchanges of gifts between friends, these vessels offer a glimpse into private exchanges between individuals (and especially between women) for which we have little other documented evidence.[80] These exchanged *hydriai* find a particularly fine ceramic parallel in a white-ground pyxis in Boston, inscribed 'Lysandra gave it to Lysimachis.'[81]

In addition to their utility as documents of an ancient practice that could be assumed but is relatively rarely documented, in some cases, regionally preferred names and distinct letterforms lend prosopographic information. These suggestive characteristics are especially useful because they may help to identify likely centers of manufacture for vessels that tend to lack secure provenances and/or mark points of transfer as the vessels made their way around the Mediterranean.

One of the most intriguing gift-vases (cat. 3.2), records not one but two exchanges, both between women. It reads Σκαφσὶς Ηερμαίᾳ ἔ̄δο̄κε. Κύτις Φιλοξένῃ ἔ̄δο̄κε: 'Skaphsis gave this to Hermaia; Kytis gave this to Philoxene.' The vessel and its inscription remain a valuable record of the exchange of objects between multiple hands, even if the precise relationships between the parties cannot be recovered.[82]

A second Classical *kalpis* more recently for sale in New York (*cat. 3.3*) bears a simpler (and more typical) gift inscription, Πλουτὶς Σιμο̄ν (ί) δαο Πουθίδι, which can be read as 'Ploutis daughter of Simonidas [gave this] to Pouthis.'[83] The names are all attested from Tanagra in the 3rd century, perhaps suggesting a familial connection.[84] Another from the same period (*cat. 3.4*) records another exchange between women: 'Erata [gave this] to Ageisandria,' Ἐράτα · Ἀγεισανδρία(ι).[85] Ageisandria seems to have been a rare name, according to epigraphic records, appearing in surviving records just once, in the 4th century BC in Thessaly, an infrequency that might be helpful in locating the whereabouts of the vessel in at least one instance of its use.[86]

A fourth (*cat. 3.5*) reads Ἀθανοδδ̄όρα Ἀμφο̄τίδι and in a second hand Νικό.[87] The first inscription reveals an exchange between two women, 'Athanodora [gave this] to Amphotis.'[88] The name Athanodora, is found most frequently in the epigraphical record in central Greece, which helps to locate the region in which it was at least inscribed, if not made.[89] The second inscription refers to a third person, Nikos, perhaps a prior or later owner whose name is far too common to isolate its location.[90]

Of course, not all exchanges of *hydriai* were given between women. *Thasos 1517* (*cat. 3.6*) records its use as a gift from a man named Diogenes to a woman named Nikippa: Διογένε̄ς Νικίππᾳ ἔ̄δο̄κε.[91] Another (*cat. 3.7*) is marked simply Θρασέαι, evidently recording that someone gave this vessel as a gift to a man called Thraseas, a name used regularly throughout the ancient Greek world.[92]

New York 51.11.8, a 4th-century *kalpis* with a narrative appliqué showing Dionysos and Ariadne beneath the vertical handle was inscribed at least twice (*cat. 3.8*, *fig. 7*), The first inscription reads ΤΕΙΣΙ in neat, dotted letters centered on the rim. We should perhaps read this as Τεῖσι, i.e., 'to Teisis,' in which case this vessel is another example of a *hydria* being given as a gift, this time to a man. Teisis seems to have been a beloved name in the Greek world, known from epigraphical sources from as early as the 8th century in the Peloponnese (Messenia), several times in Athens and Attica, beginning in the 5th century, at least twice in Hellenistic Thrace.[93] Again, Athens or Attica is a strong possibility given the relative frequency of its appearance there, building a case for a significant bronze workshop in or near the city of Athens in the 5th century BC that favored inscriptions on vessels of this shape.

Three other words (ΧΑΡΤΑ, ΚΑΡΡΑΛΕ, and ΣΩΙΣΤΡ) were scratched lightly and placed haphazardly onto the mouth of this same vessel, obviously in a different hand (or multiple hands, perhaps?), added after the primary inscription for

Fig. 7. New York 51.11.8 (cat.3.8) (photo author).

Teisis. If Richter was correct about Teisis as the owner of the vessel and if the secondary inscriptions were names added by different craftsmen, we could have a sequence of owners' (abbreviated) labels, i.e., another witness to the circulation of *hydriai* as valued possessions.[94]

Although we cannot be certain that a particular vessel was used for a specific function without the addition of an inscription, the presence of Eros, several mythological couples including Boreas and Oreithyia, Dionysos and Ariadne, Eros and 'Psyche,' and Zeus and Ganymede on numerous repoussé panels from Late Classical bronze *kalpides* bring to mind thoughts of love, matrimony, and eternal pairing. [95] These poetic allusions recall Dionysos' golden amphora given to Peleus and Thetis for their wedding, leading us to wonder whether the amorous iconography might signify similarly gifted vessels.[96] It is tempting to interpret these references to love, marriage, and abduction in the context of a wedding, particularly, and easy to imagine the presentation of a fine vessel closely associated with water-carrying, an important womanly task ornamented with amorous imagery to a bride on such an important occasion.[97] It would be particularly poignant if she were later buried in the same vessel, which may well have happened in some cases, but cannot today be proved with certainty. In the cases of gifts for men, we might presume the valuable material and its heroic connotations were a driving force in the choice of object to inscribe and offer, rather than the more domestic aspect of the shape. Although the exchange is not documented epigraphically, at least one surviving bronze *hydria* seems to document such a transaction. In a rare case of scientific testing, the remains inside a 5th-century prize vessel from the games in Argos were found to belong to a two-year old child; it is tempting to imagine this container as a father's treasured possession used to bury the beloved remains of a child.[98]

Although these extant inscribed *hydriai* used as gifts seem to have been gifted personally between friends, in a more official capacity, Polybius recounts *hydriai* offered as gifts in the Hellenistic period from the Syracusan tyrants Hiero and Gelo to the Rhodians along with 'seventy-five silver talents…oil in the gymnasium…silver cauldrons with their bases, a certain number of water-pitchers [*hydriai*], and in addition to this … ten talents for sacrifices and ten more to qualify new men for citizenship, to bring the whole gift up to a hundred talents.'[99] This exchange recalls the famed vessels sent by the Lydian king Kroisos to the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi as a dedication to the oracle.[100] Although the *hydriai* presented to the Rhodians were presumably silver (like the cauldrons), the water jar as an object of diplomatic exchange is worth mentioning here as a more public corollary of the private practice demonstrated in the gifting of the bronze vessels recorded above.

At least one inscribed *hydria* records itself as a gift without specifying the recipient of the exchange, suggesting a friendly gift or perhaps a dedicatory

function. Athens 7917 (*cat. 3.9*) bears an inscription, written in large, evenly spaced, neat letters made of small points, Τιμονόας δῶρον. Taken as 'a gift of Timonoa,' she was presumably the source of the gift, not its recipient.[101]

4. Bronze *Hydriai* with Personal Names

A few inscriptions record simply a name, without further elaboration. The names may refer to owners, or in some cases, we might suspect craftsmen. While it certainly isn't possible to identify each person in the historical record or even always to determine the nature of the relationship between the vessel and the name, comparing the names against known identities, when possible, may bring us one step closer to understanding how the vessels were used. In some cases, the names recall those remembered epigraphically with particular frequency in a certain region and/or period, which may help to locate the vessel in at least one phase of its life; elsewhere, the names are too common to be helpful.

The earliest and most-often discussed 'name' inscription appears on a fragmentary Archaic *hydria*, Mainz 201 (*cat. 4.1*), and reads Τελέσστας, the name Teles(s)tas in the nominative. The vessel and its inscription, known since K.A. Neugebauer's initial 1938 publication, has long been a source of academic debate. Most scholars agree that the vessel itself (or what remains of it) can be safely assigned to a Laconian bronze workshop, a primary bronze-working center in the 6th century BC, based on its style and high-quality carving.[102] The inscription presents two critical problems, namely, whether or not it can properly be associated with an Archaic craftsman by the same name and whether it should be taken as a statement of authorship or ownership.[103]

The question of authorship is particularly charged in the case of this vessel because it corresponds to a literary reference to an artist of the same name. Pausanias credits a pair of Laconian brothers, Telestas (spelled with one *sigma*, versus our two) and Ariston, with making an Archaic bronze statue that stood in Olympia.[104] It is also striking that the name is widely attested in nearly 30 inscriptions from the Peloponnese beginning in the 6th century and continuing through the Hellenistic period. Given the propensity for Greek names to be repeated among members of the same family, we might propose a relationship between the two known names and feel fairly certain in our attribution.[105] C. Stibbe proposes that this *hydria*, which he defines as the most accomplished of a group of similarly decorated vessels, may have been made and marked by the master Telestas himself before delegating the production of the rest of the series to other craftsmen in his workshop.[106]

It would be unusual, however, for a craftsman's name to appear so prominently and without further explanation (i.e. without an accompanying *epoiesen* or *ergon* or similar) on any kind of object.[107] We might rather expect it to be a statement of ownership, given the fineness of the material and the scale of the object, where there is plenty of space on the rim for more extensive lettering.[108] In the (very few) other cases wherein isolated personal names appear there is little difficulty in interpreting them as owners. For instance, the situation arises on a bronze *kalpis* (*cat. 4.2*) with a single inscribed name reading Φιλ̣είδας or Φιγ̣είδας and on *New York 26.255.2a* (*cat. 4.3*), bearing the name Σōπόλιδος.[109]

The problem, then, in the case of the Telesstas *hydria* is that the name corresponds with that of a known craftsman. A similar situation arises in the case of a black-figure *lekythos* by the Taleides Painter, which is inscribed 'ΤΑΛΕΙΔΟ ΕΙΜΙ,' also a recorded artist's name. Here, Beazley proposes to read the inscription in light of ownership by a craftsman, wondering if the potter had decided to set this aside for himself. We might do well to imagine a similar situation for the *hydria* by/of Telesstas, taking it as a smaller, more portable (and certainly more affordable) memento of the work to which he (and his family) had dedicated their lives. This formula is repeated on a Classical bronze *hydria* in an American private collection (*cat. 4.5*) that reads boldly Θερσωνεία εἰμί ('I am Therson's').[110, 111]

Rather more clear inscriptions of ownership with personal names also exist. One 4th-century *kalpis* whose appliqué has not survived (*cat. 4.4*) definitively claims ownership. It is inscribed Ὀλυμπίχου εἰμὶ τοῦ Φιλόφρονος, 'I belong to Olympichos, the son of Philophron.'[112]

Recording ownership of a bronze *hydria* with a specific person's name, much like immortalizing a gift exchange with an inscription, speaks to the value of the object to the person who possesses it. Market worth might be calculable (or at least approximated) but we cannot today account for the cultural prestige or sentimental significance of these objects; these intangible factors may well have enhanced or even superseded the commercial value of the material itself. The desire to mark a vessel with an individual's name resonates with the permanence of water itself and gives the name of the owner, at least, a life well beyond the physical limits of his own mortality.

5. Weight, Volume and Value of Bronze *Hydriai*

This category of inscriptions may reveal aspects of the weights of a few of the vessels, although their numbers are fewer and their meanings even more tenuous than the previous types. It is altogether more common for weights and values to be recorded on silver and golden vessels than bronze because of their much greater intrinsic worth, judging from the precious metal vessels listed in surviving inventories.[113] Indeed, the disproportionate ratio between bronze and silver/gold may have been a factor in the decision to include bronze, rather than their more expensive counterparts, in tombs as fine offerings and protective containers, since, as M. Vickers and D. Gill point out, '[it] could still be placed in the grave without running the risk of major impoverishment.'[114] Such a practical economic assessment should not lessen our impression of the value of the vessels; even modestly priced objects can be cherished for their cultural prestige and personal sentiment, both of which arguably were relevant factors in the case of bronze *hydriai* with their gleaming surfaces, associations with contests, prizes, and heroes, and potential for serving as treasured gifts, family heirlooms, and votive offerings. Pericles himself might have defended such an argument for assigning value to goods based not only on their price, judging from his statement that 'we [i.e., the Athenians] are lovers of the beautiful, but simple in our tastes.'[115]

Four surviving inscriptions may record the weight of the vessels, but with so few and such tenuous evidence, it is difficult to interpret their significance. The first two (*cats 2.2 and 2.3*), each bearing double inscriptions, might serve as records of weight for the purpose of sanctuary records. The latter part of the inscription on the vessel in Baltimore, discussed above as a dedication to Demeter (*cat. 2.2*), has been understood by H.A. Cahn to indicate a weight of 53 minae, or 15 kg and 10.5 g, using a Corinthian mina of 285 grams as the standard, which roughly corresponds to its current weight of 13.25 kg without its horizontal handles.[116] Its companion in Olympia, sacred to both Demeter and Artemis Paphrakia (*cat. 2.3*), presents a similar format and likely also refers to the weight of the object, ὁλκαά FMMH.'[117]

The other two are even more problematic. The first appears as the latter part of the inscription on the vessel that served as a war prize for Damippos (*cat. 1.3*). Written in a different hand than the rest, I Σ ‘X might be thought to convey weight or price because of its unusual character. Lacking a preceding ὁλκά or some indicator of meaning as used in both cases above, it does not appear to use the same system of calculation. In the latter case, Heydemann transcribed the word λείτρας on an extremely fragmentary Late Classical *kalpis* in London (*cat. 5.1*) in an 1869 excavation report. The *litra* is an acknowledged unit of measure for weight but also of capacity; it is not clear which is meant here, but either might have to do with the weight or the value of the object and/or its contents. [118]

Working from another direction, it might be possible to estimate the bullion value of these bronze vessels as a way of approaching their value and relative affordability. An inscription of the 5th century that gives the value of metals used for coinage is useful here.[119] The cost of a single talent (26.86 kg) of tin is recorded as 230 drachmae, the same of copper as 35 drachmae. A silver drachma would, therefore, have bought approximately 739 grams of copper or 112 grams of tin. A bronze *hydria* for which weight and metallurgical composition have been determined may serve as a guide. The total weight of the foot of a 4th-century *hydria* in the Michael C. Carlos Museum at Emory University (*Atlanta 2001.12.1*) is 625 grams, 83% of which is copper and 14% tin, or 535 grams copper and 90 grams tin. The materials alone would cost, then 0.72 drachmae for the copper and 0.80 drachmae for the tin, for a total of just over 1.5 drachmae, for the raw materials of the foot alone.

We cannot be certain of the percentage of each component for many other vessels, nor does the current weight necessarily equal the original weight because of corrosion products and even minimal conservation but we may at least estimate the cost of its materials in order to discuss the socioeconomic situation of this class of objects. The metallurgical composition of the vessel in Atlanta has been analyzed with non-dispersive X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF).[120] Its hammered body was found to have an average of 83.1% copper, 15.8% tin, and 0.3% lead. The cast handles have a substantially higher lead content, ranging between 13.6% and 18.4%, which lowers the amount of copper to between 66.2% and 74.5% (average 70.85%) and the tin to between 10.0% and 16.2% (average 13.1%). If we take the average of the metal used for the hammered body and cast handles, we arrive at an estimated ratio of 76.98% copper (which we may round to 77%) to 14.45% tin (which we will round to 14.5%, With its foot, *Atlanta 2001.12.1* weighs 11.0 pounds, or 5.0 kg. Less the known weight of the foot, the total weight of the hammered body, cast mouth, and three handles is 4.355 kg, containing

approximately 3353.35 grams copper and 631grams tin.[121] From there, we can calculate the value of the copper at ca 4.54 dr. and the tin at ca 5.6 dr. for a total of ca 10.14 dr. Adding in the value of the foot, then the entire value of the materials used for the vessel would be ca 11.64 dr.

To give an idea of a potential range of prices based on weight, we may give a few additional examples, using the same averages as above. The inscribed *kalpis* in Atlanta (*cat. 1.8*) has a total weight of 9.0 pounds or 4.10 kg (4100 gr). Taking the average estimated composition of the alloy as 77% copper and 14.5% tin to account for the hammered and cast parts (since a detailed analysis is not available, as it was above), which can be broken down to 3157 gr copper and 594.5 gr tin. We can calculate the price of the raw materials, then, to be in the order of 4.25 dr. for the copper 5.3 dr. for the tin, or ca 9.5 dr. altogether.

The two vessels in Atlanta seem to be of more or less average size and weight. To arrive at an estimate of the upper and lower limits of the scale, we may take *New York 26.50* (*cat. 1.4*), one of the heavier examples, with a large, decorated body and elaborately cast handles, and New York 06.1078, one of the lightest and least heavily ornamented.[122] The first (*cat. 1.4*) is more substantial than most, weighing ca 9.46 kg (9460 grams), which, on this model, would be broken down to ca 8514 grams of copper and ca 946 grams of tin. The cost of the copper would therefore be ca 11.5 dr. and the tin ca 8.43 dr., for a total of just less than 20 drachmae for the entire vase. For New York 06.1078, ca 2.28 kg (2280 g) consists of ca 2052 grams copper and ca 228 grams tin.[123] The copper, then, would have cost ca 2.77 dr. and the tin would have been worth ca 2.03 dr., bringing the total metallic value of the vessel to just less than 5 dr. If most of the other vessels are between these two extremes, we may propose that the raw materials for a bronze *hydria* might have cost between 5 and 20 drachmae.

Elaborate decoration and particularly fine craftsmanship (as well as silver and copper inlays) might have raised the price modestly from these estimates. Pliny supports this claim in his assessment of ancient metals, writing, 'copper used to be blended with a mixture of gold and silver [but] nevertheless, the artistry was valued more highly than the metal.'[124] Evidence from an Athenian court case is also demonstrative. The plaintiff first dismisses the commercial value of the bronze stand over which he is arguing, as it was 'not worth 30 drachmas,' but continues to remind the audience that he had previously paid for it to be repaired because 'it [had] the faces of satyrs and heads of bulls worked on it.'[125] A.W. Johnston suggests that in the 5th century, the price of a ceramic *hydria* was raised considerably (one full drachma) with modest increases in height (and therefore materials) and the addition of additional painted figures.[126] Both the extra materials used to create the sculpted reliefs appended to the *hydriai* (particularly so when added inlays of silver, copper, or niello were incorporated) and the skill of the craftsmanship required to work them must have contributed to the cost of the finished product in the marketplace.

Occasional literary references corroborate the scale of these prices, which are modest compared to the cost of silver and gold vessels, but not affordable for all. For example, D. Amyx gives a list of preserved prices for a few bronze vessels of different sizes and types, ranging from 7 and 25 drachmae, proposing a possible cost of 14 drachmae for a used *hydria*.[127]

Ancient building accounts, such as those from the 5th-century Erechtheion on the Athenian Akropolis or from the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros in the 4th century, record that a skilled day laborer would have received a wage of approximately one drachma per day.[128] Such a figure allows us to conclude that although not every socioeconomic class could have afforded a bronze *hydria* valued upwards of five drachmas, it was not nearly as out of reach as silver or gold for the majority of the population.[129]

Since bronze seems to have been the material of choice for important functions, such as prizes and burial containers, we may propose that these *hydriai* were desired, purchased, and exchanged as a valuable commodity in their own right and not simply as a lesser substitute for the precious metal versions of the shape. Given the large numbers of bronze *hydriai* produced over a period of at least five centuries, the many critical tasks they performed, it seems that they had a cultural significance that outweighed a relatively modest commercial value.

6. Bronze *Hydriai* for Funerals

In addition to the many functions that bronze *hydriai* served in life, they often were chosen to serve the dead, either as containers for cremation burials or final gifts sealed within the tombs. It is fortunate that this shape was favored for burial because the tombs provided a sealed, protected environment that has preserved so many of these delicate vessels for us today. The wide geographic distribution of *hydriai* in graves that largely fol-

lows the settlement and trading patterns of the Greeks themselves from the Archaic through at least the Late Classical period suggests that there was a strong cultural identification with the shape.[130]

Despite the clear archaeological frequency with which *hydriai* were consigned to the tomb, inscriptions explicitly mentioning such a function are extremely rare, more so than any of the other types. Only two surviving *hydriai* preserve such texts. A Late Classical vessel in Richmond (*cat. 6.1*) bids the deceased farewell, 'Χαρονίδας χαῖρε.'[131] Although the name Charonidas might well have been the name of the deceased, it capitalizes on a (macabre) pun, meaning the 'son of Charon.'[132] Read this way, besides a poignant goodbye to a beloved individual, the phrase conveys a wish for a successful passage across the river Styx in the care of the ferryman Charon. The poetic sentiment seems all the more likely considering the metrical composition of the phrase, which is constructed in an Aeolic meter called the telesillean.[133] The only other known inscription with a clear funerary subject comes from a Classical *kalpis* from Sophades (*cat. 7.2*), which is labeled as a (funerary) container: Θηκαία Αὐτονοεία.[134]

Even without inscriptions, occasional peculiarities in the forms of the vessels themselves suggest their uses as funerary urns. For instance, we may note the hinged opening on the shoulder of the silver *hydria* from Vergina or the intentional cutting and reassembly of some bronze *hydriai*, including uninscribed vessels in Athens and Veroia.[135] These features may be original but more likely indicate later refurbishments. A permanently affixed lid held tight with strong rivets or bent nails is also a suggestive feature. As an example, an uninscribed Archaic *hydria* from Eretria, *Athens 15137*, is covered with a heavy lid made of lead that was secured using three rivets with broad, flat heads that are not easily removed, likely put in place upon its deposition in a tomb rather than when it was in use in daily life.[136]

Water jars were necessary in life and so were available in large numbers for re-use and/or for purchase for a specific occasion. They were sturdy and symmetrical, ideal for holding ashes without fear of contamination or spilling. Bronze may have been favored because it had a golden sheen, was a distinguished, relatively luxurious material that simultaneously was more affordable, available, and dispensable than precious metals. The shape had strong associations with the life-giving nature of water, which was essential not only for drinking, but also for cooking, sacrificing, and bathing, including both routine washing and ceremonial cleansing on important occasions, such as at birth, prior to a wedding, or following death.[137] Placing the remains of a deceased family member inside a water jar may also have been a metaphorical provision for ensuring the dead would have water in the hereafter. Using a *hydria* for all of these water-related needs was a time-honored tradition spanning countless generations, was a reassuring and familiar shape that promised the continuation of life and the renewal of spirit.

The archaeological contexts in which the vessels have been found and the contents discovered within and around the *hydriai* offer rich opportunities for considering the final phase of the vessels' lives. Since tombs are the most frequent context in which they are found, it is to be expected that they tend to contain bone fragments, sometimes mixed with ashes.[138] The practice of burial inside a bronze *hydriai* was not limited to one part of the ancient world but seems to have been widespread throughout Greece and Hellenized regions of Italy and Asia Minor, as well as to the North, especially in Thrace and around the Black Sea, to the West, from northern Italy up into Central Europe, and to the East, in the Aegean islands and parts of Turkey. In other cases, the fine preservation of the vase, including the hammered body as well as the cast parts is enough evidence, even without the bones or a secure provenance, that the vessel came from a sealed, protected environment, likely a tomb.[139] Despite the traditional, nearly exclusive female associations of the shape, the archaeological contexts of the vessels used for burials suggest remains of men and even children in addition to women.[140]

Conclusions

Together, the inscribed bronze *hydriai* and *kalpides* suggest a wide range of uses for these vessels beyond their traditional associations with fetching and holding water. The prize-vases attest to a strong tradition of awarding *hydriai* to the winners of contests throughout Greece and Asia Minor and powerful associations of the shape and material with athletic fortitude and valor. Votive dedications and sacred vessels demonstrate that they were necessary and desirable for cultic ceremonies, everyday sanctuary maintenance, and assets for the treasury. Records of gift-exchanges reveal cultural traditions on a personal level that often went unrecorded, offering rare and privileged views into the private lives of the ancient Greeks. The personal names representing givers

and recipients of presents as well as markers of possession and commemorative wishes serve as invaluable additions to the prosopographical record, some of which are useful in identifying where or when the object was acquired while others may provide similar key evidence in the future. The inscriptions referring to weight, along with other strategies for understanding value, help to consider issues of affordability. Finally, the funerary inscriptions give additional evidence for a practice well attested in archaeological excavations, marking the vessel clearly as a prized possession, worthy of accompanying the dead to the afterlife. No doubt the nourishing, sustaining, and timeless qualities of water, with which the shape was inextricably aligned, contributed to each of these secondary uses and enhanced the cultural significance of the shape.

As a group, one of the most striking aspects of our examinations of these sources is the persistent reference to a female audience. On the one hand, this association with women might be taken the traditional view of the *hydria* as a feminine shape related to women's duties in the home. However, the rich dimensions of women's lives revealed in this body of evidence, attesting to sacred offerings, fond sentiments, private relationships, and ownership far exceed the banality of the conventional view. The *hydria*, particularly in bronze, proves to be a more dynamic tool than previously has been acknowledged for the female sphere. Whether we recognize their names or not, the symbolism of the water jar as a gift (given or received), cherished object, or funerary container inscribed with the name with the lady of the house is an important reminder that the bronze jars (like the women themselves) played key roles in the community outside of the house as well as in it.

It is even possible that a few of the inscribed prizes may have been awarded to women, as well. At Olympia, Pausanias writes of contests for young women celebrated in honor of Hera that complemented the male-dominated festivities for Zeus.[141] In other cult centers as well, the dual cults of both Hera and Zeus seem to have been celebrated with games. At Argos, for instance, Pausanias writes 'As you go up the citadel [of Larissa in the city of Argos] you come to the sanctuary of Hera Akraia (of the Height) ... Adjoining it is the race-course, in which they hold the games in honor of Nemean Zeus and the festival of Hera.'[142] It was to this festival that the most famously immortalized Argive brothers, Kleobis and Biton, transported their mother, prompting her to pray for the gods' favor upon them and their subsequent death and immortalization in stone at Delphi.[143] Evidence for women's participation in games also survives in Sparta and at Dodona.[144] We might imagine, for instance, that the *kalpis* awarded as a prize in the games of Artemis at Athens (*cat 1.1*) could have been given to a girl, based on the model of the Arkteia at other sanctuaries of Artemis in Attica, such as Brauron and Mounychia.[145]

The inscriptions are also important for what they reveal about the relationships between men and *hydriai*, which are rather more unexpected than their female counterparts. Even if we were to accept every *hydria* that might possibly have been given to a woman as such, at least two-thirds of the inscribed vessels must have operated in the male sphere. Telesstas, Sopolis, Phi(n/l)eidas, Nikos, Olympichos, Diogenes, and Philomelos clearly are masculine names, the reference to the Athenians who died in the war certainly refers to men, there is no reason to assume a female dedicant in the case of the two votives from Nemea and Aegina, and it is certain that most winners of the games were male, particularly for the hero Protesilaos (*cat. 1.21*) or those in the time of Deophantos, son of Lampros in Lampsakos (*cat. 1.22*). Likewise, a woman most likely did not win the wrestling contest mentioned on the fragmentary *kalpis* in Princeton, if that is indeed its meaning. Literary, epigraphical, and visual references to *hydriai*, in addition to archaeological finds, also suggest that the shape, and particularly vessels of this kind made of metal, had a strong presence in men's lives and in their deaths.

It is difficult to determine today whether the functions of bronze *hydriai* accrued or changed over time or remained consistent. Instead, it is preferable to take the evidence synchronically to arrive at a reasonably full understanding of the diverse functions that a bronze *hydria* might have fulfilled. We are left with an extremely rich picture of ancient life, death, sport, politics, religion, and myth, in which a single shape of vase that has been defined narrowly in the past can now be restored to its full spectrum of uses. A closer analysis of the inscribed bronze *hydriai* challenges the common misconception that these vessels were solely, or even primarily, domestic vessels used by women. It reveals that, in fact, water jars, and bronze examples in particular, were important for both men's and women's activities, in religious, civic, athletic, and ritual contexts as well as the more mundane. The ubiquitous presence of the shape in diverse shapes, materials, and functions ensured that the lines between the living, the dead, the mundane, the victorious, and the sacred

were blurred, perpetually aiding the memory to consider the life-giving nature of water and the fate of the deceased who hoped not to be forgotten. The *hydria* simultaneously signified *all* of these ideas.

Catalogue of Inscribed Bronze *Hydriai*[146]

1. Prize Inscriptions

1.1 Once German Private Collection
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: Ἀθένēθεν ἄθλōν παρ᾽ Ἀρτέμιδος
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: Sowder 2009, cat. 17.70.

1.2 Princeton, University Art Museum y1985-9
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: ΠΑΛΑ … ΕΥΜΡ
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 45 1986, 38, no 1; Sowder 2009, cat. 18.2.

1.3 Once New York Market
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Prize (War Prize), Weight/Value
Inscription: μαχεία ἐμμὶ τôι Δαμίππōι / Ι Σ Χ
Date: ca 550 BC
Bibliography: *Phoenix Ancient Art* 2005 no 1, cat. 47; *Phoenix Ancient Art* 2006 no 2, cat. 18, 13, 108-109; Sowder 2009, cat. 4.18

1.4 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.50 (*figs 1, 2*)
Provenance: Peloponnese
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: παρ᾽ Ηέρας Ἀργείας Ηαϝέθλον
Date: ca 460 BC
Bibliography: (*SEG* 11 355, 30 366) Neugebauer 1927, pl. 23.1; Richter 1926, 8-9, fig. 3; Richter 1927b, 20; Langlotz 1927, 68, no 13, pl. 34; Richter 1928, 182-191, pl. 64a-b; Lamb 1929, 163, pl. 59a; Payne 1931, 219-220; Bothmer 1955; Robinson 1942, 178-179, figs 7-10; Richter 1953, 82; Jeffery 1961, 151-152, 169, pls 20, 26; Charbonneaux 1962, 63; Diehl 1964, 23-25, 28, 30, 216, cat. B 78; Johansen 1969, 59, fig. 4; Amandry 1971, 615; Bothmer 1974, 15-16, figs 3,4,7; Amandry 1980, 212-217; Mertens 1985, 4-5, 13, 39-41, 45; Amandry 2002, 29-32, pls 1, 2a; Picón 2007, 112, 429; Sowder 2009, cat. 14.13; Mertens 2010, 96, fig. 36.

1.5 Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilization
Provenance: Sinope
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: παρ᾽ Ηέρας Ἀργείας ἐμὶ τôν Ηαϝέθλον / ΕΚ Φ[..]ΩΝΑ[....]Π[..] Δ[.]Ο[.]ΚΟ[.]ΟΙΝ
Date: ca 470-460 BC
Bibliography: (*SEG* 30 1456, 39, 394, 39 1365) Akurgal/Budde 1956, 12-13, pl. 5; Jeffery 1961, 164; Diehl 1964, 23-25, 150, cat. B 77, pl. 5.1-3; Amandry 1971, 615; Bothmer 1974, 15-16; Amandry 1980, 212-217; Kritsas 1989, 11-16; Amandry 2002, 29-32; Sowder 2009, cat. 14.8.

1.6 Pompeii, Archaeological Collection (?) 21803
Provenance: Pompeii (Casa di Giulio Polibio (IX 13, 1-3))
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: παρ᾽ Ηέρας Ἀργείας ἐμὶ τôν Ηαϝέθλον
Date: ca 450 BC
Bibliography: (*SEG* 39 1061) Lazzarini/Zevi 1988-1989, 33-48; Zevi/Lazzarini, 1992, 91-97; Amandry 2002, 29-32, pl. 2, a-b; Sowder 2009, cat. 14.17.

1.7 Copenhagen, National Museum I.N. 3293
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: παρ᾽ Ηέρας ⁝ Ἀργείας [⁝ ἐ]μ[ὶ τôν Ηαϝέθλον]
Date: ca 450-440 BC
Bibliography: (*SEG* 30 367) Diehl 1964, 23-24, cat. B 82 (with bib.); Bothmer 1965, 601; Johansen 1969, 54-65, figs 1-3, 5, 6; Amandry 1971, 617 (no IV); Bothmer 1974, 16; Amandry 1980, 212-217, 251; Sowder 2009, cat. 14.12.

1.8 Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum 2004.25.1 (*fig. 4*)
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: ἐκ Φωκέων ἄεθλα παρὰ Διοσκόροιν
Date: ca 450 BC
Bibliography: Gaunt/Chi 2005, 16-17, fig. 17; Sowder 2009, cat. 16.11.

1.9 United States, Private Collection
Provenance: Mylasa, Caria
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: ἆθλον ἐγ Μυλάσων Ζηνοποσει [δεῶ] νος
Date: ca 365-350 BC
Bibliography: Hermann/Kondoleon 2004, 21, fig. 1, n. 12; Sowder 2009, cat. 20.8.

1.10 Once Art Market (Present Location Uncertain)
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: ἆθλον ἐγ Ῥόδο παρ᾽ Ἁλίο
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: (*SEG* 27 481, 30 1034) Frel 1975, 77-78; Robert 1976, no. 513; Johnston 1977, 157-158; *AD* 1978, 20; Amandry 1980, 250; Sowder 2009, cat. 17.38.

1.11 United States, Private Collection
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: ἆθλα ἀπὸ Σουνίο
Date: Body: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: Sowder 2009, cat. 16.56.

1.12 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum Py888
Provenance: Pydna (South Cemetery)
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: Ἀθēναῖο ἆθλα ἐκ Ποσειδωνίο
Date: Body: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: (*SEG* 46 802) Besios/Pappas 1995, fig. 65; Kephalidou 1996, 117, no 24; Sowder 2009, 364.

1.13 Providence, Rhode Island School of Design
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: τôν Θέβαις ἀίθλον
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: (*SEG* 58 824) Jacobsthal 1933, 93, figs 10-11; Robinson 1942, 180-181, figs 12-13; Jeffery 1961, 83, 93, 95, pl. 9.16; Diehl 1964, 31, 33, 37, cat. B 107; Bernard/Salviat 1967, 596; Amandry 1971, 617 (VII); Mitten 1975, 46-47, cat. 13; Sowder 2009, cat. 17.17.

1.14 Once New York Market
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: τôν Θέβαις ἀίθλον
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: *Sotheby's New York*, 12.9.2004, 107, cat. 294; Sowder 2009, cat. 17.72.

1.15 United States, Private Collection
Provenance: Uncertain (but said to have been found with a siren *kalpis*)
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: τôν Τανάγραις ἀέθλον
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: Sowder 2009, cat. 17.78.

1.16 Ioannina, Archaeological Museum 302
Provenance: Votonosi
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: [Η]ερακλέος ἐς Θεσπίας
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: (*SEG* 15-324, 30-541, 37-387) Verdelis 1949, 24-25, nos 9-10, fig. 1c, 11b, no 17, 2; Petsas 1952, 9-10, no fig. 20; Diehl 1964, 31, cat. B 135; Amandry 1971, 619 n. 77; Vokotopoulou 1975, 749-54, no 8, figs 14-15; Amandry 1980, 212 n. 4; Roesch 1987, 181; Sowder 2009, cat. 17.58.

1.17 Once New York Market
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: ΕΚ ΛΕΓΟΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΑΕΘΛΟΝ : ΑΙ
Date: ca 450-400 (?) BC
Bibliography: *Christie's New York* 12.2008; Sowder 2009, cat. 16.58.

1.18 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1999.460 (*fig. 5*)
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: ἐχς Ἀνακίο ἆθλōν or ἄθλōν
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 603; Sowder 2009, cat. 17.48.

1.19 Present Location Uncertain (Once Lost)
Provenance: Chersonesos
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: ἐχς Ἀνακίο ἆθλōν or ἄθλōν
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 31, 155, cat. B 132 (with earlier bib.); Sowder 2009, cat. 17.65.

1.20 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum Py 208
Provenance: Pydna (South Cemetery)
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: ἐχς Ἀνακίο ἆθλōν
Date: Body: ca 425 BC; appliqué: Hellenistic
Bibliography: (*SEG* 46 801) Besios/Pappas 1995, fig. 63; Grammenos 2004, 182-183; Sowder 2009, cat. 21.2.

1.21 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 13792
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: [ἐχ]ς αἰαιίας / τᾶς Φθίας ἔθλον παρ' Προτεσίλ[α]
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: (*SEG* 45-2186) Lamb 1929, 163, 183, cat. 6; Diehl 1964, 31-32, cat. B 115, pl. 10.1,3; Amandry 1971, 617-618; Vokotopoulou 1975, 754; Helly 1995, 137-138, 160; Kaltsas 2004, 230; Sowder 2009, cat. 17.9.

1.22 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 30636
Provenance: Notion (near Kolophon)
Inscription type: Prize
Inscription: ἆθλον (or ἄθλον) ἐγ Λαμψάκο ἐπὶ Λεōφάντο τô Λάμπρō
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: Kontoleon 1889, 317; Reinach 1892, 125; Hoffmann 1898, 48, no 100; Fölzer 1906, 88, no 182, pl. IX; Führer I, 99; Schröder 1927, 45-48, pl. 11b; Lamb 1929, 183; Blumel 1936, 41, no 155; Diehl 1964, 31-32, cat. B 120; Jeffery 1961, 367, no. 47; Amandry 1971, 618; Sowder 2009, cat. 17.11.

1.23 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum 5243
Provenance: Karabournaki (Therme) (chance find in course of construction work in Thessalonike)
Inscription type: Commemorative
Inscription: Ἀθε͂ναῖοι ἆ{ο}θλα [ἐ]πὶ τοῖς ἐμ τῷ πολέμῳ
Date: ca 490-450 BC
Bibliography: (*SEG* 28-26, 33-58, 39-631) Petsas 1969, 135, pls 13, 14a,b; Vanderpool 1969, 3-5, pl. 4a,b, fig. 2; Amandry 1971, 607; Ninou 1979, cat. 344, pls 24-25; Vokotopoulou 1987, 164-66; Sowder 2009, cat. 17.34.

2. Sacred and Votive Inscriptions

2.1 Nemea, Archaeological Museum BR 379 (*fig. 3*)
Provenance: Nemea (in well L: 17:1, in a destruction/clean up level)
Inscription type: Sacred/Votive
Inscription: τô Διός εἰμι τô Νεμέαι
Date: ca 525-475 BC
Bibliography: (*SEG* 28 391) Miller 1978, 84, pl. 27; 1984, 15-16; 2004b, 48-49, fig. 27; Sowder 2009, cat. 14.1.

2.2 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 1954.1269-71
Provenance: Uncertain (purchased on Art Market, Basel)
Inscription type: Sacred/Votive
Inscription: ἱερά Δάματρι Ε... ὁλκά ΜΜΜΜ
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: (*SEG* 47 436) *Münzen und Medaillen* 1963, no 13, fig. 13; Diehl 1964, 15-16, 26, 44, cat. B 39a; Bothmer 1965, 600; Rolley 1963, 471; 1981, 330; 1982, 64 n.

156; Jeffery 1990, 440, no A; Stibbe 1992, 39, 60, cat. I 2; Sowder 2009, cat. 7.1.

2.3 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (formerly Greek Private Collection)
Provenance: Uncertain (purchased from 'traveling salesman,' said to be from Elis but letterforms suggest Arcadia)
Inscription type: Sacred / Votive, Weight / Value
Inscription: ἱερά Δάματρι Κλεὸ Κλεοδόξα... ἱερά Ἀρτέμιδι Παφρακίαι ὁλκαά ϜΜΜΗ
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: (*SEG* 41 386, 48 517) Phrangandreas 1957, 311-313; 1962, 663-666; Andreou 1996-98, 135-146.

2.4 Once New York Market
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Sacred / Votive
Inscription: Not available (no photo or transliteration published; only translation).
Date: ca 480-460 BC
Bibliography: *Sotheby's New York,* 12.10.1999, no 256.

2.5 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 57.11.12 (*fig. 6*)
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Sacred / Votive
Inscription: Καλλίαϱ / Ἡρακλέος ἱερά
Date: ca 550-500 BC
Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 605; Jucker 1966, 15, n. 41; Sowder 2009, cat. 8.26.

2.6 Aegina, Archaeological Museum
Provenance: Aegina
Inscription type: Sacred / Votive
Inscription: Πλάθο̄ν ⁝ Ἐκεσθένες ⁝ ἀνέθεν ⁝ Ηυιοὶ ⁝ Ϙροκλέος ⁝ Ηελλανίοι : Διί
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: Wolters 1925, 49; Harland 1925, 76-78, figs 1-2; Welter 1938, 8, figs 3-4; Jeffery 1961, 109, 112, 113, pls 16-17; Diehl 1964, 31, cat. B 108; *IG* IV^2, 2; Sowder 2009, cat. 17.53

2.7 Athens, National Archaeological Museum X7294 *(fig. 10)*
Provenance: Athenian Akropolis
Inscription type: Sacred / Votive
Inscription: Ζ̣ε̄νὸς : Ἑϱ?[κείο ⏗–⏗–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏓ / Η]αυτε̂ς : καὶ παίδον̣ : θε̂κεν : ἄγαλμα : | ἐτεόν
Date: ca 500-400 BC
Bibliography: *IG* I^3 573; Shapiro 2008, 56, cat. 15; Sowder 2009, cat. 19.40.

3. Gift Inscriptions

3.1 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Inv. 10.822 a-c
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Gift (?)
Inscription: ΦΙΛΕ
Date: ca 550 BC
Bibliography: Neugebauer 1923-1924, 101; Diehl 1964, 43-45, cat. B 214, pl. 26.2; Sowder 2009, cat. 8.7.

3.2 Once New York Market
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Gift
Inscription: Σκαφσὶς Ηερμαίᾳ ἔδο̄κε. Κύτις Φιλοξένῃ ἔδο̄κε
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: *Gorny & Mosch* 12.15.2004, 62-63, cat. 172; *Sotheby's New York*, 6.7.2005, cat. 7; Sowder 2009, cat. 19.7.

3.3 Once New York Market
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Gift
Inscription: Πλουτὶς Σιμο̄ν (ί) δαο Πουθίδι
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: Sowder 2009, cat. 16.71.

3.4 Once Basel Market
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Gift
Inscription: Ἐράτα · Ἀγεισανδρία(ι)
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: *Münzen und Medaillen* 1967, 10, cat. 12; Sowder 2009, cat. 16.2.

3.5 Once Basel Market
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Gift
Inscription: Ἀθανοδο̄ρα Ἀμφο̄τίδι / Νικό
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: *Münzen und Medaillen* 1967, 10, cat. 12; Jeffery 1990, 437; Steinhart / Wirbelauer 2000, 286; Sowder 2009, cat. 16.1.

3.6 Thasos, Archaeological Museum 1517
Provenance: Thasos
Inscription type: Gift
Inscription: Διογένε̄ς Νικίππᾳ ἔδο̄κε
Date: ca 550-500 (?) BC
Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 31, 150, cat. B 116; Bernard / Salviat 1967, 593-594, no 42; Steinhart / Wirbelauer 2000, 285; Sowder 2009, cat. 17.77.

3.7 Olympia, Archaeological Museum BE 536
Provenance: Olympia (discovered in the bronze storeroom; precise provenance unknown, but not likely in the Altis)
Inscription type: Gift
Inscription: Θρασέαι
Date: ca 500-400 BC
Bibliography: (*SEG* 42 382) Gauer 1991, 265, Hy 76; Sowder 2009, cat. 19.36.

3.8 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 51.11.8 (*fig. 7*)
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Gift (?)
Inscription: ΤΕΙΣΙ ...ΧΑΡΤΑ, ΚΑΡΡΑΛΕ, ΣΩΙΣΤΡ
Date: ca 375-325 BC
Bibliography: *Bulletin City Art Museum*, St. Louis 1924, 11; *Auction Kende Galleries* 1945, 70, no 235; Richter 1946, 364, cat. 14, figs 15, 16, 20; Bothmer 1954-1955, 199-200.; Diehl 1964, 39-42, cat. B 194; Schwarzmeier 1997, 22 n. 121, 74 n. 426, 125 n. 643; Sowder 2009, cat. 20.30.

3.9 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7917
Provenance: Piraeus
Inscription type: Gift
Inscription: Τιμονόας δῶρον
Date: ca 525-475 BC
Bibliography: *Praktika* 1890, 95; Ridder 1894, 10, no 26; Diehl 1964, 28-30, cat. B 102, pl. 7.3; Sowder 2009, cat. 17.1.

4. Personal Name Inscriptions

4.1 Mainz, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 201
Provenance: Lebadeia (Boiotia)
Inscription type: Personal Name(s)
Inscription: Τελέσστας
Date: ca 600-575 BC
Bibliography: (*SEG* 42 335, 53 374) Neugebauer 1938, 329-338, figs 1-3; Kunze 1938, 121-123; *Antiken aus rheinischem Privatbesitz* 1938, 21, no 53, pl. 25; Charbonneaux 1948, 44; Matz 1950, 440, pl. 258a; Hafner 1957, 119-26, 145, pls 16, 17.3; Homann-Wedeking, 1958, 64; Hampe/Simon 1959, 4-5, figs 4-5; Schefold 1960, 18, 144, no 111; Jeffery 1961, 183, 189, 199, no 7, pl. 35; Charbonneaux 1962, 61, pl. 1.2; Rolley 1963 33, no 7, fig. 131; Diehl 1964, 5, 10-12, cat. B 21; Jucker 1966, 56-57, pl. 14.3; Dontas 1969, 53; Marangou 1969, 156, 270, cat. 883; Rolley 1977, 131, 135; Pasquier 1982, 286-287; Rolley 1982, 32-34, fig. 131.3; Herfort-Koch 1986, 81, no K 1, pl. 1.1-2; Gauer 1991, 95, n. 240; Maddoli 1992, 256-262; Stibbe 1992, 12-13, 54, cat. C 5, figs 17-18; Hammond 1995-1996, 52-53, 64, figs 3-4; Shefton 2000b, 32; Steinhart 2003, 204-231; Stibbe 2004a, 2-3, 32, cat. 1.1, figs 1-4; Sowder 2009, cat. 5.3.

4.2 Once Art Market
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Personal Name(s)
Inscription: ΦΙ(Ν/Λ)ΕΙΔΑΣ
Date: ca 475-450 BC
Bibliography: Sowder 2009, cat. 15.15.

4.3 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.255.2a
Provenance: Peloponnese
Inscription type: Personal Name(s)
Inscription: Σōπόλιδος
Date: ca 500-450 BC
Bibliography: Richter 1927b, 20, fig. 6; 1953, 82; Diehl 1964, 28, 30, 44, 47, cat. B 97; Sowder 2009, cat. 8.20.

4.4 Leiden, National Museum of Antiquities LKA 1159
Provenance: Notion
Inscription type: Personal Name(s)
Inscription: Ὀλυμπίχου εἰμὶ τοῦ Φιλόφρονος
Date: ca 375-325 BC
Bibliography: Picard 1935, 1450 n. 1; Bothmer 1965, 605; Sowder 2009, cat. 20.69.

4.5 United States Private Collection
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Personal Name(s)
Inscription: Θερσωνεία εἰμί
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: Sowder 2009, cat. 17.28.

4.6 Brindisi, Museo Provinciale di Brindisi
Provenance: Brindisi
Inscription type: Personal Name(s) (inscription on foot, possibly belonging to a *hydria*)
Inscription: Ἀσίκας εἰμί
Date: ca 500 BC
Bibliography: *SEG* 33 808.

5. Weight/Value inscriptions

5.1 London, British Museum 306
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Weight/Value (?)
Inscription: λείτρας
Date: ca 375-325 BC
Bibliography: Heydemann 1869, 30; Bothmer 1965, 604; Sowder 2009, cat. 20.13.

6. Commemorative/Funerary Inscriptions

6.1 Richmond (VA), Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 57-18
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Commemorative/Funerary
Inscription: Χαρονίδας χαῖρε / ΔΕΙ
Date: ca 375-275 BC
Bibliography: Picard 1935, 1450 n. 1; Diehl 1964, 39, 42, 154, cat. B 204, pls 22-23; Mitten/Doeringer 1967, 112-113, cat. 110; Bothmer 1965, 604; Hill 1976, cat. 19; Hornbostel 1980, 167 (with bib.); Steinhart/Wirbelauer 2000, 287; Sowder 2009, cat. 20.65.

6.2 Sophades (Location Uncertain)
Provenance: Sophades
Inscription type: Commemorative/Funerary
Inscription: Θηκαία Αὐτονοεία
Date: ca 450 BC
Bibliography: (*SEG* 33 472) *ArchEph* 1983, 6-8; *AR* 1984, 35; Touchais 1983, 785.

7. Illegible inscriptions

7.1 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number, formerly Inv. C)
Provenance: Rhodes
Inscription type: Illegible
Inscription: E
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: Joubin 1898, no 158; Diehl 1964, 31-32, cat. B 122, pl. 11.1,3; Sowder 2009, cat. 17.30

7.2 Nessebar, Archaeological Museum
Provenance: Nessebar (ancient Mesembria)
Inscription type: Illegible
Inscription: Illegible
Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: Sowder 2009, cat. 17.30.

7.3 Paris, Louvre 2674-75
Provenance: Uncertain
Inscription type: Illegible (on inner surface of foot; graffito?)
Inscription: Illegible

Date: ca 450-400 BC
Bibliography: Weicker 1902, 132, no 9; Ridder 1915, 109, pl. 97; Züchner 1942, 194; Diehl 1964, 33-36, 38-39, cat. B 150, pl. 16.1-3; Vokotopoulou 1987, 166, 169, pl. 26; Sowder 2009, cat. 16.26.

Notes

* Many thanks especially to Jasper Gaunt, Bonna Wescoat, and Mark Alonge, as well as the anonymous *BABESCH* reviewers who read earlier versions of this essay and helped immeasurably by alerting me to new finds, suggesting alternative interpretations and translations, tireless editing, and referring me to additional sources. Any remaining errors are, of course, my own.

1 Pindar, *Olympian Ode* 1.1 (trans. Svarlien 1990 for all Pindar references in this essay).

2 Trinkl (2009, 157) notes that the *hydria* is suited perfectly for 'carrying the contents from the source (fountain, well, etc.) to the place of use and [storing] it there,' rather than for actually serving water. To her observations, we might add that its flat rim with a raised lip at the outer edge is not especially good for pouring because water surely would have trickled over the edge instead of pouring smoothly, since there is no spout or other accommodation to direct the flow.

3 Today, well over 100 scenes of this type are known, mostly dating from the late 6th and early 5th centuries. See especially Keuls 1985, 233; Ferrari 2003; Shapiro 2003; Tölle-Kastenbein 1994 (including Appendix 2); Williams 1993; Manakidou 1992-1993; Manfrini-Aragno 1992 for interpretations and discussions.

4 *Offerings and Gifts*: See below, Section 3: Bronze *Hydriai* as Gifts. *Ossuaries and grave goods*: Most *hydriai* surviving today were used in this capacity and discovered therein. See Sowder 2009, 398-409 for examples and analysis. *Ballot boxes*: Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 326-335 (trans. Henderson, 2000); Isocrates, *Trapeziticus* 33 (trans. Norlin 1928); Aristotle, *Constitution* 62.2, 65.3-4 (trans. Rackham, 1981); Xenophon, *Hellenika* 7.9 (trans. Brownson, 1921); Pausanias 4.11.5-6.(trans. Jones, 1963, 1965 used for all Pausanias references in this essay); *Dijon 1301*: Beazley *ARV* 829.37, *Paralipomena*, 422; Beazley *Addenda*, 144, Beazley *Addenda*, 294, Bothmer 1974, 17, *Agora* XXVIII, pl. 5. *Once Paris Art Market*: Beazley *ARV*² 1334.18, Nikias Painter. *LIMC* 6 (1992), 860, cat. 113, s.v. 'Nike.' *Money, Treasure, Tribute*: Aristophanes *Birds* 602 (trans. Henderson, 2000); Neils 2001, 149 n. 51; *IG I3 68;* Lawton 1995, 81, no 1; Pausanias 8.47.5. *Contests*: See below, pp. 15-23. *Weapons*: Pausanias 10.1.3. Lapatin 2006, 327-328, cat. 100. Likewise, two metopes from the south side of the Parthenon (S4, S23) show centaurs using (surely metal) *hydriai* as weapons to subdue the Greeks after they have become intoxicated at the Lapith wedding.

5 Although the quantity of bronze *hydriai* that survive today in no way reflects the number that were produced in antiquity, the ratio of those to their gold and silver counterparts is likely reflective of their much greater scale of production (in large part because of their lesser expense). We can presume that not only were fewer gold vessels made because of their high price and that the bullion value of gold was so high that it tended to be kept in circulation rather than consigned to the grave. Silver was another prime candidate for re-use rather than burial due to its significant economic value, but a few silver *hydriai* do survive, along with many references to their existence in temple inventories and inscriptions. For discussions of the ongoing debate over whether or not bronze *hydriai* were *reused* as grave goods or conceived as such from the time of manufacture, see Picard 1940 and Richter 1946. Based on the evidence of the inscriptions, iconography of the appliques (when present), and archaeological circumstances (when known). I follow Richter in believing they were typically made as vessels to be used by the living (whether or not they were meant to function as water containers), with the understanding that they would later be consigned to the tomb.

6 http://www.antimicrobialcopper.com/media/325335/copper_design_guide.pdf. Many thanks to Dr. F. Bailey Green, President of GO2 Water, Inc. for bringing my attention to this valuable property of copper.

7 Diehl's 1964 volume deals extensively with the archaeological circumstances of bronze *hydriai* and discusses the significance of many informative contexts in which these vessels were found. I do not seek to repeat her work here, but to present the evidence of the inscriptions on these particular vessels and when relevant, cross-reference information from other sources (including excavations as well as artistic representations and inscriptions referring to vessels of this type).

8 Many thanks to Dr. A.W. Johnston, emeritus Reader in Classical Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology of University College London, for discussing many of these inscriptions with me in 2008. I am greatly indebted to his expertise on the subject of inscriptions on Greek vases.

9 See Oliver 1977 for several inscribed silver vessels (of other shapes) denoting the weight or value of the object.

10 See especially cat. nos 1.5, 1.8, 1.10, 1.15, 1.22, 2.4.

11 See especially cat. nos 2.1 (and the four disassociated bronze feet from *hydriai* found alongside it), 2.3, 2.4.

12 See especially cat. nos 1.3, 1.22, 2.4, 2.6, 3.2-9, 4.1-6. Cat. 2.7 may well also have included a woman's name but is today too damaged to be certain. This issue is problematic because the place of origin of an owner need not necessarily be related to the place of manufacture, which is difficult to pinpoint for bronze objects, but at least having a name that can be traced gives us a starting point to begin considering potential locations.

13 See especially cat. nos 1.3, 2.4, 5.1.

14 It is somewhat ironic that the primary use of the vessels for water carrying is the least documented, but given the *quotidian,* domestic use of a water jar in its water-carrying capacity, it should not be surprising that the special uses are called to attention with special markings. It is, of course, possible that many of these fine bronze examples (along with their precious metal counterparts) were not meant to be used for water, although the choice to use the shape of the *hydria* brings to mind an association with water-related tasks, at the very least.

15 See especially cat. nos 1.2, 1.3, 1.5, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 3.5, 3.8. Cat. 1.6 also seems to have been inscribed twice, but damage to the inscription makes it difficult to determine whether what appears to be two distinct markings were actually a single, cohesive inscription in its original state.

16 *Achilles*: The golden amphora made by Hephaistos and given by Dionysos to Achilles' parents, Peleus and Thetis, as a wedding gift (Homer, *Odyssey* 24.15-94). {trans. Dimock and Murray, 1919, used for all *Odyssey*

references in this essay} Later, it was given to the hero as a family heirloom to hold the ashes of his fallen compatriot, Patroklos (Homer, *Iliad* 23.240-255). {trans. Murray, 1924 used for all *Iliad* references in this essay} After Achilles' death, his own remains were added to the urn (Homer, *Odyssey* 24.74-79). Thoas: The Sidonian-made silver krater that Achilles offers as a prize for the footrace in the funerary games for Patroklos has a similarly illustrious history, brought by the Phoenicians as a gift for the Greek warrior Thoas and eventually given to Patroklos as a ransom for King Priam's son Lykaon in the Trojan War (Homer, *Iliad* 23.740-750). For other Homeric heirlooms (among many), see Homer, *Iliad* 6.46-50, 16.140-144, 10.260-271, 23.740-752, 24.228-237; *Odyssey* 15.99-129, 19.293-295, 21.1-16. For other objects passed down generationally, we might think of Meriones' boar's tusk helmet (*Iliad* 10.261-271), Patroklos' mixing bowl (*Iliad* 23.741-749), or Iphetos' bow (*Odyssey* 21.11-41).

17 For instance, inventories from the Temple of Apollo at Delos, compiled in the year 179 BC, list two silver *hydriai* among the treasures (ID 442; (Apollo Treasure C), Hamilton 2000, 137). Various bits of stamped bronze that were kept inside the same temple were listed as kept 'in[side a] bronze *hydria* and *stamnos*.' (Apollo Treasure B, Hamilton 2000, 128). The *hydria* remained in the inventory lists from 279 until at least 269 BC. A damaged bronze *hydria*, specified as 'old' and missing its foot and one handle, is catalogued among the holdings of Apollo, ca 140 BC (Apollo Treasure B, Hamilton 2000, 128). The same occurs with other types of objects as well. For instance, J. Gaunt (2013, 39-54) notes an Archaic bronze krater listed in 3rd-century BC Chalkotheke inventories from Delos.

18 Lazzarini/Zevi 1988-1989, 33-48; Amandry 2002, 29, 31-32. The vessel, then, must have been either handed down for an unprecedented 500 years or buried and rediscovered at some intervening point between its initial Greek phase of use and re-circulation in the Roman period. As P. Amandry suggests, it seems unlikely that a vessel originally produced in the first half of the 5th century was passed virtually undamaged from hand to hand as an heirloom for over half a millennium. It is far more likely that the vase was discovered, either by accident, intentional excavation, or in the process of looting a Greek sanctuary, and was collected and displayed conspicuously as an antique.

19 Other sources confirm this function. A *hydria* is recorded epigraphically as a prize, along with a sum of 30 drachmai, for the winner of the *lampadedromia* in the Panathenaic games of ca 370, who must have been an ephebe (Athens, Epigraphical Museum, *IG* II² 2311). See Simon 1983, 64; Tracy 1991, 133-153; Neils 1992, 16, fig. 1; Kaltsas 2004, 340-341, no 208; Trinkl 2009, 162, n. 54. An inscribed victory dedication from the Athenian Akropolis (Epigraphical Museum 8024; *IG*², 1743) is crowned with a relief that includes a *hydria*, as well. See Lawton 1995, pl. 51. Given the athletic context and the heroic traditions associated with the material, bronze is a likely candidate for the material. Representations of torch-racers with a *hydria* placed on the ground next to them, presumably intended as their prize, appear on a Classical red-figure bell krater from Gela, attributed to the Manner of the Peleus Painter (Harvard 1960.344) and on a late 5th-century red-figure *oinochoe* (Athens, Agora Museum P 10675 (*Harvard 1960.344*: *ARV*², 1041, 10; *Addenda*², 319. *Agora P10675:* Corbett 1949, 315-316; van Hoorn 1951, 85, cat. no 197). Other artistic representations show *hydriai* associated with other kinds of contests, particularly those involving chariots and rowers. A young, nude athlete holding a palm branch and gesturing towards the victor's wreath on his head stands beside an oversized *hydria* on a marble stele from Athens; a long boat with eight rowers occupies the lower part of the composition, likely referring to the contest for which the prize was won (*Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1468*: Kaltsas 2004, 342-343, cat. 219), Taken in their agonistic contexts and with the mythological and archaeological precedents in mind, these pictorial vessels may well have been intended to refer to metallic, and most likely bronze, examples of the shape. A number of red-figure vases show Nike holding a *hydria* or flying in with one, in advance of awarding the prize to the victorious athlete; we might also propose that these were also bronze (*Warsaw 142288*: *ARV*² 496.8; *Paralipomena,* 380; *Addenda*²; *CVA* Poland, Goluchow, pl. 20, fig. 2 a,b; Gericke 1970, 121. *Oxford 1930.36*: *ARV* 202.89; *Paralipomena*, 342; *Addenda*, 96; *Addenda*², 192; Kephalidou 1996, pl. 40; Moore 1997, 237 no 663, pl. 71).

20 Cf. Amandry 1971, 619.

21 The terms *hydria* and *kalpis* refer to vessels of the same shape. The former, with a flattened shoulder and vertical handle joined at the lip was more common in the seventh and earlier 6th century. The latter type, with a more curved neck, rounded shoulder, and vertical handle joined to the neck, appears in the second half of the 6th century and was favored thereafter. See Richter/Milne 1935, 12.

22 Thanks to J. Michael Padgett for the suggestion. If so, it would be a form of the noun πάλη/πάλα, depending on the dialect; determining which form of the word is used here is impossible to interpret certainly without provenance. Alternatively, Παλα- could be the beginning of a place-name, which would be more typical of this type of object, or perhaps even a personal name. The significance of the second inscription on this vessel (fragmentary word EYMP) remains unclear.

23 The inscriptions are grammatically identical but the relief sculptures do not seem to have been made by the same hand or mold, suggesting that they were not made initially together as a group.

24 Besides the Nemean and Argive vessels, the use of first-person 'speaking' inscriptions is paralleled on a few other bronze *hydriai* but occurs far more regularly on ceramic vessels, beginning with the famous 8th-century 'cup of Nestor' from a tomb in Ischia (Pithekoussai). See also, Mertens 1990, 85-102; Skarlatidou 2002, 285-86, figs 7-8 and 2007, 499-513 and Meiggs/Lewis 1969, 1-3, cat. 1.

The tendency to anthropomorphize the vessels is evident also through other conceits, such as fashioning a pair of hands at the end of the handles so that they literally 'grip' the sides of the vessel, e.g. on *Thessalonike ThE 1556*. See Skarlatidou 2002, 285-86, figs 7-8 and 2007, 499-513.

25 *London GR 1816.6-10.115; GR 1960.11-1.48, AN34503001:* [παϱ′] Hέ[ϱα]ς Ἀ[ϱ]γε̣[ί]ας ἐμὶ τôν ἀϝέθλον, ca 430-420 BC. *SEG* 11 355. Smith 1926, 256-57; *SEG* 11 330; Jeffery 1961, 170, no 43; Amandry 1971, 615; Burn 1991, 86; *IG* I³, 1386bis. *Vergina tripod:* παϱ′ Hέϱας Ἀϱγείας ἐμὶ τôν Hαϝέθλον, ca 430-420 BC. *SEG* 30 648; Amandry 1980, 216; Andronikos 1984, 164-165; Amandry 2002, 30; Kaltsas 2004, 359-360.

26 Pindar, *Nemean Ode* 10.35.43-44. *Iliad* 23.257-270.

27 The inscription is atypical because the word *aethla* is plural rather than singular. Alternatively, J. Gaunt (forthcoming) restores the inscription as ἐκ Φ[ωκέ]ων ἄ[εθλα] π[ὰϱ] Δ[ι]ο[σ]κώ[ϱ]ωιν, identifying the location as Phokaia, an ancient Greek city on the western coast of Turkey known today as Foça. Many thanks to him for discussing his ideas about this inscription and its relationship to a similarly inscribed vessel in Ankara (cat. 1.5) in advance of his publication.

28 Phokis is somewhat unusual in its regional identity, issuing, for instance, Phokian coinage rather than Elateian coins, Daulian coins, etc. Here, we must have 'pan-Phokian' games, so to speak. Although we cannot pinpoint the location of the games with any certainty, we might consider the sites of three shrines thought to be dedicated to the Dioskouroi. McInerney (1999, 218) proposes worship of the Anaktes (often the Dioskouroi, cf. p. 22 below) in Hyampolis and Elateia, as well as a third shrine in Charandra sometimes identified as dedicated to the Dioskouroi (ibid, 134). Many thanks to Mark Alonge for his interpretation of this inscription and bringing to my attention the issue of regional identity in this area of Greece.

29 See *SEG* 39 1365 for a summary of the translation and interpretation of this inscription. P. Amandry (2002) proposed to restore it as coming from games at Pheneos in the northern Peloponnese. He and Kritzas (1989, 11-16) offer two plausible explanations for this pair of inscriptions: either the *hydria* was awarded at Argos to a contestant from Sinope, who won a prize in the nearby sanctuary of the Dioskouroi at Pheneos, had his vase re-inscribed with the second victory en route home, or, perhaps more probably, the prize was given at Argos to an athlete from Pheneos, who dedicated in his local sanctuary of the Dioskouroi. Then, when a *xenos* from Sinope won a contest in Pheneos, the *hydria* was pulled from the treasury or storeroom, re-inscribed, and sent on its way with the winner. A similar scenario can be imagined for games in Phokis. In a forthcoming article, J. Gaunt proposes Phokaian games as the occasion for both the Atlanta and Ankara inscriptions, a location which would offer a reasonable path from the western coast of Asia Minor to its final resting place in Sinope. Again, thanks to both Mark Alonge and Jasper Gaunt for discussing their interpretations of this inscription with me.

30 Herodotus (*Histories* 1.171, 5.37.121; trans. Godley, 2005) and Strabo, (*Geography* 658-660) write of the political importance of the ancient city of Mylasa from the 7th century through the Hellenistic period. For the archaeological remains, see Stillwell 1975, 601-602. Unfortunately, the columns of the Stoa no longer survive (cf. Bean 1971, 31-44). Since the wealth and prestige of the city must have declined after the second quarter of the 4th century when Mausolos stripped it of its capital status, the vessel likely was given as a prize not long after its manufacture ca 300-375.

31 Johnston 1977, 157-8. Previously J. Frel (1975, 77-78) had proposed that the inscription should be read as ἆθλον ἐγ ῾Ρόδοι παϱαλίο(ι), i.e., 'a prize from (the games from) the coast of Rhodes.'

32 According to Johnston (1977, 157-58) this poem is our earliest secure reference to the cult of Helios on Rhodes. See *RE* 8, 66-67 and Jacoby 1954, 334 (Istros), 49. In *RE*, it is suggested that his cult was centered on the site of the later city before 408, while Ialysos is preferred by Morelli (1959, 96).

33 Pindar, *Olympian Ode* 7.2.54-88 (trans. Svarlien, 1990); Johnston 1977, 157-158. Amandry (1980, 250) remarks that this inscription (if it does indeed date to ca 450-425 BC) would demonstrate that the festival predated the foundation of the city of Rhodes itself (in 408 BC, cf. *SEG* 30 1034).

34 Although the inscription is mentioned by Kaltsas (2004, 78) in a discussion of prize inscriptions in the catalogue accompanying the *Agon* exhibition at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, there is no reference to the location or publication of the *hydria* itself and so it is not included in the catalogue of inscribed bronze *hydriai* presented here.

35 Kyle 1993, 194. Other references, as in Lysias 21 (21.5; trans. Lamb 1930). Davies (1967, 36) sees this as a reference to the Panathenaic boat race, but Kyle claims this unnecessary. Also cf. Deubner 1962, 215, and a passage from Aristophanes *Knights* 551-564 (trans. Henderson, 1998); Harris 1972, 128.

36 D.M. Robinson (1942, 180, n. 34) also notes the characteristic 'Boeotian form of alpha, with broken right bar.'

37 Schachter 1986, 64-65; Pindar, *Olympic Ode* 7.1.83-85; *Sotheby's New York* 12.9.2004, cat. 294.

38 *Dionysos*: Pausanias 9.20.4; *Hermes*: Pausanias 9.2.1-2.

39 Archaeological evidence for athletic facilities is scant, although there is a potential gymnasium. See Stillwell 1975, 904-905, Rolley 1987, Bintliff/Slapsak 2010, 30-31.

40 Originally interpreted as a prize from games of Aphrodite but re-published by Vokotopolou (1975, 749-754) with a new reading as Herakles. Amandry (1980, 212 n. 4) suggests παϱ″ or ἆθλον (or ἄθλον) might have come before Herakles' name and proposes to read ἐκ rather than ἐς, which is typical of the Boiotian dialect. However, in that case Θεσπίας must be genitive singular; the town is sometimes called Thespia (e.g., Pausanias 9.26). See *SEG* 37 387 for a summary of the arguments and the contested ancient provenance of the vessel.

41 Pausanias 9.27.6.

42 http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=5157923. The inclusion of the latter letters (AI) is unparalleled amongst the surviving vessels and their meaning is unclear.

43 Stylistically, these three *hydriai* give no indication of a common manufacture but their inscriptions are identical and may well be contemporary with one another.

44 Pausanias (10.38.7) in his description of a cult of the Dioskouroi in Lokris in Central Greece gives a slightly different identification, explaining that the so-called 'Boy Kings' were interpreted by some as the Dioskouroi but by others 'who pretend to have fuller knowledge' as the Kaberoi.

45 Plutarch, *Life of Theseus* 33.1 (trans. Perrin, 1914).

46 *Suda* s.v. Anakeion (trans. *Suda online*); Boundary stone, c. 450 BC: *IG* I^3 1052; *SEG* 10 361, 41.126; Meritt 1939, 48, no 14; Lalonde/Langdon/Walbank 1991, H5.

47 Jeffery 1990, *Table of Letters*.

48 Jeffery 1990, *Table of Letters*.

49 Parker 2005, 457.

50 Kaltsas 2004, 230.

51 Helly 1995 (*SEG* 45 546); Kaltsas 2004, 361, cat. 230; Homer, *Iliad* 2.695, 11.608, 706-08, 16.286; Apollodorus, *Library* 3.10.8 (trans. Frazer, 1921); Hyginus, *Fabulae* 97, 103 (trans. Grant, 1960). See Amandry (1971, 618), for an explanation of the various locations named Aiaias, one of which is in Thessaly. Later, Helly (1995, 137-138) proposes to use Phthia, which he here interprets as the legendary kingdom of Achilleus, as a basis for locating the ancient

city of Aia in Thessaly. Chaniotis et al. (*SEG* 45 2186) reject this interpretation), preferring Amandry's view. On the other hand, *SEG* 45 2186 suggests that this text should not be taken necessarily as evidence for locating Aia in Thessaly.

52 Pindar *Isthmian Ode* 1.59.83-84; Schol. Philostratos, *Heroicus*, 2.8.285 (trans. Kayser, 1870); Kaltsas 2004, 361.

53 Amandry 1971, 602-625. On the dating of all three vessels and the contests for which they were won, see Argoud 1978, 14. See also *SEG* 28 26 and *SEG* 33 58. Although the *hydria* from Thessalonike offers the longest inscription on a *hydria* found to date, literary sources suggest that still more extensive texts did indeed exist (though not so far related to prizes or contests). In the 1st century AD, Strabo (*Geography* 2.1.16; trans. Jones, 1917) refers to an inscription from a broken bronze *hydria* from the Temple of Asklepios at Pantikapaion in Crimea that had been damaged when the water inside the jar froze during the cold northern winter. The votive epigram read, 'if any man is incredulous in regard to what happens in our country, let him look at this water-jar and know the truth; which, not as a fair offering unto god but as an illustration of our severe winters, has been dedicated by Stratios the priest.' The lengthy inscription, rare documented reference to a bronze *hydria* specifically as a water-holding tool, and the clever use of the shape to demonstrate freezing conditions make this example a remarkable find and a valuable addition to the surviving body of evidence for the inscribed vessels. Archaeological finds also attests to bronze jars of this shape in this northern region, particularly in the cache of Greek bronzes (including at least 15 bronze vessels, with 5 *hydriai* among them) found in a peat bog in the village of Pischane in the Ukraine. See Reeder 1999, 94, 193-20, cat. nos. 83-89.

54 Amandry 1971, 620 poses the question of exactly which war the inscription refers, offering the phrase ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ used by both Aristotle and Lysias (cf. Amandry 1971, 612, 614) and also the more specific ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ used by Diodorus, in honor of which he relates that a set of games (ἐπιτάφιος ἀγών) were instituted. The Porch of the Athenians at Delphi bears a related inscription (see Meiggs/Lewis 1969, 53, cat. 25).

55 See, for example, *IG* I^3 1147.

56 Tiverios 1987, 253-254. On the Athenian *Epitaphia* festival: Diodorus, *Library* 11.33.3 (trans. Oldfather, 1989); Kyle 1993, 42-45; Parker 2005, 469-470.

57 Clairmont 1983, 24-28. For the bell krater and *oinochoe*, see above, p. 8, n. 25.

58 Campagnolo/Chamay, *Phoenix Ancient Art 2006*, 107-108.

59 For example, *Corfu 3475*: Spetsieri-Choremi 1997, 30; *Plovdiv* 1519: Diehl 1964, 39, 43, 81, cat. B 174 (with bibliography); *Oxford 1948.101;* Bothmer 1965, 603 (with bibliography); *Rachmanlij*: Diehl 1964, 39, 81, cat. B 175 (with bibliography); and *St. Petersburgh TKH*: Diehl 1964, 34-36, 38, 82, cat. B 143 (with bibliography).

60 Pausanias 10.25.3.

61 Trinkl 2009, 111.

62 A handful of silver *hydriai* have been discovered in excavations, but no gold examples have been found to date. For evidence for precious metal *hydriai* (epigraphic and archaeological), see Sowder 2009, Appendix III. *Inventory inscriptions*: See for instance, Trinkl 2009, n. 65 (*IG* II^2 1372, 7-10, 23-32; 1425, 137-192; 1437, 42-46; 1444, 1.18; 1469, 3-27; 1479, 28-32) and others, from the Temple of Apollo at Delos (Hamilton 2000, 128, 137). *Sanctuaries*: For example, fragments of at least 60 bronze *hydriai* have been discovered at Olympia (See Sowder 2009, cat. nos 1.1-1.9, 2.3, 2.6-2.10, 3.2, 4.1, 4.4, 4.14, 4.29, 6.9, 7.13, 8.12-14, 8.17-18, 9.22, 13.3-5, 13.8-9, 13.12-19, 13.21-48, 13.52-58, 15.5, 15.8, 17.42, 17.47, 17.61, 19.10-15, 19.36, 20.70, all with bib.), at least 11 from the Athenian Akropolis (See Sowder 2009, cat. nos 2.11, 9.3, 9.10, 12.3, 15.3, 19.1-2, 19.21-22, 19.39-40, all with bib.), and at least 9 from Delphi (See Sowder 2009, cat. nos 4.10, 4.39-40, 10.3, 13.2, 15.6-7, 17.51, 20.27, all with bib.).

63 See Trinkl 2009, 160-161.

64 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 267. *ABV* 573.3; *Paralipomena* 287; *CVA* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2, 46-48, pls 62.11, 64.12; Diehl 1964, pl. 48; Oakley et. al. 1997, 130, fig. 11.

65 *ARV*^{2} 1036.5, 1679; *Addenda* 155, *Addenda*^{2}, 318; *Paralipomena* 443; Diehl 1964, pl. 46.1; Gericke 1970, 121; van Straten 1995, fig. 46; Vierneisel/Kaeser 1990, 410, fig. 73.5; *CVA* Munich Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 5, 38, pls 247.2, 249.3-4, 251.1-2, 255.1; Matheson 1995, 98, pl. 74.

66 *Nemea Br 377*, *Br 378*, *Br 380*, and *Br 381*: Miller 1978, 84. Their presence in a well has been interpreted by S. Miller (1978, 83) as the result of a cleanup effort following destruction and subsequent renovations in the sanctuary in the late 5th century. He suggests that after this late 5th- or early 4th-century destruction, the Nemean Games were transferred to Argos for the first time.

67 The second part of the inscription on the same vase, likely added later, records its weight/value. See below, Section 5, 'Weight, Volume, and Value of Bronze *Hydriai*.'

68 See *SEG* 41 386. The latter part of the second inscription also gives its weight/value. See below, Section 5, 'Weight, Volume, and Value of Bronze *Hydriai*.'

69 As Phrangandreas (1962, 663-666) notes, the practice of inscribing a single object to two different deities is abnormal. However, the inscribed bronze *hydriai* as a group present many unusual circumstances, so it is not unbelievable.

70 *Letterforms*: K. Phrangandreas (1957, 311-313; 1962, 663-666) proposes a great chronological disparity between the two inscriptions, placing the first in the mid-5th century BC and the latter in the Hellenistic period, which might help to explain the atypical situation of the double inscription. Given such a broad time span, it is entirely possible that local traditions changed over time, with the cult of Aphrodite superseding that of Demeter in that specific location. *Shared cult locations*: I. Andreou (1996-1998, 135-146) identifies at least 30 common sanctuaries for these two specific goddesses. Although the cult is not yet attested in this region, she also reports that the epithet Paphrakia derives from the site of Paphra on the southern coast of the Black Sea, where Medea is said to have visited a shrine of Hekate en route to Greece, cf. Apollonios Rhodios, *Argonautika* 4.244-252. See also *SEG* 48 517.

71 A second inscription naming a private individual, Philomelas, son of Melanthos, does not seem to have been added at the same time and likely refers to another phase of its use.

72 Bothmer 1965, 605; *Lexicon* vol. IIIA, 228. While the name Καλλίας seems to have been extremely common, Καλλίαρ ending in a *rho* rather than a *sigma* is only attested three times, in Elean inscriptions from the early 2nd century AD. Related forms, however, such as Καλλιάρα, which is attested only once, appear as early as the late 6th or early 5th century in Athens (*Lexicon* vol. II, 245). Καλλιαρίστα and Καλλιαρχίδας are known as early as the 4th century from Rhodes and are present

in sporadic inscriptions through the Hellenistic period (*Lexicon* vol. 1, 243). Καλλίαρ appears in at least two Central Greek inscriptions, one from Delphi in the first quarter of the 2nd century BC and a later one from Thebes in the Imperial period (*Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 215).

73 Bothmer 1965, 605.

74 Gaunt 2013, 47.

75 Vermeule/Comstock 1971, no 15 and 1988, 118 (with full bibliography). Also http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/mantiklos-apollo-152660. A standard Archaic and Classical formula, cf. Raubitschek 1949 (throughout, but especially 426-431), Jeffery 1990.

76 Harland (1925, 76-77) dates the inscription to the two decades between 480 and 460 with a *terminus ante quem* of 457 when the Athenians defeated the Aeginetans and took control of the island. The inscription is particularly finely carved, with three dots aligned vertically to serve as punctuation between each word, except between the last two words, where there are only two dots; most of the inscribed bronze *hydriai* lack this refinement.

77 The altar of Zeus Herkeios was located on the Athenian Akropolis, in the precinct of Pandrosos, west of the Erechtheion, See Palaiokrassa in Kaltsas/Shapiro 2008, 56.

78 *Poverty*: Theognis 373-400 (trans. Edmonds, 1931). *Metrical verse*: Hansen 1983, 153-154 no. 285. Thanks to Mark Alonge and Jasper Gaunt for bringing my attention to the poetic form.

79 Although the findspot of the vessel is unknown, it might be particularly important in this case; we might suppose that if the inscription substitutes *epsilon* for *eta* and that it refers to a female recipient.

80 A few examples from epic can be found in Homer, *Iliad* 6.215-236, 10.260-271 and *Odyssey* 4.611-619, 15.99-129, 24.271-279. A few refer specifically to gifts between women recorded in the *Odyssey*: cf. a silver basket (4. 125-132), drugs (4.227-229), cloth (15.125-126), and the robe from Helen to Telemachos' future bride (15.125-133).

81 *Boston 65.1166:* Painter of London D12, c. 440, www.mfa.org. Truitt 1969, 72-92.

82 See above, p. 6, n. 18. Here, the names are not particularly helpful in enhancing our understanding of the vessel's lineage. The name Skafsis (*Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 142) is attested elsewhere, but Hermaia is somewhat more helpful, appearing most frequently in Central Greece from the 6th century through the Hellenistic period. Kytis, likewise, does not appear in the epigraphical record. We have the opposite problem with Philoxene, which is omnipresent. The exact form of Philoxene given here, with an *eta* instead of an *alpha*, is recorded somewhat less often but regularly enough to prevent us from using it as a reliable indicator of place, even if spelling were consistent enough to serve as a criterion. Philoxena ending in an alpha: *Lexicon* vol 1, 468: *Lexicon* vol. 2, 457; *Lexicon* vol. IIIA, 459: *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 430; *Lexicon* vol. IV, 348. Philoxene with an eta: *Lexicon* vol. 1, 468; *Lexicon* vol. IV, 348.

83 Thanks to Jasper Gaunt for his help with this interpretation and for Sarah Cox at Fortuna Fine Arts Gallery for alerting me to its existence.

84 *Lexicon* vol.1, 374; *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 348; *Lexicon* vol. IV, 281. *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 379. *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 358-359.

85 Many thanks to Mark Alonge for recognizing that this vessel is best understood as an exchange rather than a statement (e.g. ἐρατὰ Ἀγεισανδρία, 'Ageisandria [is] desirable').

86 *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 6.

87 *Lexicon* vol IIIB, 32.

88 Bechtel 1917, 43.

89 *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 15.

90 Many names begin with *Niko*- prefixes: *Lexicon* I, 334-339; *Lexicon* II, 335-342; /*Lexicon* IIIA, 323-328; *Lexicon* IIIB, 304-310; *Lexicon* IV, 255; *Lexicon* VA 335-338.

91 Both common names. *Diogenes: Lexicon* I, 132-133; *Lexicon* II, 116-117; *Lexicon* IIIA, 126; *Lexicon* IIIIB, 116; *Lexicon* IV, 129-132; *Lexicon* VA 98-99. *Nikippa* is slightly less frequently used as a female name but still appears regularly: *Lexicon* I, 334 ; *Lexicon* IIIA, 322; *Lexicon* IIIIB, 304.

92 Also common: *Lexicon* I, 226; *Lexicon* II, 227; *Lexicon* IIIA, 211; *Lexicon* IIIIB, 201; *Lexicon* IV, 219-220; *Lexicon* VA, 169.

93 Peloponnese: *Lexicon* vol. IIIA, 423. Athens and Attika: *Lexicon* vol. II, 425; Thrace: *Lexicon* vol. IV, 329. *Teisias*, a slight variant that may also be a possibility for the New York inscription, is also attested numerous times and from an early date: *Lexicon* vol. 1, 430; *Lexicon* vol. 2, 424; *Lexicon* vol. IIIA, 423; *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 401 (but late); *Lexicon* vol. IV, 328, *Teisias*, a reasonable variant of this name, is recorded as the name of an Athenian potter, cf. ABV, 177.

94 Richter (1946, 364, cat. 12) refers to these later inscriptions as graffiti, which may well be true given the haphazard letting and uncharacteristic disregard for spacing on the lip of the vessel. Also, none of the words correspond precisely with known names from the ancient Greek world. *Xārtaw* is attested, along with a constellation of other names beginning with the same prefix (*xart-*), in the Peloponnese as early as the 6th century but mostly clustered in a number of inscriptions from the 3rd century BC, and also in an isolated inscription from Beroia, in Macedonia, from the 3rdcentury (cf. Peloponnese: *Lexicon* vol. IIIA, 475; *Lexicon* vol. IV, 355). Also, two related names, Χαρτάδης and Χάρτης are represented in inscriptions from Sounion and Athens, respectively, in the 5th century, which is too early for this *kalpis*, (cf. *Lexicon* vol. II, 478). Χαρτάδας and Χαρτάδης are also mentioned in multiple times in inscriptions from various Aegean islands (including Crete, Rhodes, Tenos, and Thasos) from the 4th century through the Hellenistic period, (cf. *Lexicon* vol. I, 485). Χαρτάδας also is attested in one inscription from Thebes in the 4th century but is the only recorded name with this prefix in Central Greece, (cf. *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 442). Alternatively, the plural noun *ta xārta* meaning 'the delights,' which might be understood as a term of affection or perhaps a commemorative sentiment. *Kārrale* and reasonable variations is completely absent from the epigraphical record as a personal name, and the use of a double rho in a name beginning with *kappa* or *chi* is attested only once (cf. Χάρρης, *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 443). Likewise, neither Soistros, Soistra, nor Soistre, which theoretically would all be possible from the abbreviated Soistr- on the inscription, is attested as a personal name, although if we omit the *iota*, many names attested from all periods and regions begin with the prefix So-, which might connote ideas of safety, as in *Soter*.

95 See Sowder 2009, 232-240 (Eros), 247-249 (Zeus and Ganymede), 249-266 (divine couples) and accompanying catalogue for examples and full bibliographies.

96 Homer, *Odyssey* 24.15-94.

97 Trinkl (2009, 159) suggests that the value of vessels such as these adds to the attraction of using it as a gift.

[98] *Malibu 73.AC.12*: Berger 1974, 23-24.
[99] Polybius *Histories* 5.88.5-7 in Paton 1966, 215-217.
[100] Herodotos 1.14.
[101] The name seems to have been relatively uncommon, occurring in only one other inscription from Methymna on Lesbos in the 3rd century.
[102] Stibbe 2004a, 1-2.
[103] Traditional interpretations: Neugebauer 1938, 329-38, figs 1-3; Kunze 1938, 121-123; *Antiken aus rheinischem Privatbesitz* 1938, 21, no 53, pl. 25; Charbonneaux 1948, 44; Matz 1950, 440, pl. 258a; Hafner 1957, 119-26, 145, pls 16, 17.3; Homann-Wedeking, 1958, 64; Hampe/Simon 1959, 4f., figs 4-5; Schefold 1960, 18, 144, no 111; Jeffery 1961, 183, 189, 199, no 7, pl. 35; Charbonneaux 1962, 61, pl. 1.2; *EAA* 676, fig. 793; Rolley 1963 33, no 7, fig. 131; Diehl 1964, 5,10-12, cat. B 21; Jucker 1966, 56f., pl.14.3; Dontas 1969, 53; Marangou 1969, 156, 270, cat. 883; Rolley 1977, 131, 135; Pasquier 1982, 286f.; Rolley 1982, 32-34, fig. 131.3; Herfort-Koch 1986, 81, no K 1, pl. 1.1-2; Gauer 1991, 95, n. 240; Stibbe 1992, 12-13, 54, cat. C 5, figs 17-18; Hammond 1995-96, 52-53, 64, figs 3-4; Shefton 2000b, 32; Stibbe 2004a, 2-3, 32, cat. 1.1, figs 1-4. More recently, Steinhart (2003, 204-31) proposes instead to read the name as female but in the genitive case on the basis of similar objects naming a woman as owner. Chaniotis (*SEG* 53 374) rejects the suggestion, suggesting that Telesta appears only in the context of a patronymic and is nowhere given as a woman's name.
[104] Pausanias 5.23.7.
[105] *Lexicon* vol. IIIA, 424. *Lexicon* vol. 1, 432.
[106] Stibbe 2004a, 3.
[107] Rare instances of such inscriptions do exist on other objects, which have been interpreted as artist's signatures. For example, Python, the potter for the Early Classical Greek vase painter Douris signs this way sometimes (*ARV*², 1554). A series of inscriptions reading simply 'DORIS' (i.e. Douris) on *lekythoi* by the Cartellino Painter is known (*ARV*², 452). Thanks to Jasper Gaunt and J. Michael Padgett for bringing my attention to these instances.
[108] J.D. Beazley (1954, 188; 1957, 5) does note that a single name (usually appearing in the genitive) may be taken as a signature on small-scale objects like coins and gems, where space is a concern.
[109] *Lexicon* vol. IIIA, 411. Fraser and Matthews, et. al. have tentatively assigned this inscription to Argos because of the letterforms. A third (very fragmentary) vessel, *Brindisi* (cat. 4.6) may belong to the same category, with the single word Ἀσίκα inscribed on its foot. Although the name is not (thus far) recorded in the Greek (or known-foreign) vocabulary, the word may well refer to a native Messapian (female?) name and attest to a syncretic tradition blending Southern Italian and Greek customs. In *SEG* 33 808, it is noted that the alphabet used for this inscription has Achaean or Corinthian characteristics and the craftsman must have been either Greek or trained in a Greek workshop. The same cultural blending might be assumed for the woman herself, familiar with Greek traditions but with a local name, if it is indeed so.
[110] Θερσωνεία comes from from the well-attested personal name Therson, and is equivalent to the genitive Θέρσωνος. Thanks to Mark Alonge for discussing the possibilities for interpreting this inscription with me.
[111] The name Therson is known from the 4th century though the Hellenistic period in Boiotia and Thessaly, in at least seven inscriptions from Athens and Attica beginning in the third century, and on Crete at least once, from the 2nd century. The name is attested throughout Greece in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods (cf. *Lexicon* vol. 1, 219; *Lexicon* vol. II, 224; *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 194). The frequency of the appearance of the name in Attic contexts might suggest an Athenian provenance like many of the inscribed bronze *hydriai*, but the patronymic adjective is indeed popular in Thessaly; it is not possible to decide surely between the two possibilities in this case, as so many others.
[112] *Olympichos: Lexicon* I, 348-349; *Lexicon* II, 351; *Lexicon* IIIA, 340; *Lexicon* IIIB, 323; *Lexicon* IV,*262* ; *Lexicon* VA, 344. References to the epithet 'philophron,' ('kindly-minded') are known as early as the *Ajax*, in which Sophocles uses it as an epithet to describe Chalchas as he speaks to Teucer and advises him to keep Ajax in his tent in order to avoid his fated death. See Flower 2008, 210.
In a short report, S. Reinach (1889, 122) suggests that the *chi* used in Olympichos' name is of an eastern type and suggests that the inscription dates to the 6th century AD, although I find it highly unlikely that the vessel was inscribed so long after its manufacture.
[113] For instance, in the *Parthenon Inventories*; see Harris 1995. We cannot be certain whether the value designations were also recorded on the vessels themselves, but the inventory inscriptions record the weight for each object. No bronze *hydriai* were recorded in these particular lists, but at least 8 gold and more than 60 silver versions of the shape are included, along with numerous (small, core-formed) glass examples. We might presume that either a) the bronzes were kept elsewhere or b) their values were too inconsequential to record.
[114] Vickers/Gill 1994, 99. They report the ratio of bronze to silver as 1:100 (citing Price 1968) and bronze to gold as 1:1000 (after Lewis 1968).
[115] Thucydides, *History* 2.40 (trans. Smith, 1919).
[116] *SEG* 47 436. This interpretation is not without controversy. See Hitzl 1996, 123-125 for a rejection of using the Corinthian standard for this calculation. *Olka (weight): LSJ* 1216, with references. *M (40): LSJ* 1070.
[117] K. Phrangandreas (*SEG* 41 386) calculates the first numeral as a ligature of π(έντε) and μ(ναί); H = ἡ(μίσεια), i.e. 7½ minai.
[118] Although the word is far from commonplace, a λίτρα is known as a type of Sicilian silver coin. *See LSJ 1054*, with references to the coin; as a capacity, presumably equaling the weight of the coin, Aristoteles *Fragmenta* 476, 510. W.M.F. Petrie reported seeing the same word (spelled λείτρας) inscribed on a bronze weight from Symrna in 1889, which may indicate that it was indeed an acknowledged unit of measure used for weight (Petrie 1890, 489). Today, the fragile metal is in such a deteriorated condition that the inscription cannot be read In a conversation with J. Swaddling at the British Museum in 2008, I was told that today, only a *lambda* can be discerned at present on the extremely disintegrated surface of the rim.
[119] *IG* 1³ no 472; Price 1968, 103.
[120] Gaunt/Stein 2006, 364-365, fig. 2.
[121] *Atlanta 2001.12.1*, see Gaunt/Chi 2005, 16-17, fig. 17; Sowder 2009, cat. 16.11.
[122] Thanks to the Department of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art for permission to weigh the *hydriai* in their collections. I am grateful especially to John Morariou, Senior Technician in the Department of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum for helping

me with this part of the project. Thanks to Jasper Gaunt for helping with the calculations.

123 *New York 06.1078*: Diehl 1964, 28-30, cat. B 99 (with full bibliography); Sowder 2009, cat. 17.5.

124 Pliny, *Natural History* 34.3 (trans. Rackham, 1952).

125 Lys. *Ap. Ath.* 5.209, as quoted in Vickers 1990, 99.

126 Johnston 1979, 35. Vickers/Gill (1994), and elsewhere, disagree with this view.

127 Amyx 1958, 190, n. 24, 200. The single preserved price for a bronze vessel in the stelai is 25 drachmae, 2 obols for a cauldron, which he suggests must be large because it was so expensive.

128 *Erechtheion:* Paton 1927. *Temple of Asklepios:* Burford 1966, 256-263; 1969, 54-59. Camp 2004, 98.

129 On the subject of the relative values of metals in ancient Greece, see Eddy 1977 and Vickers/Gill 1989, 1990, and 1994.

130 Diehl (1964, 67-68) observes that the for the most part, the findspots of *hydriai* follow the settlement patterns of the Greeks.

131 The meaning of the second part of the inscription, ΔΕΙ, remains unclear.

132 The name is historically attested. See *Lexicon* I, 485.

133 On the telesillean meter, see Halporn/Ostwald/Rosenmeyer 1994, 30. Thanks to Jasper Gaunt for noticing and identifying the metrical verse in this inscription, a subject on which I am no expert.

134 Autonoa/ Autonoe as a female name is not too common but appears sparingly throughout the Greek world, enough and over a long period of time, so to make it unhelpful as a locating criterion: *Lexicon* I, 95; *Lexicon* II, 80; *Lexicon* IIIA, 85; *Lexicon* IV, 92; *Lexicon* VA, 61. Male versions of *Auto*-names are recorded with much greater frequency. If the inscription were restored by adding a sigma, then *thekaía Autonosia* could be taken to mean the funerary *hydria* of Autonoos, which is a so-called patronymic adj., occurring frequently in Thessaly, and might be helpful as a locator of our vessel's owner.

135 *Athens 7917*: *Praktika* 1890, 95; Ridder 1894, 10, no 26; Diehl 1964, 28-30, cat. B 102, pl. 7.3. and *Veroia 1004-1018-1021*: Ninou 1979 cat. 67, pl. 13; http://www.macedonian-heritage.gr/Museums/Archaeological_and_Byzantine/Arx_Beroias.html.

136 Diehl 1964, 149.

137 Diehl (1964, 67-68) notes that the *hydria* could be used for all sorts of water-related activities as well as a number of other functions and also that, conversely, other shapes could be substituted for water duties, if necessary.

138 For instance, in *New York 06.1098* from Galaxidi (Sowder 2009, cat. 17.5, with bib.); *Syracuse*, from a necropolis in Gela (Sowder 2009, cat. 5.1, with bib.); *Ankara* from Sinope (here, cat. 1.5); *Thasos P 6764* from Thasos (Sowder 2009, cat. 16.16, with bib.); *Athens, Kerameikos 2073* from the Kerameikos (Sowder 2009, cat. 17.10, with bib.); *Hermitage P 1836.4* from Kol Oba (Kertsch) (Sowder 2009, cat. 16.6, with bib.); *Varna VI 197* (Sowder 2009, cat. 16.7, with bib.), *Athens 13789* from the Kerameikos (Sowder 2009, cat. 16.9, with bib.); *Arta* from Ambracia (Sowder 2009, cat. 16.52, with bib.); *Hermitage P 1851.1* (Sowder 2009, cat. 17.7, with bib.); *Atlanta 2001.12.1* (Sowder 2009, cat. 20.37, with bib.); *Sofia* from Mesembria, (Sowder 2009, cat. 20.25, with bib.); and *Delphi* from Makrokomi (Sowder 2009, cat. 20.27, with bib.), among others.

139 Richter 1941, 537.

140 Clearly Greek, male burials were found in the cases of a Late Classical *kalpis* from a tomb in Paramythia (Corfu 3475) and an athlete's burial in the Kerameikos (Athens, Kerameikos 2073). See Sowder 2009, 404-406 for bibliography and discussion. The cremated remains of a two-year old child were found inside a Classical bronze *hydria* in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Malibu 73.AC.12) See Berger 1974, 23-24. See above, n. 58.

141 Pausanias 5.16.2-7.

142 Pausanias 2.24.2.

143 Herodotos 1.31.1.

144 Miller 2004, 155.

145 Pausanias 5.16.2-7.

146 Inscriptions are transliterated except where there are ambiguities that affect translation and interpretation. In those cases, the capitalized Greek letters are left intact as they appear on the vessels.

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Syriskos a Chiusi: un 'nuovo' *stamnos* del Pittore di Copenhagen fra Atene e l'Etruria

Paolo Persano

Riassunto

L'articolo prende in esame uno stamnos *attico a figure rosse conservato nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Siena e appartenente alla collezione di Emilio Bonci Casuccini, formata con materiale proveniente da Chiusi. Sul vaso compaiono figure femminili nell'atto di raccogliere mele, gesto che può essere connesso a momenti rituali legati alla sfera matrimoniale, ma che può anche aprirsi a letture allusive. Si propone qui l'attribuzione dello* stamnos *al Pittore di Copenhagen, artigiano di origine siriana attivo nel* Kerameikos *di Atene fra il primo e il secondo quarto del V secolo a.C. Si analizza infine il contesto di fruizione chiusino, inserendo il vaso nel flusso delle importazioni di ceramica attica nel territorio.*[*]

Abstract

The paper examines an Attic red-figured stamnos *in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale of Siena, acquired along with the Emilio Bonci Casuccini Collection, which consists of finds from Chiusi. The iconography shows some young women picking apples: the gesture can be connected to wedding rituals, but it may also contain allusive meanings. The vase can be attributed to the Copenhagen Painter, an artisan of Syrian origin working in the Athenian* Kerameikos *between the first and the second quarter of the 5th century BC. Lastly, the paper examines the vase provenance inserting the* stamnos *in the stream of Attic pottery that reached Chiusi and its countryside.*

Nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Siena è conservato uno *stamnos* attico a figure rosse.[1] Il pezzo, attualmente custodito nei depositi del museo, fa parte della collezione di Emilio Bonci Casuccini,[2] che comprende materiale proveniente dalle necropoli della città di Chiusi o del suo territorio.[3]

In questa sede verranno discussi (1) l'iconografia, che si presta a un limitato numero di confronti e può essere interpretata in un'ottica rituale e simbolica; (2) l'attribuzione, che consente di inserire il vaso nella produzione di uno specifico *ergasterion* ateniese e (3) il contesto di fruizione chiusino, contestualizzando lo *stamnos* nel flusso delle importazioni di ceramica attica nel territorio.

Il vaso è stato pubblicato nel 1996: l'iconografia veniva ricondotta a un rituale agrario riservato alle donne e lo *stamnos* avvicinato, per assonanza di temi, al Pittore del Bagno, un artigiano operante nella seconda metà del V secolo a.C., autore di raffigurazioni di vita quotidiana legate per lo più al mondo femminile e ai contesti nuziali.[4] Nel presente contributo si precisa la non comune iconografia del pezzo e si propone una nuova attribuzione al Pittore di Copenhagen del vaso, rialzandone quindi la datazione agli anni centrali della prima metà del V secolo a.C.

Descrizione

Il vaso[5] (*figg. 1-7*) è restaurato con ampie integrazioni e un lato, che viene qui convenzionalmente definito B, è lacunoso (*fig. 3*): in alcuni punti le abrasioni compromettono la lettura di parte della superficie originaria. Due frammenti di piccole dimensioni, non inseriti nell'integrazione, sono conservati all'interno del vaso. Associato allo *stamnos*, con lo stesso numero di inventario, è un coperchio che, come si vedrà, può essere verisimilmente pertinente.

Lo *stamnos* ha corpo ovoidale con spalla compressa, breve collo troncoconico con profilo concavo che si apre in un orlo estroflesso ingrossato, spesso piede a disco con costola convessa. Anse orizzontali a bastoncello leggermente oblique sono impostate poco sotto il punto di massima espansione. L'impasto è depurato e di colore arancio-nocciola; la vernice è nero-bruna, di buona qualità, anche se alterata da localizzati arrossamenti. La decorazione si dispone su un'ampia fascia marginata da una fila di linguette e si articola in un'unica scena che si sviluppa sui due lati e negli spazi delle anse; le non buone condizioni di conservazione ipotecano, però, una comprensione completa

Fig. 1. Stamnos, *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Siena, già collezione Emilio Bonci Casuccini, lato A (foto Carlo Aldinucci).*

delle immagini. La decorazione accessoria è limitata: le anse, i cui attacchi con la parete sono ben lisciati, sono decorate da una doppia palmetta in corrispondenza del punto di inserzione. Sull'orlo corre una fila di linguette. Il resto del vaso, interno compreso, è integralmente verniciato.

Sul lato qui convenzionalmente definito A (*fig. 1*) si vedono due donne adulte e una giovinetta intente a raccogliere frutti da un albero posto al centro della scena; un grande cesto troncoconico (*phormos*) è appoggiato davanti al tronco, punto focale dell'immagine. Una quarta figura femminile, al margine sinistro, è rivolta invece verso l'ansa. Le donne, tutte a piedi nudi, indossano un *himation*, che scende fino alle caviglie e copre un chitone reso da tenui linee parallele. Una donna solleva un *kalathos* destinato a contenere il raccolto; l'unico elemento certo del cestino è la presenza di un'ansa orizzontale impostata sopra l'orlo.

Lateralmente, sull'unica parete conservata a sufficienza in corrispondenza dell'ansa è un albero, davanti a cui è appoggiato un altro *phormos* (*fig. 2*). Analoga decorazione doveva comparire anche sulla parete non conservata in corrispondenza dell'altra ansa.

Una scena simile decorava anche il più lacunoso lato B (*fig. 3*), dove sono visibili almeno tre figure; una di queste regge un *kalathos*, verisimil-

Fig. 2. Stamnos, *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Siena, già collezione Emilio Bonci Casuccini, spazio fra le anse (foto Carlo Aldinucci).*

mente metallico, traforato e con tre piedi. All'estrema sinistra della scena è una donna; i corti capelli sono fermati da una sottile *tainia* e il corpo è completamente avvolto in un mantello, che disegna un'ampia piega in corrispondenza della gola. La mano sinistra, nascosta nell'*himation*, ferma la veste. A questo lato possono essere riferiti i due frammenti[6] non inseriti nell'integrazione: uno mostra la nuca di una figura con i capelli trattenuti da una benda, parte del mantello sulla spalla e due rami di albero (*fig. 4*); l'altro invece un braccio, una spalla e la veste, resa da tratti paralleli (*fig. 5*). All'interno del piede si legge un graffito con due lettere legate in nesso con *ductus* ortogrado (α - ϱ) con un ulteriore tratto verticale perpendicolare al tratto orizzontale della lettera α, lievemente scostato da queste lettere è un altro tratto verticale (*fig. 6*).

Il coperchio, inedito (*fig. 7*), è stato ricomposto da numerosi frammenti con integrazioni per gran parte della tesa; presenta un profilo conico molto schiacciato con battente interno inclinato e termina in alto con una presa a forma di melagrana interamente verniciata.[7] La decorazione, resa a figure nere, consiste in una corona di raggi di larghezza irregolare che si dipartono dalla presa, in un'ampia banda interrotta da due filetti acromi e, sul margine esterno, in un tralcio di foglie d'edera.

Fig. 3. Stamnos, *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Siena, già collezione Emilio Bonci Casuccini, lato B (foto Carlo Aldinucci).*

Fig. 4. Stamnos, *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Siena, già collezione Emilio Bonci Casuccini, frammento non inserito nell'integrazione (foto Carlo Aldinucci).*

Fig. 5. Stamnos, *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Siena, già collezione Emilio Bonci Casuccini, frammento non inserito nell'integrazione (foto Carlo Aldinucci).*

Fig. 6. Stamnos, *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Siena, già collezione Emilio Bonci Casuccini, graffito commerciale sotto il piede (foto Carlo Aldinucci).*

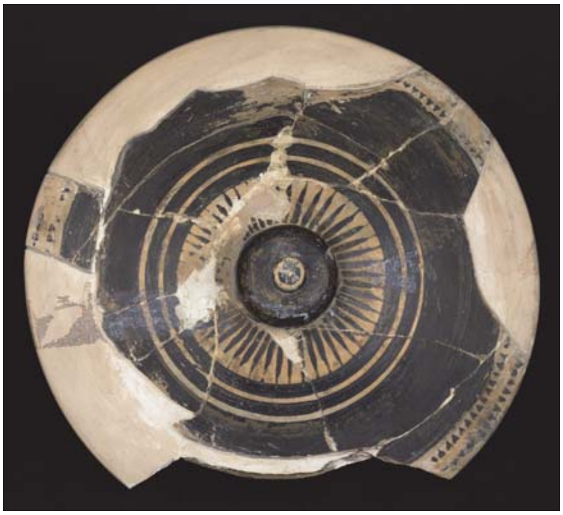

Fig. 7. Stamnos, *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Siena, già collezione Emilio Bonci Casuccini, coperchio (foto Carlo Aldinucci).*

Iconografia e interpretazione delle scene

L'unico soggetto del vaso, presente sulla scena scandita sui due lati, è la raccolta dei frutti, la *karpologia*; si tratta di un tema non insolito, sebbene secondario, nel repertorio vascolare attico, studiato sistematicamente soltanto in anni recenti. È attestato su un gran numero di vasi a figure nere e su un più ristretto insieme di esemplari a figure rosse: la scena può essere associata non solo, secondo una lettura immediata e più semplice, a un ambito agricolo, ma anche a contesti nuziali e funerari.[8] Solo un'analisi nel complesso delle altre raffigurazioni femminili di genere[9] attestate nella ceramica attica può consentire di avanzare qualche suggestione interpretativa per la scena dello *stamnos* Bonci.[10] In queste, come in altre scene che coinvolgono gruppi di gio-

vani figure femminili (donne alla fontana, che raccolgono fiori o giocano a palla[11]) sembra riscontrabile un richiamo allo *status* delle ragazze nella condizione liminare che precede il matrimonio e la loro iniziazione sessuale. Queste immagini possono essere quindi interpretate come *metafore visuali della rappresentazione femminile ideale*.[12] S. Pfisterer-Haas ha recensito, nel suo studio sulle donne raffigurate nel frutteto, altri 12 vasi a figure rosse con soggetto analogo a quello dello *stamnos* qui analizzato.[13] In questa sede si prenderanno in esame solo quegli esemplari la cui datazione è compresa entro la prima metà del V secolo a.C. e che presentano figure non appartenenti alla sfera mitologica o divina. Tali materiali costituiscono il miglior termine di paragone per l'analisi dello *stamnos* e, pur evitando di sovrinterpretare le immagini, consentono ulteriori considerazioni.

I vasi a figure nere su cui compaiono scene analoghe, espresse talvolta con estrema corsività, forniscono meno dati: si tratta di pezzi di limitata qualità artistica e di piccole dimensioni, prodotti più che altro della cerchia del Pittore di Haimon e della Classe di Atene 581,[14] talvolta con evidenti rimandi sessuali, che bene si spiegano nelle allusioni alla pubertà delle ragazze.[15] Nel complesso della produzione a figure nere spiccano una *hydria* a Monaco[16] e un cratere da Rutigliano,[17] opere di maggiore impegno. I pezzi a figure rosse della fase più recente mostrano invece elementi che indirizzano chiaramente verso un contesto divino o mitologico, in particolare alla sfera di Afrodite e al mito di Eracle nel giardino delle Esperidi. Questi ultimi esemplari possono essere considerati a parte, proprio perché i manifesti rimandi a una realtà *altra* aprono a differenti chiavi di lettura.[18] Le interpretazioni evidenti per i casi chiaramente connotati come miti non possono però essere estese in automatico a tutte le altre scene con donne che raccolgono frutta; è neces-

Fig. 9. Kalpis *del Pittore dell'Oinochoe di Yale, San Simeon, Hearst Classical State Monument inv. 9936 (5486), dettaglio della scena con la raccolta di frutta (foto cortesia Hearst Classical State Monument).*

Fig. 8. Cratere del Pittore del Frutteto, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. 07.286.74, lato A (foto cortesia Metropolitan Museum of Art).

Fig. 10. Kalpis *del Pittore di Perseo, Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie inv. 39 (foto cortesia Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie).*

saria invece una verifica dei singoli casi. Gli esemplari che si vogliono prendere in considerazione assieme allo *stamnos* Bonci sono:

1. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.74 (*fig. 8*)[19]
Cratere a colonnette del Pittore del Frutteto
Lato A: un albero è al centro della scena, tre donne raccolgono frutti deposti all'interno di un grande *phormos*. Una figura femminile stante al margine della scena assiste all'attività appoggiandosi a un bastone mentre un'altra, in primo piano, sposta un *phormos* già colmo. Lato B: due coppie di uomini e donne.

2. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Y1707[20]
Kalpis del Pittore del Frutteto
La scena, collocata sulla spalla del vaso, presenta a sinistra una donna che raccoglie frutti da un albero. A destra, invece, una fanciulla si dirige a braccia aperte verso una figura femminile stante al limite della scena; fra queste due figure si trova una gru o un airone.

3. London, British Museum D 6[21]
Kylix a fondo bianco di Sotades
Nel tondo centrale è raffigurata una giovane donna, di nome Melissa, nell'atto di raccogliere frutti da un albero. Nel tondo si conserva un'altra figura, quasi totalmente perduta.

4. San Simeon, Hearst State Monument 9936 (5486) (*fig. 9*)[22]
Kalpis del Pittore dell'Oinochoe di Yale
La scena, collocata sulla spalla del vaso, presenta un albero al centro. Tre donne, una delle quali è seduta, raccolgono frutti che pongono all'interno di un grande *phormos* posato a terra.

5. Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 39 (*fig. 10*)[23]
Kalpis del Pittore di Perseo

Fig. 11. Skyphos *del Pittore P.S., Whitby, Mulgrave Castle (da Robertson 1992, fig. 139).*

La scena, collocata sulla spalla del vaso, presenta un albero al centro. Due donne ammantate, una delle quali tiene un *phormos*, raccolgono i frutti dall'albero.

6. Whitby, Mulgrave Castle, Collezione Normanby (*fig. 11*)[24]
Skyphos del Pittore P.S.
Lato A: un albero al centro della scena, ai lati due donne ammantate raccolgono frutti che pongono in *kalathoi*. Lato B: analoga scena.

7. Compiègne, Musée Antoine Vivenel 1090 (*fig. 12*)[25]
Kylix del Pittore delle Nozze
Lato A: al centro della scena è collocato un albero ai cui lati sono cinque donne, raffigurate nell'atto di raccogliere i frutti o di spostare il raccolto. Tre di loro reggono *kalathoi* metallici. Sospesi sulla scena sono un *exaleiptron* e un *alabastron*. Lato B: una donna è seduta in visione frontale al centro della scena. Ai lati si

Fig. 12. Kylix *del Pittore delle Nozze, Compiègne, Musée Antoine Vivenel inv. 1090, lato A (foto cortesia Musée Antoine Vivenel, Compiègne; foto Christian Schryve).*

Fig. 13. Skyphos *del Pittore di Bruxelles R 330, Mainz, Universitätssammlung inv. 112, lato B (foto cortesia Institute of Classical Archaeology University of Mainz; foto Angelika Schurzig).*

dispongono quattro figure femminili con fiore, *alabastra* e specchio. Interno: due donne, una seduta e una in piedi con un *kalathos*.

8. Mainz, Universitätssammlung 112 (*fig. 13*)[26]
Skyphos del Pittore di Bruxelles R 330
Lato A: donna ammantata che corre a sinistra con uno specchio in mano. Lato B: donna con un *kalathos* metallico, colmo di frutti, nei pressi di un albero.

Considerando in dettaglio le scene di raccolta dei frutti, sullo *stamnos* Bonci la compresenza di *kalathoi* e *phormoi* disposti ai piedi degli alberi sembra incongrua per un ambito agricolo.[27] Solitamente in tale contesto vengono raffigurati i grandi cesti in materiale deperibile, *phormoi* appunto, come nel cratere a colonnette eponimo del Pittore del Frutteto (1 *fig. 8*) o nella *kalpis* di San Simeon (4 *fig. 9*). *Phormoi* compaiono poi costantemente nelle scene di vendemmia, come contenitori per il raccolto.[28] L'adozione di *kalathoi* traforati in metallo, prodotti di maggior pregio, è invece attestata sulla *kylix* del museo Vivenel (7 *fig. 12*), sui due *skyphoi* di Mainz (8 *fig. 13*) e Whitby (6 *fig. 11*) e sembra indirizzare verso ambiti differenti da quello agricolo. Su quest'ultimo vaso, attribuito al Pittore P.S. su cui si tornerà più avanti, conservato nella raccolta privata di Lord Normanby a Mulgrave Castle,[29] sono presenti su di un lato le didascalie *Xoro* e *Ai*, che purtroppo non consentono di individuare le protagoniste della scena.[30]

I frutti, che dovevano essere presenti in grande quantità sui rami degli alberi, sono pressoché scomparsi sull'esemplare in esame se non per esigue tracce visibili a luce radente; sulla base dei confronti con le altre attestazioni, neppure esse al riparo da dubbi, deve essere vagliato se si tratti di mele o melagrane. Un utile termine di confronto, a tal fine, possono essere le scene con raccolta di frutta sui *pinakes* locresi, cronologicamente non lontani dallo *stamnos*. Osservando i confronti iconografici, la presenza di mele in tutte le scene in cui compare una raccolta di frutta nella produzione vascolare a figure rosse sembra assodata.[31] Sebbene non si possa escludere l'uso di differenti convenzioni grafiche da parte di diversi artigiani, sono osservabili caratteristiche costanti nella resa dei frutti.

Deve essere inoltre ribadito come gli elementi diagnostici in grado di consentire un'interpretazione mitologica per tali scene siano ben pochi, dal momento che manca un qualunque riferimento a Ladone, il serpente guardiano del giardino delle Esperidi, e a Eracle.[32] Inoltre non ci sono solidi argomenti a supporto di un eventuale rimando all'ambito di Kore-Persefone, che dovrebbe essere attestato unicamente dalla presenza di un cesto di fiori, o frutti, al momento del rapimento della dea.[33] Se è vero quindi che gli indicatori utili a inserire la scena nell'ambito mitologico sono scarsi, di maggior peso sono invece gli elementi che possono far propendere per un'interpretazione rituale, come suggerisce il tenore complessivo dell'abbigliamento, degli accessori e della gestualità delle figure femminili che compaiono in queste scene. La connessione con il rito sembra essere riscontrabile anche tenendo a margine le considerazioni sulla peculiare natura della forma vascolare dello *stamnos* come supporto per scene rituali (attestata per le immagini con la raccolta di frutta solo nel caso in esame), questione che, a partire dai *Lenäenvasen* di Frickenhaus, ha interessato con divergenti opinioni la critica archeologica.[34]

Non è possibile identificare nella scena di *karpologia* una precisa pratica rituale o una festività canonica attica: da un lato mancano elementi diagnostici peculiari del corredo rituale o di definite pratiche,[35] dall'altro, come è stato osservato, spesso nell'*imagerie* attica sono presenti solo rimandi indeterminati anziché rappresentazioni 'filologicamente' corrette di rituali.[36] Si tratta di raffigurazioni generiche, almeno quanto lo è il continuo riferimento delle fonti scritte all'offerta di frutta e primizie alle divinità. Il fatto che le donne siano raffigurate costantemente a piedi nudi deve poi essere considerato un elemento a favore dell'interpretazione delle scene come rituali, indicando la sacralità del suolo su cui esse si svolgono.[37]

In questo quadro non particolarmente confortante, alcuni elementi sembrano però indirizzare verso situazioni domestiche legate in particolare alla sfera matrimoniale;[38] le mele, infatti, sono state da tempo ricondotte a questo contesto, come per esempio risulta da passi di Plutarco in riferimento a Solone: εἰς τοῦτο δὲ συντελεῖ καὶ τὸ τὴν νύμφην τῷ νυμφίῳ συγκαθείργνυσθαι μήλου κυδωνίου [συγ]κατατραγοῦσαν, καὶ τὸ τρὶς ἑκάστου μηνὸς ἐντυγχάνειν πάντως τῇ ἐπικλήρῳ τὸν λαβόντα (Plut. *Solon* 20.4, ed. K. Ziegler 1969).[39] Questi frutti hanno una specifica attinenza con la fertilità femminile; le mele sono infatti dono nuziale di Gea a Zeus ed Era, vengono gettate dal carro di Elena e Menelao in occasione del loro matrimonio, servono a Ippomene per conquistare la sua sposa Atalanta. Le fonti più antiche sembrano concordare su una connessione tra mele, in particolare cotogne, e il matrimonio: il riferimento al celebre frammento di Saffo acquista in questo quadro una straordinaria pregnanza: οἶον τὸ γλυκύμαλον ἐρεύθεται ἄκρωι ἐπ' ὔσδωι, / ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀκροτάτωι, λελάθοντο δὲ

μαλοδρόπηες· / οὐ μὰν ἐκλελάθοντ’, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐδύναντ’ ἐπίκεσθαι (fr. 105a, ed. E.M. Voigt 1971).[40] Si ricordi però che le mele vengono anche più genericamente impiegate, forse in un momento successivo, come pegno in situazioni diverse dal matrimonio, quale l’amore con le etere o quello omosessuale.[41] Ci si potrebbe inoltre interrogare sulla presenza di un albero carico di frutti in un frammento di cratere attico con scena di altalena: deve essere considerato un elemento naturale di sfondo o costituisce parte integrante della narrazione?[42]

Nella documentazione archeologica non si pone, a quanto pare, un particolare accento sulla rappresentazione di questi frutti nelle numerose scene di matrimonio. A favore di una lettura in chiave nuziale delle immagini con la *karpologia* depone, oltre alla documentazione fornita dai *pinakes* locresi, la *kylix* del museo Vivenel a Compiègne, che è connotata da un inequivocabile nesso tematico (*fig. 12*).[43] Tutta la decorazione di questo vaso rimanda infatti alla preparazione della sposa, che è raffigurata sul tondo centrale di fronte a una giovane stante e compare nuovamente all’esterno, in visione frontale, assisa su una sedia con alta spalliera mentre alcune donne la preparano. Il legame fra la preparazione della sposa e la raccolta di frutta è rafforzato anche dal fatto che su entrambi i lati del vaso compaiono contenitori per unguenti (*alabastra* e *exaleiptron*) e un fiore tenuto in mano da una donna. La connessione frutta - vasi per cosmesi - scena nuziale è ben evidente poi in una *loutrophoros* - *hydria* nel Museo Benaki di Atene dove è raffigurata una sposa seduta che riceve due donne, una con un vassoio di frutta e due scatole e una con un *exaleiptron*.[44] Un analogo legame, seppur contratto, è forse riscontrabile sullo *skyphos* di Mainz (*fig. 13*), con una scena di toeletta, cui allude la presenza dello specchio su un lato, e una raccolta di frutta. La giovane figura femminile che compare sullo *stamnos* Bonci trova riscontro su di una *kalpis* già nella Collezione Rotschild, i cui frammenti sono ora a Berlino (n. 2) e rimane di ardua interpretazione.[45]

Si può prendere in considerazione anche l’esistenza di ulteriori livelli di lettura: alla raffigurazione simbolica di un atto o rituale realizzato in concomitanza delle nozze, principale significato delle immagini, si potrebbero sovrapporre differenti interpretazioni in cui la raccolta di frutti e i frutti stessi rimandano sia al giardino di Afrodite, quale verrà documentato dal Pittore di Meidias in anni successivi,[46] sia al raggiungimento dell’immortalità nel giardino delle Esperidi.[47] Ricordando poi che i pomi delle Esperidi altro non sono che il dono di Gea a Era per il matrimonio con Zeus,[48] la raccolta delle mele in occasione delle nozze potrebbe aver assunto un valore escatologico, in cui i pomi stessi alludono all’immortalità. Tale significato ben si giustifica nel contesto funerario che ne ha costituito verosimilmente l’ultima destinazione una volta giunto in Etruria e, sebbene trovi confronti nelle scene presenti su altri *stamnoi* in cui sono riscontrabili rimandi funerari, non può però essere considerato primario.[49] D’altronde l’associazione fra ambito nuziale e funerario non stupisce, compare infatti con particolare evidenza in Attica in riferimento alla forma vascolare locale della *loutrophoros*, vaso dall’elevato valore simbolico il cui uso sancisce in particolare i riti di passaggio del mondo femminile.[50]

In riferimento all’ulteriore valenza funeraria della raccolta delle mele un importante confronto viene dalla base per *sēma* del tardo V secolo a.C. rinvenuta a Kallithea (Attica).[51] Sulla fronte del monumento sono presenti due figure, una maschile e una femminile, raffigurate nell’atto di raccogliere mele da un albero al centro della scena. Vista la destinazione funeraria della base sembra convincente una lettura escatologica di questa raccolta dei frutti, con un evidente rimando al giardino delle Esperidi.

Ricapitolando, nell’iconografia dei vasi a figure rosse discussi si può notare un 'sapore rituale' sottilmente giocato sull’allusione e sul rimando. La documentazione letteraria e la *kylix* di Compiègne permettono di avvicinare la scena di *karpologia* ai rituali matrimoniali, mentre il nesso

Fig. 14. Stamnos *del Pittore di Copenhagen, New York, Brooklyn Museum inv. 03.8 (foto cortesia Brooklyn Museum).*

Fig. 15. Stamnos *vicino al Pittore di Copenhagen, Rouen, Musée Départemental des Antiquités inv. 359 (foto cortesia Musée Départemental des Antiquités).*

Fig. 16. Stamnos, *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Siena, già collezione Emilio Bonci Casuccini, particolare del lato B (foto Carlo Aldinucci).*

Fig. 17. Stamnos *vicino al Pittore di Copenhagen, Rouen, Musée Départemental des Antiquités inv. 359 (foto cortesia Musée Départemental des Antiquités).*

delle mele con l'immortalità, stabilito dal ben noto mito di Eracle nel giardino delle Esperidi, può caricare la raccolta di frutta di sfumature escatologiche, come attestato dalla base per *sēma* da Kallithea.

Attribuzione

Il profilo del vaso con spalla quasi ad angolo retto rientra appieno nella *Copenhagen Class* distinta da B. Philippaki;[52] nonostante le dimensioni relativamente ridotte, i confronti più stringenti si hanno con un esemplare del Brooklyn Museum di New York (*fig. 14*)[53] e con uno *stamnos* del Musée Départemental des Antiquités a Rouen (*fig. 15*).[54]

Per quanto riguarda la decorazione accessoria, le fasce sull'orlo e ai margini della scena sono troppo comuni per rimandare alla produzione di una precisa officina; le palmette invece consentono ulteriori considerazioni. Palmette affrontate sui lati brevi delle anse, con esiti non lontani dal pezzo in esame, sono caratteristiche di più artigiani, operanti nella prima metà del V secolo a.C.[55] Quelle sullo *stamnos* Bonci trovano una corrispondenza perfetta nel già citato esemplare di Rouen (*fig. 15*) e sono analoghe a quelle di uno *stamnos* dell'Ashmolean Museum di Oxford.[56] Anche un'anfora con Eracle nel giardino delle Esperidi, in una collezione privata svizzera, presenta palmette avvicinabili.[57]

Nonostante i problemi di ricostruzione, la superficie conservata è sufficiente per una valutazione complessiva della composizione delle scene e della caratterizzazione delle figure. Le scene analoghe, disposte in un'unica sequenza, sono costituite da un numero limitato di personaggi di grandi dimensioni, con disposizione paratattica, in atteggiamento pacato e composto. Le figure, sebbene siano allungate come è comune nella produzione del tardo arcaismo e della prima età classica si connotano per la compattezza della struttura, quasi imponente nel campo figurato e per la piccolezza delle teste e degli arti. La caratterizzazione dei corpi e il modo in cui le donne sono ammantate trova stringenti confronti nella produzione del Pittore di Syriskos[58] e soprattutto del Pittore di Copenhagen. Diagnostici sono in particolare il modo di trattenere lo *himation* con una mano, la peculiare piega disegnata fra gola e testa e il tratto di mantello sulla schiena al di sopra dei glutei. La figura presso l'ansa nello *stamnos* con

le Peliadi di Monaco[59] e quella sul lato B di un'anfora del British Museum del Pittore di Copenhagen[60] sono rese in un modo molto simile. Analogie presentano il lato B di uno *stamnos* in collezione privata dove compare anche una bambina[61] e l'anfora raffigurante Eracle nel giardino delle Esperidi sopra menzionata. Tale modo di trattenere il mantello è attestato anche per figure maschili, basti pensare all'anziano sul lato A dell'anfora eponima del pittore[62] e al giovane in uno *stamnos* del Louvre.[63] Il modo di rendere il viso fornisce un'ulteriore conferma a questa attribuzione come si può riscontrare, per esempio, confrontando la figura 16 con le due teste di donne affrontate sull'anfora londinese,[64] con un frammento di cratere a calice del Boston Museum of Fine Arts,[65] con le figure su un cratere a volute frammentario dall'acropoli di Atene[66] oppure con quelle sullo *stamnos* già citato di Rouen (*fig. 17* - si noti in particolare il modo di rendere l'orecchio).

La presenza di alberi nello spazio delle anse è nota negli *stamnoi* di V secolo a.C.;[67] nel caso in esame la pianta, del tutto analoga a quella presente al centro della scena, svolge la funzione di *trait d'union* (*fig. 2*): annulla le soluzioni di continuità fra i due lati del vaso, creando un'unica narrazione, come documenta anche la presenza di figure fra le anse, non insolita su vasi di questa forma.[68] Il fatto che una delle donne sul lato A sia volta in direzione dell'ansa (e dell'albero collocato in corrispondenza di questa) rafforza ulteriormente l'unità della scena.

Quanto al graffito, le due lettere in nesso all'interno del piede rientrano nel gruppo 9E xiii della seriazione di A.W. Johnston: se il tipo 9E è uno fra i più comuni graffiti commerciali, il gruppo xiii è da considerarsi come un 'insieme chiuso', forse caratteristico del Pittore di Syriskos e del Pittore di Copenhagen. Probabilmente rimanda a una figura specifica di commerciante/intermediario il cui nome iniziava con Ari[--]; il tratto verticale a breve distanza compare anche in altri graffiti e non sembra essere quindi riferibile a un'indicazione di prezzo o quantità.[69] Risulta fruttuoso il confronto con gli esemplari già menzionati dell'Ashmolean Museum di Oxford e del Brooklyn Museum, oltre che con un altro vaso a New York della stessa officina.[70]

Passati in rassegna gli elementi in grado di garantire il riconoscimento di una mano, si può con un certa sicurezza avvicinare lo *stamnos* Bonci al Pittore di Copenhagen, artigiano che predilige la decorazione di questa forma vascolare. Di conseguenza si può proporre una datazione all'inizio del secondo quarto del V secolo a.C.

Come per numerosi altri artigiani vascolari, la fisionomia del Pittore di Copenhagen è rimasta in parte sfuggente, poco più di un'etichetta che raccoglie opere caratterizzate da *dettagli significanti* simili, tali da consentire l'attribuzione a uno specifico individuo. Un uso convergente di analisi stilistica e di studio delle firme riesce però a far uscire il Pittore di Copenhagen dalla mera convenzionalità consentendo la ricostruzione dello sfaccettato universo ideologico di un ceramografo ad Atene nel momento successivo alle guerre persiane. Secondo la canonica ipotesi di J.D. Beazley, cui si deve l'identificazione del pittore, si tratterebbe di uno dei due artigiani 'fratelli' che compongono il Gruppo di Syriskos (Pittore di Copenhagen e Pittore di Syriskos).[71] Tale ricostruzione si presenta artificiosa, ma la proposta alternativa di considerare i vasi del Gruppo di Syriskos opera di un unico artigiano non è stata univocamente accettata.[72] M. Robertson ha poi notato l'uso da parte del Pittore di Copenhagen di firmare le proprie opere con i nomi Syriskos e Pistoxenos: fenomeno da lui connesso a un ipotetico affrancamento dell'artigiano.[73]

Recentemente S. Pevnick ha messo in luce come questo pittore adotti, in almeno un caso, soggetti non comuni nella pittura vascolare ateniese: la presenza di un'iconografia non greca sarebbe legata all'artigiano straniero che si firma *piccolo siriano* e scrive *egrphsen* anziché *egraphsen*.[74] La sua indagine si è concentrata su un noto cratere a calice, già al J.P. Getty Museum e poi restituito all'Italia.[75] Se il lato A presenta Ge Panteleia in trono e Okeanos omaggiati da Dioniso, il lato B è di più difficile lettura: Themis in piedi mentre fa una libagione fra una figura seduta, chiamata Balos, ed Epaphos. Accantonando le ricostruzioni alternative lo studioso è giunto alla conclusione che il pittore, volendo rimarcare la propria origine etnica, già evidente nella firma, abbia scelto di raffigurare Baal/Balos, dio proprio del mondo siriano. Viene adottato così un linguaggio greco per esprimere concetti anellenici, in questo caso la supremazia del dio. Il cratere a calice sembra pertanto riflettere l'identità artistica multiculturale di chi lo ha dipinto e firmato: l'uso di due firme differenti per lo stesso artigiano, che devono essere comprese e giustificate, complica ulteriormente il quadro.

Tornando allo *stamnos* Bonci, si deve osservare come Syriskos/Pistoxenos, il Pittore di Copenhagen, sembri avere caro il soggetto della raccolta di frutti, giacché a lui deve essere ascritto anche lo *skyphos* a Whitby Mulgrave Castle, in cui compare la non comune doppia firma *Pistoxenos*

Syriskos epoiesen.[76] Considerando che la presenza delle firme non è un fenomeno incidentale nella ceramica attica, ci si può chiedere per quale motivo il Pittore di Copenhagen abbia ritenuto interessante questo tema; fruttuosa in tal senso sarebbe l'identificazione delle due figure, *Xoro* e *Ai*, per cui però non sembra possibile giungere a proposte convincenti. Può invece essere utile ricordare come anche nel mondo orientale, cui il pittore rivendica un'appartenenza almeno in una opera, le mele rivestano un ruolo rilevante nella sfera erotica e matrimoniale. Basti ricordare l'attestazione di procedure di magia d'amore incentrate sulle mele dal IX secolo a.C.[77] e la notizia fornita da Strabone in riferimento all'uso delle mele come alimento rituale in occasione delle nozze in Persia οἱ δὲ γάμοι κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἐαρινῆς ἰσημερίας ἐπιτελοῦνται· παρέρχονται δ' ἐπὶ τὸν θάλαμον προφαγόντες μῆλον ἢ καμήλου μυελόν, ἄλλο δ' οὐδεν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην (Strabo *Geographika* 15.3.17, ed. S. Radt 2005).[78]

In sintesi, la forma del vaso e la sua decorazione consentono di attribuire lo *stamnos* al Pittore di Copenhagen, nome convenzionale in cui deve essere riconosciuto Syriskos/Pistoxenos, artigiano di origine siriana attivo nel *Kerameikos* di Atene fra il primo e il secondo quarto del V secolo a.C. o alla sua bottega, inserendolo fra le opere più vicine al pittore.

Coperchio

Poiché nella collezione museale assieme allo *stamnos* si conserva un coperchio è necessario discutere l'eventuale pertinenza di questo al vaso oggetto del presente contributo.

Il coperchio (*fig. 7*) rientra in un tipo molto comune e se considerato singolarmente potrebbe essere datato a partire dall'ultimo quarto del VI secolo a.C.[79] Occorre però osservare come prodotti di questo tipo siano frequenti su *stamnoi* a figure rosse:[80] oltre alle associazioni nelle raccolte, pur sempre aleatorie e forse legate a criteri di completamento estetico,[81] lo attestano i rinvenimenti in contesto. Basti qui ricordare, a titolo esemplificativo, lo *stamnos* da Kerch ora a Mosca, attribuibile alla cerchia del Pittore di Chicago.[82] Manca, d'altronde, fino a oggi un'analisi complessiva sui coperchi degli *stamnoi* e delle anfore, che sembrano essere, nella maggior parte dei casi, stilisticamente conservativi.[83] Seppur non dimostrata da documenti e dati di scavo, la pertinenza dei due pezzi, se non *ab origine*, almeno al momento della deposizione, può pertanto considerarsi non solo verisimile, ma addirittura probabile. Mancano, inoltre, nella collezione altri vasi cui il coperchio avrebbe potuto essere associato.

Contesto chiusino

Il vaso fa parte della collezione di Emilio Bonci Casuccini, confluita nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Siena nel 1953[84] e costituita da materiale rinvenuto a Chiusi o nel suo territorio. In analogia con quanto accade per la maggior parte dei materiali provenienti da collezione, non si è a conoscenza del contesto di rinvenimento preciso e di assemblaggi diagnostici, necessari per una puntuale comprensione delle evidenze. I materiali associati, oltre a essere utili nella datazione della deposizione, sono memoria delle scelte individuali e della selezione di forme e immagini degli ultimi fruitori dei vasi greci.[85] La probabile associazione con il coperchio rimane nel presente caso l'unica informazione disponibile, oltre evidentemente alla cronologia del vaso nel secondo quarto del V secolo a.C. Le condizioni di conservazione complessivamente buone consentono di ritenere più verisimile, sebbene non verificabile, la provenienza del vaso da una tomba. L'uso di *stamnoi* come cinerari nel mondo etrusco è ben attestato, in particolare a Capua,[86] e certo potrebbe essere presentato un più ampio dossier a riguardo se si avessero notizie sulle circostanze di rinvenimento di un maggior numero di esemplari. Non può *a priori* essere scartata l'ipotesi che anche a Chiusi (**Clevsins*[87]), dove il nucleo di *stamnoi* è significativo, i vasi presentassero una destinazione funeraria. L'uso di vasi attici come cinerari in questo territorio è ben documentato, per esempio dal grande cratere a volute coperto da una *kylix* della maniera del Pittore di Lysippides, rinvenuto in località Tenuta del Soldato a Foiano della Chiana e usato per la deposizione dei resti di un individuo di rango elevato, e da un'anfora della produzione tarda del Gruppo di Leagros nella tomba 4 di Acquaviva di Montepulciano.[88]

Per comprendere il contesto di ricezione dello *stamnos* bisogna necessariamente ricordare la possibilità di un'origine etrusca della forma vascolare: in tale prospettiva risulta indubbia una diffusione preferenziale dello *stamnos* nei territori (Etruria) da cui provengono i modelli.[89] In analogia con altri casi, quali il *kyathos*, il *kantharos* e l'anfora nicostenica,[90] si avrebbe così un prodotto dell'interazione fra modelli allogeni e capacità inventiva ateniese. Rimane inoltre evidente la fortuna dello *stamnos* nello sviluppo di tipi vascolari locali a figure rosse etruschi, e chiusini in particolare, come per esempio nella produzione del

Gruppo Vagnonville.[91] Non è poi chiaro in quale misura l'iconografia presente sullo *stamnos* Bonci fosse percepita nel contesto di ricezione, se cioè le sue implicazioni rituali ed escatologiche venissero interamente comprese. Tale aspetto deve essere considerato se si vuole affrontare una lettura dal *duplice punto di vista dei produttori e dei destinatari*, attento da una parte all'artigiano ateniese e all'ambito di produzione dei vasi e dall'altra a chi li utilizza e li rifunzionalizza.[92] Fra le numerose prove di una notevole conoscenza da parte etrusca dell'*imagerie* attica basti ricordare, in riferimento a Chiusi, la consapevolezza a monte della dedica nell'area sacra di S. Lazzaro - La Badiola dello *skyphos* eponimo del Pittore di Penelope in cui compare Telemaco, eroe considerato fondatore della città etrusca.[93]

La verisimile provenienza dello *stamnos* da Chiusi o dal suo territorio consente ulteriori considerazioni nel complesso delle importazioni di ceramica attica nel chiusino, aggiungendo un tassello al grande fenomeno di acculturazione e interazione costituito dalla presenza di ceramica greca nella città di Chiusi e nei centri che da essa dipendevano. Abbandonata la rassicurante prospettiva dell'*ammirazione e accettazione*[94] e riconosciuto un ruolo attivo degli Etruschi in questo processo, negli ultimi anni lo studio di queste interazioni culturali si è rivelato fecondo nell'analisi della tipologia vascolare e nella comprensione delle dinamiche di elaborazione di un patrimonio di immagini.

La presenza in quest'area nella prima metà del V secolo a.C. di questo *stamnos* arricchisce il complesso quadro delle importazioni greche nella regione, il cui ruolo di primaria importanza in tutta l'Etruria interna è stato messo a fuoco da numerosi studi, in particolare in anni recenti.[95]

Sebbene non possa confrontarsi per volume di importazioni con le città dell'Etruria costiera e forse anche con la vicina Orvieto, Chiusi, la cui conoscenza è stata purtroppo viziata nel passato da scavi irregolari, è caratterizzata da una significativa presenza di ceramica greca, in alcuni casi di elevata qualità artistica e forma singolare.

Dalla metà del VII secolo a.C. sono attestati numerosi prodotti corinzi, sia vasi potori sia pregiati contenitori per unguenti, seguiti poi da un rilevante gruppo di vasi di produzione greco-orientale che comprende, oltre alle comuni coppe ioniche, anche prodotti meno diffusi come i *kantharoi* gianiformi di probabile produzione samia. Con il secondo quarto del VI secolo a.C. è l'Attica a divenire il fornitore principale di ceramica per Chiusi e il vaso François rappresenta senza dubbio il più prestigioso e significativo *mega potērion* importato nella città etrusca[96]. Assieme ai *dinoi*, ai crateri e alle coppe, elementi comuni del corredo da simposio, sono individuabili altre forme vascolari che a Chiusi godono di particolare fortuna, come per esempio le coppe tipo *merrythought*, le *lekanides*, le pissidi 'nicosteniche', i piatti[97] e in un momento successivo, gli *stamnoi*. Anche nel caso di forme vascolari comuni si può notare una particolare predilezione per i prodotti sperimentali, come per esempio le coppe bilingui o l'uso di fondo corallino.[98]

È evidente come l'arrivo di materiali greci a Chiusi sia stato mediato dai grandi siti costieri che rivestivano un ruolo determinante per la diffusione di questi prodotti verso l'interno. In un primo momento è stato osservato come sia riscontrabile, a motivo del tipo e della qualità dei prodotti importati, una connessione con Caere, cui subentra Vulci durante il VI secolo a.C.[99] Chiusi costituiva, poi, uno snodo importante per la redistribuzione della ceramica greca nella Val di Chiana interna, nei centri di Bettolle, Chianciano, Cortona, Montepulciano, Sarteano, Sinalunga,[100] dopo che il materiale era giunto attraverso la principale direttrice fluviale, lungo la Val di Chiana o forse le valli del Paglia e del Rigo.[101]

Il vaso Bonci si inserisce appieno nell'importante flusso di *stamnoi* che investe Chiusi a partire dalla fine del VI secolo a.C.; come è stato sottolineato, infatti, lo *stamnos* è una fra le forme preferite nella città, dove sono attestati anche prodotti di assoluta eccellenza qualitativa, del Pittore di Kleophrades o del Pittore di Berlino e, talvolta, con forti connessioni tematiche, come nel caso di quest'ultimo.[102] Le ottime condizioni di conservazione della maggior parte degli *stamnoi* chiusini costituiscono, infine, il principale indizio a favore di un uso funerario. La documentazione disponibile non consente purtroppo ipotesi sull'eventuale ruolo di questi vasi nella pratica funeraria, se avessero la funzione di cinerari o facessero parte del corredo.

Considerazioni conclusive

Nonostante la mancanza di informazioni relative al contesto, l'analisi dello *stamnos* Bonci ha consentito di riflettere sulle connessioni fra Oriente, Grecia ed Etruria dietro a questo, come ad altri prodotti attici del V secolo a.C. Delineando grazie alle poche informazioni disponibili la storia del vaso, quella che in termini post-processuali viene definita la *biografia culturale* dell'oggetto,[103] lo *stamnos* in esame nasce ad Atene, in un'officina attica, ma è realizzato, o almeno dipinto, da un ar-

tigiano che nelle sue opere firmate si connota come straniero, siriano (*syriskos*). Nonostante questo, il vaso presenta un linguaggio formale puramente greco, di quel particolare stile tardo arcaico o severo che poco indulge nella sovrabbondanza dei dettagli. La forma scelta dall'artigiano, lo *stamnos*, sebbene all'epoca sia ben nota e comune nel repertorio vascolare della città di Atene, verisimilmente dipende in origine da modelli etruschi ed è forse realizzata con particolare attenzione verso quel mercato. Il soggetto del vaso, la *karpologia* di esclusiva pertinenza femminile, tema caro al pittore forse perché comprensibile nel *milieu* culturale della sua zona di provenienza, è carico di una valenza nuziale sebbene possa, allusivamente, rimandare alla raccolta di pomi in un contesto oltremondano. Nulla poi si può dire con certezza sul periodo trascorso fra la produzione del vaso e le circostanze della sua deposizione in Etruria. In un contesto ricco e culturalmente sensibile alle innovazioni e alle immagini greche come doveva essere la città etrusca di Chiusi sembra però plausibile ipotizzare che, nella prima metà del V secolo, gli ultimi fruitori fossero in grado almeno di comprendere la scena nel complesso e parte delle allusioni a essa connesse.

Concludendo, si è cercato di dimostrare come lo *stamnos* Bonci, prodotto da Syriskos - Pittore di Copenhagen (artigiano di origine orientale) e rinvenuto in Etruria, possa costituire un esempio delle molteplici e profonde interazioni culturali che interessano la ceramica e la sua fortuna in questo periodo. La mobilità di artigiani, di oggetti e di idee, con aspetti che ancora devono essere messi a fuoco e al di là di lacune nella documentazione, contribuisce ad arricchire il mosaico culturale e ideologico della produzione vascolare attica e della sua ricezione in Etruria.

Note

* L'occasione per il riesame critico del vaso è stata fornita da uno *stage* presso il Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Siena consistente nella schedatura di parte della collezione di Emilio Bonci Casuccini. Un particolare ringraziamento alla dott.ssa Giuseppina Carlotta Cianferoni (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana), che ha con liberalità consentito e agevolato lo studio. Senza l'aiuto e i consigli dell'amica dott.ssa Debora Barbagli, responsabile del museo presso Santa Maria della Scala, questa nota non sarebbe stata possibile. Si ringraziano il dott. Mario Iozzo (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana) per aver gentilmente discusso con me l'inquadramento e l'attribuzione del pezzo e il prof. Gianfranco Adornato (Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa) per le osservazioni e i consigli durante la redazione del testo. Si ringraziano inoltre per gli spunti di riflessione il prof. Nicola Cucuzza (Università degli Studi di Genova) e, per la concessione delle immagini, Caroline Dorion-Peyronnet (Musée Départemental des Antiquités de Seine Maritime); Victoria Garagliano (San Simenon, Hearst Castle); Claire Iselin (Compiègne, Musée Antoine Vivenel); Patrick Schollmeyer (Mainz, Universitätssammlung); Ruth Janson (Brooklyn Museum). Per la realizzazione delle foto dello *stamnos* sono grato a Carlo Aldinucci.

1 Siena, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 45. Lo *stamnos* è stato pubblicato da Paribeni 1996, 84-86, n. 56. Oltre ai contributi redatti in occasione della mostra di Siena e Chiusi Barbagli/Iozzo 2007, 229-300, una storia della raccolta è stata delineata da Cianferoni 1993, 33-36.

2 Sulle circostanze della cessione della collezione di Emilio Bonci Casuccini, voluta dal figlio Alessandro nel 1953: Zinelli 2009, 87, nota 19. La collezione di Pietro Bonci Casuccini, oggetto di una recente mostra - Barbagli/Iozzo 2007, 23-228 - è entrata in gran parte nel Museo Archeologico Regionale 'A. Salinas' di Palermo nel 1863 e una seconda parte più limitata è stata acquisita dal Museo di Chiusi nel 1891. Per l'attività della famiglia Bonci Casuccini nel quadro del collezionismo archeologico chiusino: Paolucci 2007a e 2011. A differenza dei suoi predecessori, Emilio si connota per una maggiore attenzione ai contesti, tanto che grazie a ricerche d'archivio è stato possibile ricostruire alcuni corredi tombali, Barbagli/Iozzo 2007, 231-239.

3 La mancata menzione del vaso nel lungo articolo monografico *Clusium* di R. Bianchi Bandinelli, la cui appendice riporta la prima notizia di questa collezione, può forse indicare la provenienza dello *stamnos* da altri nuclei di materiali riconducibili alla stessa importante famiglia Bonci Casuccini o l'ingresso in essa in un momento successivo al 1925, anno di pubblicazione del volume - Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, cc. 532-536; sul rapporto di personale amicizia con Emilio Bonci Casuccini, Zinelli 2009.

4 Per il Pittore del Bagno, *ARV*² 1126-1133; 1133-1135 (sua maniera); *Paralipomena* 453-454; *Addenda*² 332-333; Robertson 1992, 223-227.

5 Altezza 32 cm; diametro dell'orlo (interno) 17,8 cm; diametro del piede 12,6 cm.

6 S.n.i., 6 × 3 cm (*fig. 4*); 6,6 × 5,7 cm (*fig. 5*).

7 S.n.i., altezza massima 7,6 cm; diametro 19,8 cm.

8 Pfisterer-Haas 2003, 140-167; Olmos/Moreno-Conde 2012, 410-411.

9 Sulle scene di genere nel loro complesso si vedano le osservazioni di Ferrari 2003, secondo cui esse non sarebbero lo spontaneo riflesso di vita quotidiana, ma l'esito di una visione filtrata e metaforica riprodotta dall'artigiano.

10 L'iconografia femminile nella ceramica attica è tema trattato ampiamente negli studi recenti. Si vedano a titolo esemplificativo: Hatzivassiliou 2010, 52-53; Sabetai 2009a, 103-114 (con osservazioni di metodo); Kaltsas/Shapiro 2008; Connelly 2007; Lewis 2002; Ferrari 2002; Reeder 1995; Williams 1983.

11 In riferimento alle scene con donne alla fontana, Pilo 2012; Pfisterer-Haas 2002; Manakidou 1992-1993; per le altre due categorie, Pfisterer-Haas 2003.

12 Sabetai 2009a, 104.

13 Elenco dei pezzi in Pfisterer-Haas 2003, 187-188 (tre crateri, due *lekythoi*, tre *kalpides*, due *skyphoi* e due *kylikes*); su questo tema anche Sabetai 2009a, 104.

14 Pfisterer-Haas 2003, 178-187.

[15] Rilevante in tal caso è la presenza di un uccello a forma di fallo nell'esemplare Athinai, Ethniko Archaoiologiko Museio, inv. M 471; Pfisterer-Haas 2003, 179, SO 13. Su tale soggetto si veda Boardman 1992, 230-234.

[16] München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, inv. 1702A: Beazley 1954, 188-189, tav. 29 (Pittore A.D.).

[17] Pfisterer-Haas 2003, 178, SO 2.

[18] Su questi pezzi, Pfisterer-Haas 2003, 188, RO 10-13.

[19] *ARV*^{2} 523, 1; Pfisterer-Haas 2003, 187, RO1; Olmos/Moreno-Conde 2012, 422, n. 103.

[20] *ARV*^{2} 527, 66; *CVA Berlin, Antikensammlung* 9 (E. Böhr, 2002), 82-83, tav. 60; Pfisterer-Haas 2003, 187, RO2.

[21] *ARV*^{2} 763, 1; Burn 1985, 94-95; Pfisterer-Haas 2003, 187, RO3.

[22] *ARV*^{2} 503, 21; Fracchia 1972, 103-111; Pfisterer-Haas 2003, 187, RO4; Olmos/Moreno-Conde 2012, 421, n. 90.

[23] *ARV*^{2} 582, 19; *CVA Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie* 1 (F. Brommer, 1956), 19-20, tav. 29.4; Pfisterer-Haas 2003, 188, RO6.

[24] *Paralipomena* 353, 1; Pfisterer-Haas 2003, 188, RO7, tav. 38.2; Olmos/Moreno-Conde 2012, 421, n. 88.

[25] *ARV*^{2} 922, 1; *CVA Compiègne, Musée de Compiègne (Musée Vivenel)* (M. Flot, 1924), tavv. 17, 9-10; 19, 3; 20, 2; Pfisterer-Haas 2003, 188, RO8, tav. 38.1. Sul ceramografo, *ARV*^{2} 922-925.

[26] *ARV*^{2} 930, 97; *CVA Mainz, Universität* 2 (E. Böhr, 1993), 50, tav. 31; Pfisterer-Haas 2003, 188, RO9, tav. 38.3.

[27] Su questi tipi di contenitori, Amyx 1958, 264-275; in particolare tavv. 51.b (vasi tripodi) e 51.d (*phormoi*).

[28] Si veda per esempio la grande anfora vicina a Exekias a Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 63.952, *Paralipomena* 62; *CVA Boston, Museum of Fine Arts* 1 (H. Hoffmann 1973), 9-10, tav. 12.

[29] Robertson 1992, 137, fig. 138; l'altro lato del vaso è riprodotto in Boardman 1975, fig. 205.

[30] *CAVI*, n. 5130.

[31] Lissi Caronna 2003, 123-131, gruppo 4; Zancani Montuoro 1954, 98-100. Per i confronti fra scene vascolari con la raccolta di frutta e *pinakes*, Pfisterer-Haas 2003, 159-161. Le melagrane si connotano per la presenza di un 'calicetto a corona': esempi nella produzione vascolare: Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, inv. 2179: *ARV*^{2} 475, 262 (Makron) o *ARV*^{2} 669, 45 (Pittore di Londra E 342); per una rappresentazione in contesto chiaramente nuziale, Paris, Louvre, inv. G 226; *ARV*^{2} 250, 15 (Pittore di Syleus). Per lo straordinario patrimonio ideologico connesso a questo frutto si veda a titolo meramente esemplificativo Muthmann 1982. Le mele, invece, tendono di frequente a un profilo cuoriforme, forse accentuato nel caso delle cotogne, che non sono facilmente distinguibili dalle altre varietà del frutto. Sono chiaramente mele quelle custodite dal serpente Ladone, come nella nota anfora di Euphronios all'Ermitage B.2351 (B. 610): *ARV*^{2} 18, 2; *Addenda*^{2} 153; Chazalon 1995, 128, fig. 14. Si tenga comunque presente l'ambiguità del lemma μῆλον, Chantraine 1974, p. 694. Per il caso locrese, Meirano 2003, 158-159, che interpreta come *anthologia* una scena che in precedenza era stata connessa alla raccolta di mele cotogne.

[32] *LIMC s.v.* Hesperides (I. McPhee); Padgett 2014.

[33] Sourvinou Inwood 1978, 109-110; *Hymnus Homericus ad Cererem*, vv. 6-8. Ma sarebbe necessario postulare in tal caso un episodio poco noto del mito, Fracchia 1972, 106-107.

[34] L'identificazione di alcuni *stamnoi* come 'vasi delle Lenee' sulla base dei soggetti dionisiaci si deve a Frickenhaus 1912; a questa interpretazione si è contrapposta quella di M.P. Nilsson che connetteva i vasi alle cerimonie del secondo giorno delle Antesterie, sostenuta anche da J.D. Beazley - *CVA Oxford, Ashmolean Museum* 1 (1927), 23, tav. 28. Una breve discussione delle due posizioni, ormai non più giustificabili con il progresso del dibattito sugli *stamnoi*, è in de La Genière 1987, 43-44 e in de La Genière 2013, con la distinzione fra modeste *lekythoi* a figure nere a soggetto dionisiaco e *stamnoi* 'delle Lenee'. Attualmente si considerano o riflesso di riti dionisiaci in ambito domestico - Frontisi-Ducroux 1997, 123-132 - o evocazione di più generici atti rituali Isler-Kerényi 2009; ulteriori indicazioni *infra* nota 86.

[35] Si veda, per esempio, Simon 1983.

[36] Isler-Kerényi 2009, 77; in riferimento ai vasi delle Lenee può essere osservato come il montaggio delle scene consista in un'associazione di elementi estrapolati da schemi iconografici preesistenti (Pierce 1998); l'eterogeneità del materiale e l'impossibilità di riconoscere schemi costanti nella pratica rituale era stata osservata anche in Frontisi-Ducroux 1991.

[37] Matheson 2009, 398 e Iozzo *cds.* in riferimento alla *neckamphora* inv. 35562 dalla Collezione Astarita nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco.

[38] Dillon 2002, 215-218.

[39] *A ciò concorre anche la norma che la sposa si chiuda in camera con lo sposo dopo aver mangiato una mela cotogna, e che il marito dell'ereditiera abbia rapporti con la moglie almeno tre volte al mese* (trad. M. Manfredini). La testimonianza soloniana è ricordata per ben tre volte da Plutarco in opere differenti con lievi sfumature (Plut. *Solon* 20.4; *Coniugalia Praecepta* 138 d; *Romanae Quaestiones* 279 f). La spiegazione fornita da Plutarco, ὅτι δεῖ τὴν ἀπὸ στόματος καὶ φωνῆς χάριν εὐάρμοστον εἶναι πρῶτον καὶ ἡδεῖαν (*Coniugalia Praecepta* 138 d, ed. F.C. Babbit 1928), semplifica e non tiene conto dello *status* delle mele, cotogne in particolare, come cibo rituale, auspicio di fertilità e forse anche indicatore della regolarità giuridica del matrimonio. Su quest'ultimo aspetto si vedano le considerazioni di L. Piccirilli (Manfredini/Piccirilli 1977, 226-227). Una puntuale rassegna delle fonti in Foster 1899, integrata poi in Littlewood 1968, con riferimenti al matrimonio al par. XII (155-157), Stock McCartney 1925, 70-81 e Faraone 1990, 230-239, hanno invece posto l'accento sulla sfera afrodisiaca del frutto e sulle connessioni magico-rituali con il mondo orientale. Per lo studio dell'iconografia del matrimonio grazie ad analisi che tengano conto della documentazione archeologica Oakley/Sinos 1993; Sabetai 1997.

[40] *Come quel dolce pomo rosseggia in cima al ramo, alto sul ramo più alto, e se ne scordarono i coglitori di mele: anzi, non se ne scordarono, ma non riuscirono a raggiungerlo* (trad. F. Ferrari).

[41] In particolare Littlewood 1968, 154-155, 158-159; per le attestazioni iconografiche si veda, per esempio, la scena di corteggiamento nel frammento di *pelike*, Cracow, Czartoryski Museum, inv. 1320, *ARV*^{2} 262, 32, attribuito al Pittore di Syriskos.

[42] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 10.191a-b attribuito al Pittore di Leningrado; *ARV*^{2} 569, 49, su cui di recente Neils/Oakley 2003, 274.

[43] Già in quest'ottica Zancani Montuoro 1954, 100, tav. XXIV.

[44] Athinai, Benaki Mouseio, inv. 35495 - *ARV*^{2} 1277, 17; su questo pezzo si veda di recente Sabetai 2004, 20-21, 25; figg. 7-8.

[45] La gru vicina alla giovane sul vaso berlinese può essere spiegata come un ulteriore auspicio di fecondità femminile, in analogia con numerose altre attestazioni in cui compare il trampoliere Carroccio 2008, 14-15 con particolare riferimento alla presenza sulle emissioni monetali di Crotone; si vedano anche Lewis 2002, 163-166 e Celle 1995.

[46] Sempre in connessione con la sfera matrimoniale London, British Museum, inv. E 697; *ARV*[2] 1324, 45 maniera del Pittore di Meidias (forse di sua mano) in cui il riferimento sembra essere ad Afrodite *en kēpois* (Burn 1987, 27-32, MM 74).

[47] Così Burn 1985, analizzando la straordinaria coppa di Sotades (British Museum D 6); su cui anche di recente Giuman 2008, 230-233. Per i pomi delle Esperidi come simbolo di immortalità con chiari riferimenti al mondo orientale si veda Sforza 2010.

[48] Un elenco delle fonti in Littlewood 1968, 163-164; fra queste si segnalano Eur. *Hippolytus,* vv. 742-751; Apollod. *Bibliotheca* 2.113; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 3.83 (citando Asclepiade di Mende); Hyg. *Astronomica* 2.3. 119-124.

[49] Si veda in particolare Isler-Kerényi 2009, 81-82. Non si dimentichi che lo *stamnos* non è comunque esclusivo di contesti funerari, ma compare anche in depositi rituali in Grecia ed Etruria.

[50] Sabetai 2004, 22-23; per la duplice valenza di questo vaso con particolare riferimento all'aspetto funerario, in connessione con le fosse per le offerte, si veda di recente Sabetai 2009b.

[51] Athinai, Ethniko Archaoiologiko Museio, inv. 4502; una disamina del monumento in Kosmopoulou 1998, 536-541.

[52] Philippaki 1967, 63-70, con un puntuale elenco e la distinzione di due principali varietà (*rising shoulder* e *non-rising shoulder*).

[53] New York, Brooklyn Museum, inv. 03.8: *ARV*[2] 258, 22; Philippaki 1967, 63, n. 2; 65, tav. 34.1-2.

[54] Rouen, Musée Départemental des Antiquités, inv. 359: *ARV*[2] 259, 2 (vicino al Pittore di Copenhagen e al Pittore di Syriskos); Philippaki 1967, 64, n. 17; 68.

[55] Per esempio nella produzione del Pittore di Egisto, Wiel-Marin 2005, 99 o del Pittore dell'Hephaisteion Philippaki 1967, 53, tav. 27,1-2.

[56] Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. 1965.127: *ARV*[2] 258, 21; Philippaki 1967, 64, n. 12; 66-67.

[57] Tiverios 1991, tavv. 22-23; Güntner 1997, 104-110, n. 30 (C. Weiss).

[58] Si possono ricordare, a titolo esemplificativo, la *kalpis* a Trieste, Museo Civico, inv. S 423: *ARV*[2] 263, 45; il *kantharos* configurato a testa umana a Parigi, Cabinet des Médailles, inv. 866: *ARV*[2] 265, 80; 1538, 1; il cratere a calice dall'Acropoli di Atene, Acr. 735: *ARV*[2] 259,1 e lo *stamnos* a Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, inv. β 411: *Paralipomena* 352; *CVA Frankfurt am Main* 2 (K. Deppert, 1968), 28, tav. 74.3.

[59] München, Antikensammlungen, inv. 2408 (J. 343): *ARV*[2] 257, 8; Philippaki 1967, 63, n. 8; 66.

[60] London, British Museum, inv. E 350: *ARV*[2] 256, 2.

[61] Attualmente nella collezione di M. Wiener, *ARV*[2] 257, 11; Philippaki 1967, 63, n. 5, tav. 33.

[62] Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, inv. 125: ARV[2] 256, 1.

[63] Paris, Louvre, inv. G 190: *ARV*[2] 258, 19; *CVA Paris, Musée du Louvre* 2 (E. Pottier, 1923), III. I C 12, tav. 20.7.

[64] Cfr. nota 60.

[65] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 03.871: *ARV*[2] 258, 24.

[66] Hartwig 1933, 71, n. 761, tav. 66.

[67] Si vedano per esempio uno *stamnos* del Pittore di Argo a Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 3729: *CVA Wien, Kunsthistoriches Museum* 2 (F. Eichler, 1959), 15-16, tav. 66.1-4; un esemplare a New York, Brooklyn Museum, inv. 09.3: *ARV*[2] 1084, 15 (Pittore di Cassel, vicino al Pittore di Clio); o uno del Pittore di Trittolemo del Louvre *CVA Paris, Musée du Louvre* 2 (E. Pottier, 1923), III. I C 11-12, tav. 20.3,6, che presentano tutti una palma al di sotto dell'ansa. In generale per la presenza di alberi e il paesaggio sulla ceramica greca Dietrich 2010 (si noti la figura 351, dove compare un albero con foglie e frutti, dipinto su un cratere a colonnette del Pittore di Copenhagen - mercato antiquario Dietrich 2010, 652, nota 172); Rühfel 2003 e Chazalon 1995, con l'analisi di un ampio campione di vasi con la raffigurazione di alberi. Per i paesaggi sacri sulla ceramica Halm-Tisserant 1999, trattando più ampiamente i vasi della seconda metà del V-IV secolo a.C.

[68] Buoni esempi sono uno *stamnos* del Pittore della Nascita di Atena dalla necropoli della Banditaccia a Caere - Roma, Museo di Villa Giulia, inv. 20844, *CVA Roma, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia* 4 (G. Barbieri, 1991), 45-47 - e uno *stamnos* a Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 90.155 a-b, Pittore di Villa Giulia; Durand/Frontisi-Ducroux 1981, 89-91.

[69] Su 9E xiii Johnston 1979, 130-135, in particolare 134, nn. 99-108 (103-108 sono riferibili al Gruppo di Syriskos e al Pittore di Copenhagen), 212-213; Johnston 2006, 122-123. In particolare gli esemplari ai nn. 103-106 presentano un ulteriore tratto verticale, distaccato anche nei nn. 104 e 106. Per la diffusione Baldassarra 2013, 290.

[70] New York, Metropolitan Museum, inv. 56.171.50: vicino sia al Pittore di Copenhagen che a quello di Syriskos - *ARV*[2] 259.

[71] Sul Gruppo di Syriskos, *ARV*[2] 256-267; *Paralipomena* 351; *Addenda*[2] 204-205. Il Pittore di Copenhagen viene da Beazley definito *un artista accademico, vicino all'ultima produzione di Douris*.

[72] Boardman 1975, 113-114.

[73] La ricostruzione, più articolata, opta per tenere distinte le due figure del Pittore di Copenhagen e del Pittore di Syriskos, riconoscendo il primo nell'artigiano che firmava con il nome di Pistoxenos (quando già affrancato) o con l'etnonimo Syriskos (quando ancora schiavo). A Pistoxenos/Syriskos come vasaio e imprenditore si dovrebbe poi la collaborazione con il suo tradizionale collega (chiamato appunto Pittore di Syriskos), ma anche con il vecchio Epiktetos e con il più giovane Pittore di Pistoxenos, Robertson 1992, 135-140.

[74] Pevnick 2010, 230, n. 40: l'errore nella firma può forse essere connesso alla mancanza di familiarità con la lingua greca da parte di una persona di provenienza semitica, la cui lingua non prevedeva la scrittura delle vocali. Nelle altre 17 occorrenze del *CAVI* riferibili allo stesso artigiano non sembrano comunque comparire ulteriori errori di questo tipo.

[75] Godart/de Caro 2007, 116, n. 27; Smith 2011, 27-29, 150, VP 3 con l'interpretazione tradizionale delle scene.

[76] Cosa che aveva convinto J.D. Beazley a tenere isolata la mano 'costruendo' il Pittore P.S., *Paralipomena* 353.

[77] Faraone 1990, 234-235, con i riferimenti a due tavolette cuneiformi contenenti i testi di due rituali magici destinati a sedurre donne.

[78] *I matrimoni si celebrano ai primi dell'equinozio di primavera: gli sposi entrano nella camera da letto avendo mangiato una mela o midollo di cammello e nient'altro in quella giornata*. I problemi testuali consentono due differenti

ricostruzioni in cui soggetto della frase possono essere entrambi gli sposi o solo lo sposo Biffi 2005, 297.

79 Trova ampi confronti nelle principali collezioni museali: *CVA Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Cinquantenaire)* 3 (F. Mayence, V. Verhoogen, 1949), III H e, 16, tav. 24.1-3; *CVA Zürich, Öffentliche Sammlungen* 1 (H. Isler, 1973), 22-23, tav. 16.1-2 (si noti l'analogia nell'irregolare disposizione delle linguette radiali); *CVA Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* 1 (M. Jongkees-Vos, 1972), tav. 50.1-2, più vicino all'esemplare PC 85, per la resa conica della estremità inferiore della melagrana, senza però la fascia risparmiata alla base del frutto; *CVA Paris, Musée du Louvre* 5 (E. Pottier, 1928), 37, nn. 10, 13.

80 Sui coperchi degli *stamnoi* sono particolarmente importanti le osservazioni di von Bothmer 1967, 814.

81 *CVA London, British Museum* 3 (H. Walters, 1927), III.I.c tavv. 19.3a-c; 20.2a-b; 21.4a-d; *CVA Paris, Musée du Louvre* 3 (E. Pottier, 1925), III.Id, tav. 19.3, 9; *CVA Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum* 2 (F. Hölscher, 1980), 30-32, tav. 22.

82 Mosca, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, inv. M-1291, 1292: *CVA Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts* 4 (N. Sidorova, 2001), 17-18, tav. 12 rinvenuto alla fine degli anni '60.

83 Fra i pochi studi von Bothmer 1964, von Bothmer 1986. Per l'identificazione di un probabile coperchio di *stamnos* decorato a fasce Iozzo 2002, 197-198, n. 280.

84 Cfr. note 1-3.

85 In particolare Paleothodoros 2009; Pizzirani 2010, 29-35 con la presentazione di casi di consapevole adozione e rifunzionalizzazione in contesto funerario di vasi che rappresentavano cerimonie religiose attiche. In riferimento alla committenza anche Cerchiai 2008.

86 Rendeli 1993, presentando gli esemplari dalle tombe 298, 882 della necropoli di Capua e ampliando poi il discorso ad altri analoghi vasi dal centro e da tutta la Campania. Sul dionisismo a Capua e sugli *stamnoi* usati come cinerari per le iniziate cfr. Isler-Kerényi 1997, 98-101; qualche osservazione anche in de La Genière 2013, 32-34.

87 Il nome della città etrusca di Chiusi è stato ricostruito **Clevsins* dal genitivo *clevsinsl* Rix 1984 (si ringrazia per l'indicazione il dott. Enrico Benelli - CNR).

88 Per il contesto di Foiano della Chiana: cratere Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 48.29; *kylix* Firenze, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 74624; Iozzo 2006, 112, 125, tavv. IV.3-4 e Rastrelli 1998, 350-351, si veda ora anche Bundrick 2014, con ampia discussione del contesto. Per il contesto di Acquaviva di Montepulciano: anfora Firenze - Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 77407, Rastrelli 1997. Devono essere poi aggiunti i casi ipotetici editi di recente da Sarteano, Minetti 2012, tomba 13.1, 108-109 (anfora del Pittore Antimenes) e tomba 14.8, 138-139 (cratere del Pittore dell'Angelo volante). Concettualmente affini alle incinerazioni in vasi attici sono le deposizioni in vasi etruschi a figure nere e rosse. Agli esemplari citati in Rastrelli 1997 si aggiungano Paolucci 2007b e 2009.

89 Isler-Kerényi 1976, l'ipotesi è ritenuta convincente da un buon numero di studiosi: Hamilton 1992, 136-137; de La Genière 1987, 48. Secondo la proposta di C. Isler-Kerényi la forma dello *stamnos* è entrata a far parte del repertorio vascolare attico alla fine del VI secolo a.C., perdurando poi per circa cinque generazioni. La forma dello *stamnos* è attestata anche nella ceramica italiota a figure rosse, Sisto 2001.

90 Con particolare riferimento allo spostamento e all'adozione di tipi vascolari etruschi in Attica si vedano Osborne 2001 e soprattutto Malagardis 1997, Rasmussen 1985.

91 Bruni 1993.

92 Per questa duplice prospettiva di indagine del materiale si veda Isler-Kerényi 2002, 69-70, in riferimento a un cratere dionisiaco da Spina; Isler-Kerényi 1999.

93 Iozzo 2012, 74-75. In riferimento alle immagini connesse alla condizione femminile prematrimoniale interessante è invece l'assimilazione di scene con figure femminili alla fonte nella produzione vulcente - Sabetai 2009a, 108-109.

94 Beazley 1959. Un bilancio complessivo delle differenti tendenze interpretative e delle diverse impostazioni teoriche in Paleothodoros 2002.

95 Sullo studio della presenza della ceramica greca a Chiusi il più recente contributo sistematico è in Iozzo 2006, 107-132, che presenta anche una rassegna delle evidenze fino al 520 a.C. Altri aspetti sono trattati in Iozzo 2012 in particolare per la presenza di *skyphoi* attici a figure rosse del tipo A e in Iozzo 2009; 2007, 62-70, 118-119, nn. 56-59, 126, con la presentazione di un grande *dinos*. Sulla presenza di ceramica greca a Chiusi e nel suo territorio anche Rastrelli 1998, 339-358 che analizza tutto l'agro chiusino e Paribeni 1993; sull'agro chiusino, in particolare fino alla prima metà del VI secolo si veda ora Reusser 2013, 41-46. Osservazioni di metodo sulle modalità di commercio della ceramica greca in Paleothodoros 2007 e Iozzo 2012, 74 e 2014, 92, in cui si valorizza il ruolo dei grandi mediatori e degli informatori locali, punti nodali di un commercio che altrimenti rischierebbe di essere visto in un'ottica troppo modernizzante. Per una comparazione fra le importazioni nel chiusino e quelle negli altri centri etruschi, si vedano Martelli 1979; Rendeli 1989; Martelli 1989 e soprattutto Reusser 2002, I 24, 124-125; II 26-30, 106-107, 114-115.

96 Shapiro/Iozzo/Lezzi-Hafter 2013.

97 Per un'analisi delle pissidi 'nicosteniche', si veda ora Lyons 2009; per gli esemplari provenienti da Chiusi, Iozzo 2006, 132. Sui piatti Callipolitis-Feytmans 1974; per gli esemplari provenienti da Chiusi Iozzo 2006, 131-132 e Iozzo 2014.

98 M. Iozzo fa riferimento a Chiusi come un *'banco di prova' particolarmente aperto e culturalmente ricettivo* per determinati prodotti delle officine ateniesi, Iozzo 2006, 118.

99 Iozzo 2006, 117.

100 Reusser 2002, schema alla fig. 3.

101 Rastrelli 1998, 355.

102 **1**) Gastaldi 1998, 131, fig. 15.
2) Pittore di Kleophrades, Firenze, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. V.15, *ARV*^{2} 187, 60.
3) Pittore di Kleophrades, Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 1847, *ARV*^{2} 188, 64; *CVA Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale* 2 (A. Rastrelli, 1982), 8-9, tavv. 13.3, 14.
4) Pittore di Berlino, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale N. I. 2373, *ARV*^{2} 207, 139; *CVA Palermo, Museo Nazionale* 1 (I. Bovio, 1938), 16, tavv. 29-30; A. Villa, in Barbagli/Iozzo 2007, 162-163.
5) Pittore di Berlino, Paris, Louvre inv. G.186, *ARV*^{2} 207, 140; *CVA Paris, Musée du Louvre* 2 (E. Pottier, 1923), III.I.c 11, tav. 20.1 e 4.
6) Pittore di Berlino, Berlin, Antikensammlung inv. F.2186, *ARV*^{2} 208, 150; *CVA Berlin, Antikensammlung* 11 (A. Schöne-Denkinger, 2009), 79-80, Fig. 20.
7) Pittore di Syleus, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale inv. N. I. 2378, *ARV*^{2} 251, 34; Palermo, Museo Nazio-

nale 1 (I. Bovio, 1938), 17, tav. 31; A. Villa, in Barbagli/Iozzo 2007, 164-165.

8) Pittore di Tyskiewicz, forse da Chiusi, *ARV*² 291, 25; Greifenhagen 1977, 210, fig. 12.

9) Pittore di Deepdene, Firenze, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 5598, *ARV*² 499, 12; Philippaki 1967, tav. 41.2.

10) Pittore di Villa Giulia, Firenze, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 4005, *ARV*² 621, 37; *CVA Firenze, Regio Museo Archeologico* 2 (D. Levi, 1938), 49-50, tavv. 48.5, 53. 3-4, riconosciuto di provenienza chiusina Paolucci 2010, 137, tav. XXIII.

11) Polygnotos, Firenze, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 4227, *ARV*² 1028, 11; *CVA Firenze, Regio Museo Archeologico* 2 (D. Levi, 1938), 50, tavv. 47.5, 54.1-3.

12) Pittore di Midas, London, British Museum inv. E447 *ARV*² 1035, 3; *CVA London, British Museum* 3 (H. Walters, 1927), 9, tav. 22.2a-c.

13) Gruppo di Polignoto *ARV*² 1050, 1 esemplare disperso, già a Roma Greifenhagen 1977, 210, fig. 13 (n. 14).

14) Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale N.I. 5603; Paribeni 1996, 82-84, n. 55.

15) Esemplare disperso attestato solo dal disegno nel DAI di Roma, Greifenhagen 1977, 210, fig. 14 (n. 13).

[103] L'approccio della cosiddetta biografia culturale dell'oggetto, recente nel complesso delle indagini sui manufatti antichi, consiste nella registrazione e nello studio dei cambiamenti di significato sociale che un oggetto ha accumulato durante la sua esistenza. Si vedano Kopytoff 1986, 64-91; Gosden/Marshall 1999; Dannehl 2009. Per l'applicazione sulla ceramica antica si veda Langdon 2001, 579-606.

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Cartagine e le città punico-siciliane fra il IV e la metà del III sec. a.C.: continuità e rotture nella produzione anforica siciliana

Babette Bechtold

Abstract

This paper focuses on amphora production in Punic Sicily between the 4th and the 3rd century BC. On the basis of provenance studies on about 320 ceramic samples, the morphological repertoires of the Punic cities of Solus, Panormos, Lilybaion and Selinus have been identified. The amphorae documentation gives evidence for both a significant difference between the north-western and the south-western production circle and a general, typological change in all the series towards the very late 4th century BC. Specifically, the present study tries to place these latter archaeological evidences in the historical frame of Sicily during the period of Agathocles.

Introduzione

Nell'ambito di un progetto di ricerca sulla provenienza di una copiosa selezione di anfore puniche rinvenute in diversi siti del Mediterraneo centro-meridionale,[1] l'esame di ca. 320 frammenti di fabbrica siciliana[2] ha ora permesso la caratterizzazione, sia archeologica che archeometrica, delle produzioni anforiche di *Panormos*, *Solus*, *Motya*, *Lilybaion* e *Selinus*. Questo studio degli *atelier* anforici della Sicilia occidentale ha evidenziato che negli anni a cavallo fra IV e III sec. a.C. in tutti i siti produttivi avvengono cambiamenti importanti, in chiaro contrasto con i repertori locali prodotti precedentemente nel corso del IV sec. a.C. Il presente contributo si propone di focalizzare l'attenzione sull'insieme delle produzioni delle città di *Panormos*, *Solus* (cap. 1.1), *Lilybaion* (cap. 1.2) e *Selinus* (cap. 1.3) fra il IV e la metà del III sec. a.C.,[3] con un particolare accento sui decenni a cavallo fra il IV e III sec. a.C. (cap. 2). Queste nuove informazioni archeologiche verranno inserite nel più ampio contesto storico-economico della Sicilia fra l'età agatoclea e la Prima Guerra Punica (cap. 4). Rappresentando la produzione anforica di un sito solo uno degli aspetti delle sue attività economiche, nel cap. 3 verrà sintetizzato il contemporaneo panorama numismatico delle città punico-siciliane per il quale è stata osservata un'analoga cesura nel primo periodo agatocleo. Nel cap. 5, infine, verrà discusso il fenomeno della centralizzazione monetale, accompagnato da un *floruit* commerciale delle due città nord-siciliane di *Solus* e *Panormos*.

1. Le produzioni anforiche della Sicilia occidentale fra la fine del IV e la metà del III sec. a.C.

1.1. La produzione della costa nord-occidentale: l'area di Panormos e Solus

Le vicinissime città di *Solus* e *Panormos* presentano, sin dall'età arcaica, dei repertori morfologici sostanzialmente paralleli e ormai abbastanza ben conosciuti in base ad un alto numero di reperti analizzati nell'ambito del progetto menzionato alla nota 1, ma anche documentati in studi precedenti.[4] Dal tipo chiave della produzione di V sec. a.C., l'anfora Ramon T-1.4.5.1 (*fig. 1, 1*), deriva, a partire dall'inizio del IV sec. a.C., la forma Ramon T-4.2.2.6 (*fig. 1, 2*) che evolve, nell'ultimo trentennio del IV sec. a.C., nel tipo Ramon-Greco T-4.2.2.7 (*fig. 1, 3*). Questa famiglia anforica viene caratterizzata da contenitori cilindrici in continuo allungamento, nello stadio finale con parte bassa quasi trapezoidale e spalla leggermente carenata,[5] accomunati da un orlo a disco che con l'andare del tempo si assottiglia e si inclina sempre di più. Le serie in discussione originano nell'area di *Panormos* e *Solus*, con soltanto rarissime imitazioni fuori dai siti produttivi,[6] e godono, a partire dalla fine del V, ma ancora di più durante il IV sec. a.C. di una notevole diffusione soprattutto regionale, ma anche extra-regionale, in particolare nell'Italia tirrenica.

Parallelamente, in entrambi i siti si producono anfore ovoidi con brevissimo collo cilindrico e orlo a colletto dal profilo triangolare o anche quadrangolare del tipo pan-mediterraneo Ramon T-2.2.1.2 (*fig. 1, 4*)[7] che da un punto di vista quantitativo sembrano, tuttavia, meno frequenti.

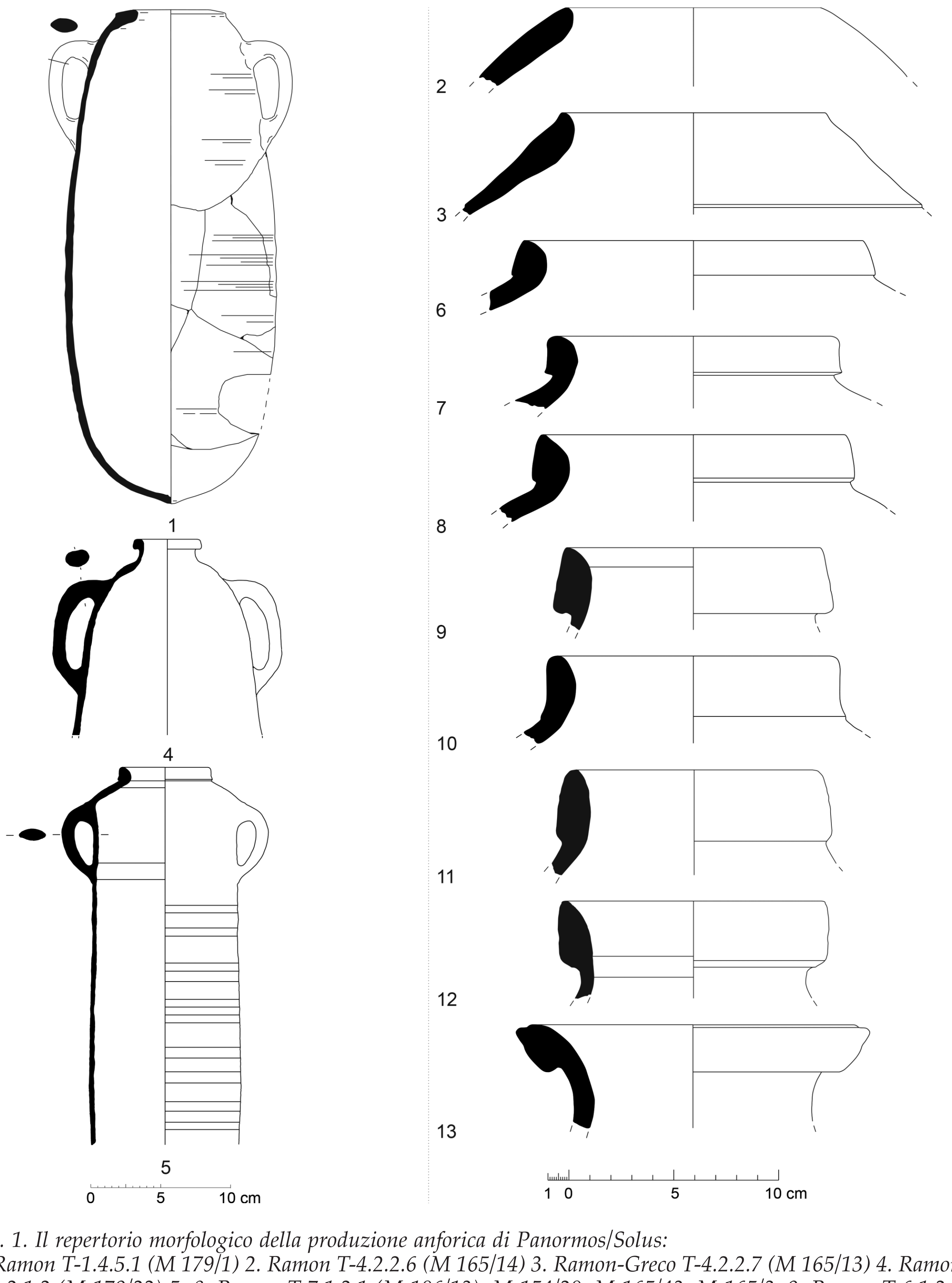

Fig. 1. Il repertorio morfologico della produzione anforica di Panormos/Solus:
1. Ramon T-1.4.5.1 (M 179/1) 2. Ramon T-4.2.2.6 (M 165/14) 3. Ramon-Greco T-4.2.2.7 (M 165/13) 4. Ramon T-2.2.1.2 (M 179/22) 5.-8. Ramon T-7.1.2.1 (M 106/13). M 154/20. M 165/43. M 165/3. 9. Ramon T-6.1.2.1 (M 106/33) 10. Ramon T-6.1.1.3 (M 165/8) 11. Ramon T-7.1.1.1 (M 119/214) 12. Ramon T-6.1.2.1/7.1.1.2 (M 106/31) 13. Ramon T-7.2.1.1 (M 119/255).

Proprio sullo scorcio del IV sec. a.C. gli *atelier* locali[8] avviano la produzione di una forma nuova, assimilata al tipo Ramon T-7.1.2.1[9] (*fig. 1, 5-8*) e caratterizzata da un orlo aggettante, a fascia, a sezione più o meno triangolare, con corpo cilindriforme, spesso affusolato e con marcata carenatura.[10] Nel suo insieme, si tratta di una forma ibrida che combina la sagoma del corpo con la spalla carenata, tipica delle serie nord-siciliane, con una sorta di versione modernizzante[11] di orlo a colletto di evidente tradizione dell'area punica centro-meridionale.

A *Panormos*, per l'intero arco produttivo delle serie anforiche è stato distinto sostanzialmente un solo *fabric*, il PAN-A-1,[12] nel quale sono stati realizzati anche tutti i 19 esemplari delle T-7.1.2.1 presi in esame. Al contrario, a *Solus* delle 16 anfore del tipo T-7.1.2.1 ben 13 rientrano nel più recente dei *fabrics* locali, il SOL-A-5, che comprende inoltre poche T-6.1.2.1 (*fig. 1, 9*) e T-6.1.1.3 (fig. 1,10), in base ai contesti grossomodo contemporanee alle T-7.1.2.1, e tre T-7.1.1.1 (*fig. 1, 11*). Le precedenti Ramon-Greco T-4.2.2.7 (N 11), invece, appartengono tutte al più antico *fabric* SOL-A-4, solo eccezionalmente documentato fra i contenitori della forma T-7.1.2.1. Per la città di *Solus* il passaggio della fabbricazione dei tipi successivi T-4.2.2.7 e T-7.1.2.1 viene quindi accompagnato dall'utilizzo di un nuovo *fabric*, il SOL-A-5, di fattura meno depurata ed omogenea.[13] Non sappiamo se l'introduzione del *fabric* SOL-A-5 rappresenti la comparsa di una nuova officina oppure l'esito di un cambiamento avvenuto nel processo lavorativo all'interno della stessa bottega. Considerando il fatto, tuttavia, che nel più antico *fabric* SOL-A-4 non solo vengono prodotte alcune T-7.1.2.1, ma anche una variante probabilmente contemporanea, cioè la forma Ramon T-6.1.2.1 (*fig. 1, 9*) dall'orlo più alto e con cortissimo collo cilindrico, tendiamo a considerare il *fabric* SOL-A-5 l'espressione di una nuova bottega, sorta nel *kerameikos* di *Solus* sullo scorcio del IV sec. a.C.

L'attività produttiva delle botteghe soluntine prosegue, stando al materiale da noi analizzato, fino alla produzione della forma T-7.1.1.1 (*fig. 1, 11*) con orlo estremamente allungato ed assottigliato da datare attorno alla metà del III sec. a.C. Per *Panormos*, invece, disponiamo di una documentazione sufficientemente ampia per dimostrare che probabilmente nel secondo quarto del III sec. a.C. le T-7.1.2.1 evolvono in contenitori con orlo alto ca. 3 cm dal profilo a triangolo allungato e corto collo cilindrico ben individuabile, classificabili come una forma intermedia fra le T-6.1.2.1 e le T-7.1.1.2 (*fig. 1, 12*). Non prima della metà del III sec. a.C., infine, all'interno delle stesse officine, nascerà il tipo T-7.2.1.1 (*fig. 1, 13*).

1.2. La produzione di Lilybaion

Le nostre conoscenze della produzione anforica di *Lilybaion* sono ancora ad uno stato iniziale,[14] soprattutto a causa dello scarso numero di studi specifici sulla cultura materiale locale. Per la più antica fase insediativa della città durante il IV sec. a.C. i nostri dati attestano la fabbricazione dei più recenti tipi delle ultime serie moziesi, cioè delle forme T18 (*fig. 2, 1*) e T19[15] della Toti, nonché del tipo Ramon T-2.2.1.2 (*fig. 2, 2*). Il più antico repertorio locale conferma, perciò, un naturale, stretto legame fra la neo-fondazione sul Capo Boeo e l'insediamento di *Motya*, ridimensionato in seguito all'attacco del 397 a.C., con buona parte della popolazione sopravvissuta rifugiatasi a *Lilybaion*.

Alcuni contesti funerari della fine del IV o degli inizi del III sec. a.C. rinvenuti nella necropoli lilibetana hanno restituito contenitori dalla morfologia ibrida, con un orlo verticale, avvicinabile alla forma Ramon T-3.2.1.2, e dal corpo cilindrico affusolato, simile a quello delle serie alto-ellenistiche di *Panormos*/*Solus* (*fig. 2, 3*). [16] Sullo scorcio del IV sec. a.C., invece, assistiamo alla comparsa di un tipo nuovo, il Ramon T-4.2.1.5 (*fig. 2, 4*) con ampio orlo a disco, che oggigiorno va considerata un'"invenzione" dell'area di Cartagine della metà del IV sec. a.C ca.[17]. Questo tipo, non attestato fra le serie moziesi di IV sec. a.C. e pressoché sconosciuto[18] fra le produzioni della costa nord-occidentale (ved. supra, cap. 1.1), si ritrova, invece, sulla costa meridionale fra le serie di *Selinus* (ved. infra, cap. 1.3). A *Lilybaion* la produzione locale delle T-4.2.1.5 procede almeno fino alla fine del primo terzo del III sec. a.C. Stretti confronti con la coeva produzione selinuntina presenta inoltre un'anfora con orlo indistinto, fortemente rientrante, aliena agli altri repertori siciliani, da inquadrare fra i tipi Ramon T-4.2.1.3 e T-5.2.3.2 (*fig. 2, 5*). Frammenti di *fabric* lilibetano provengono dalla fornace del Baglio Anselmi, un contesto del secondo quarto del III sec. a.C., nonché da *Selinus*, da un deposito databile attorno alla metà del III sec. a.C.

Al più presto a partire dal secondo terzo oppure solo attorno alla metà del III sec. a.C. e parallelamente alla famiglia anforica con orlo a disco, a *Lilybaion* si producono anche dei contenitori con orlo a fascia e corto collo cilindrico: troviamo la forma T-6.1.1.3 (*fig. 2, 6*), più o meno

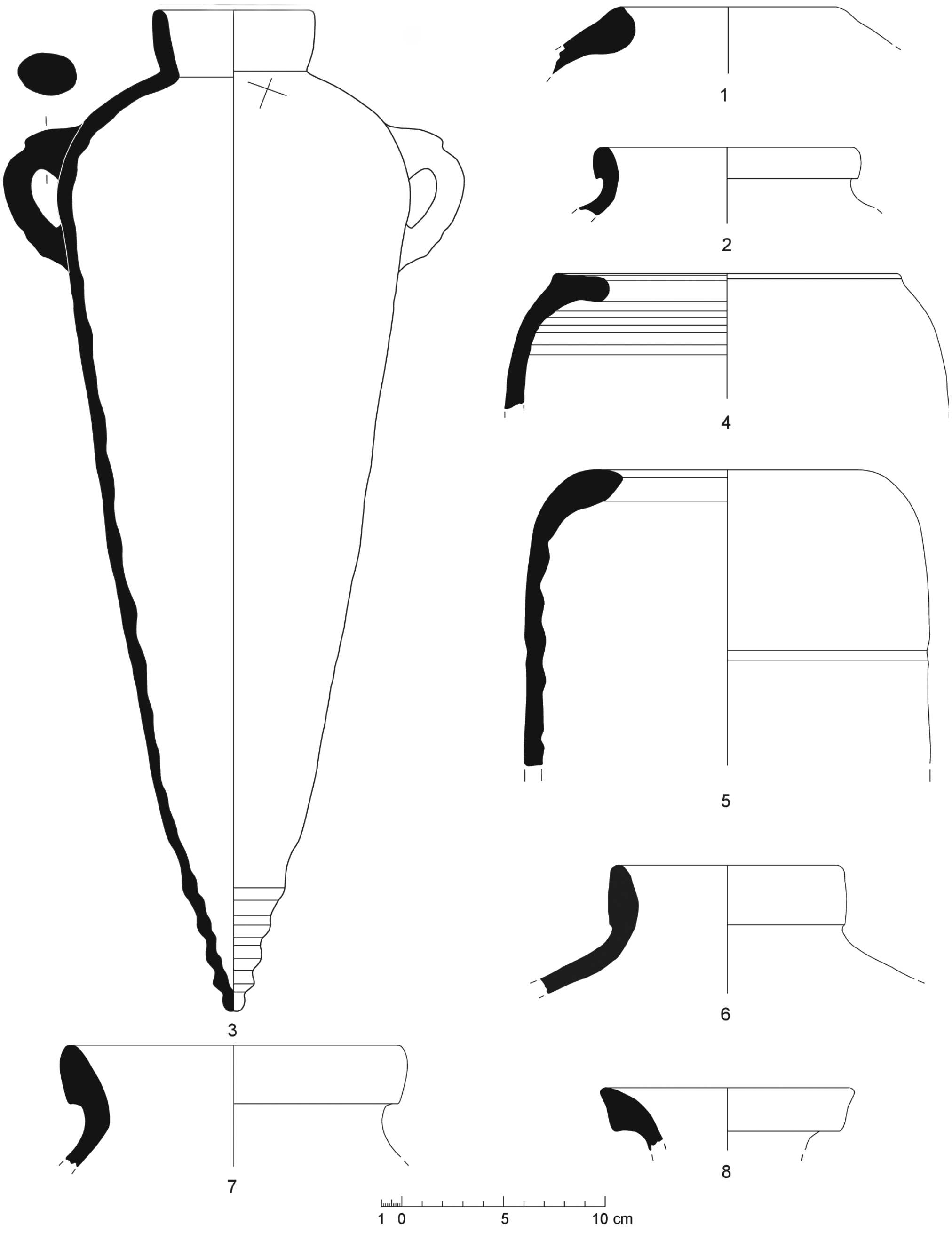

Fig. 2. Il repertorio morfologico della produzione anforica di Lilybaion:
1. Toti T18 (M 165/2) 2. Ramon T-2.2.1.2 (M 154/70) 3. prototipo Ramon T-3.2.1.2 (M 166/13) 4. Ramon T-4.2.1.5 (M 154/18) 5. Ramon T-4.2.1.3/5.2.3.2 (M 169/6) 6. Ramon T-6.1.1.3 (M 119/54) 7. Ramon T-6.1.2.1 (M 165/44) 8. Ramon T-7.2.1.1 (M 165/31).

contemporanea sarà un'anfora assimilabile al tipo T-6.1.2.1 (*fig. 2, 7*). Ancora più recente, in base ai nostri contesti stratigrafici non anteriore alla fine del III sec. a.C., è la forma T-7.2.1.1 (fig. 2,8) che potrebbe aver perdurato anche per qualche decennio del II sec. a.C.

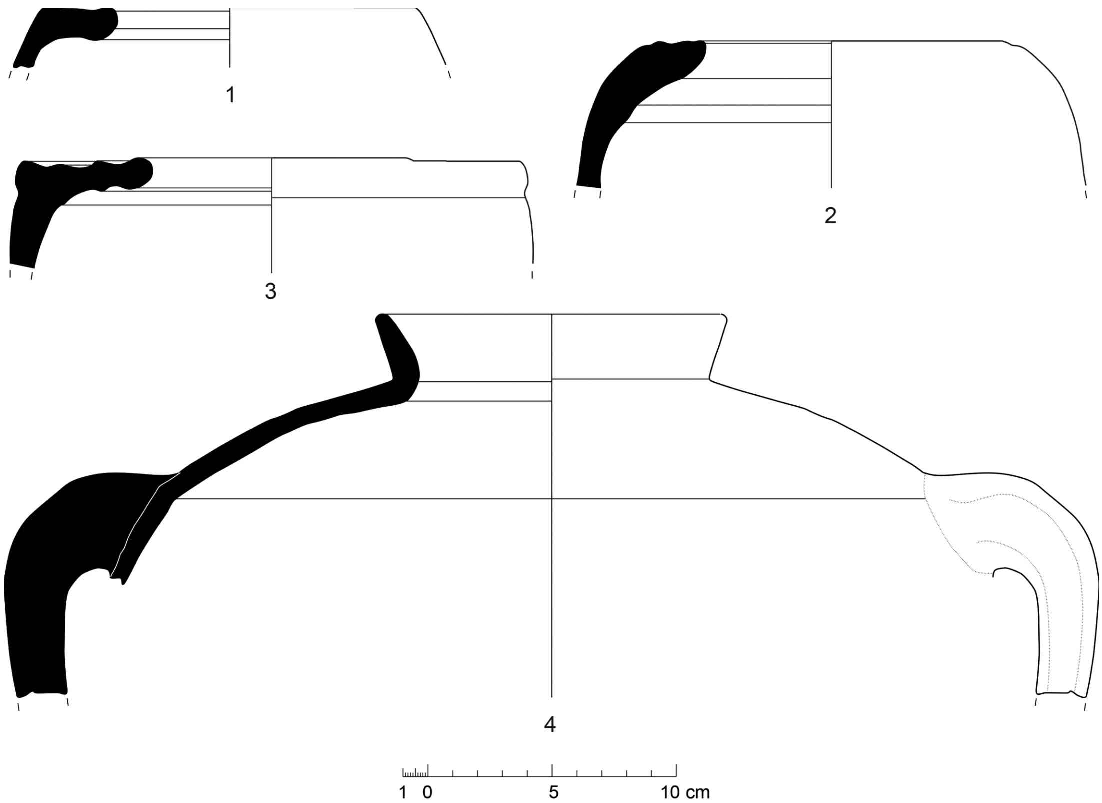

Fig. 3. Il repertorio morfologico della produzione anforica di Selinus:
1. Ramon T-4.2.1.5 (M 154/15) 2. Ramon T-5.2.3.2 (M 154/88) 3. Ramon T-5.2.3.1 (M 154/82) 4. Ramon T-3.2.1.2 (da: Fourmont 2013, fig. 17,2).

1.3. La produzione di Selinus

Fra tutte le produzioni di anfore punico-siciliane di IV e III sec. a.C., quella di *Selinus* è indubbiamente la meno conosciuta, poiché sia le ricerche archeologiche che archeometriche sono ancora ad uno stato embrionale.[19] Non abbiamo abbiamo al momento alcuna chiarezza sull'attività delle botteghe locali durante il IV sec. a.C., attualmente attestata da due frammenti rinvenuti ad Entella[20] ed assimilabili ai tipi Ramon T-4.2.1.7/Toti T18[21] e T-8.1.1.1.[22] L'evidenza di una produzione anforica locale accresce soltanto verso la fine del IV o l'inizio del III sec. a.C., quando nelle stratigrafie insediative scavate sull'acropoli compaiono alcuni frammenti di fabbrica locale del tipo cartaginese Ramon T-4.2.1.5 (*fig. 3, 1*). Nessun dubbio esiste, invece, sull'attività di alcune botteghe ceramiche nell'area FF1 sull'acropoli durante il secondo quarto del III sec. a.C. fino al momento dell'attacco romano nel 250 a. C. che producono le forme Ramon T-5.2.3.2 (*fig. 3,2*), T-5.2.3.1 (*fig. 3, 3*) e T-3.2.1.2 (*fig. 3, 4*).

2. La cesura nelle produzioni anforiche punico-siciliane della fine del IV sec. a.C.: il circuito settentrionale e il circuito sud-occidentale

La sintetica discussione dei repertori morfologici individuati per le serie anforiche di *Solus*, *Panormos*, *Lilybaion* e *Selinus* nel primo periodo ellenistico permette di cogliere dei cambiamenti significativi, sia quantitativi che qualitativi, in tutte e quattro le produzioni, negli anni a cavallo fra la fine del IV e l'inizio del III sec. a.C. Le vecchie colonie di *Solus*[23] e *Panormos* abbandonano la tradizione regionale delle anfore con imboccatura a disco inclinato per convergere sulla produzione di un tipo nuovo, la forma T-7.1.2.1 (*fig. 1, 5-8*), che unisce tratti tipicamente siciliani (il profilo generale del corpo) ad una versione modernizzata di un orlo aggettante, derivato da una sagoma più generalmente punico pan-mediterranea. Tale tipo evolve in entrambi i centri, probabilmente nel corso del secondo quarto del III sec. a.C., in un'anfora dall'orlo a sezione triangolare

molto allungato con breve collo cilindrico, da assimilare alle forme Ramon T-7.1.1.1 (*fig. 1, 11*) e T-6.1.2.1/7.1.1.2 (*fig. 1, 12*).

Le neo fondazioni di *Selinus*[24] e *Lilybaion* sulla costa sud-occidentale, invece, introducono entrambe, sullo scorcio del IV sec. a.C., un tipo alieno al repertorio siciliano, di impronta cartaginese, cioè la forma Ramon T-4.2.1.5 (*figg. 2, 4 e 3, 1*), che rappresenta una chiara rottura con le evidenze seppur labili, per i rispettivi panorami tipologici attestati per il IV sec. a.C. che sembrerebbero rientrare nelle morfologie delle ultime serie moziesi. 'L'africanità' delle serie di *Selinus* e *Lilybaion* continua fino alla metà del III sec. a.C. con la produzione delle successive forme T-4.2.3.1/ 5.2.3.2 (*figg. 2, 5 e 3, 2*) ed, infine, T-5.2.3.1 (*fig. 3, 3*).

Di conseguenza, l'analisi dei repertori anforici delle quattro città punico-siciliane evidenzia, per il primo periodo agatocleo, non solo una cesura morfologica in tutte e quattro le serie, ma anche una bipartizione tipologica fra la costa Nord-Ovest e la costa Sud-Ovest. Per *Panormos* e *Solus* si coglie inoltre un netto incremento della produzione.

3. Altri indicatori per una discontinuità archeologica fra la fine del IV e l'inizio del III sec. a.C.: la produzione numismatica della Sicilia punica

Molto recentemente, le nostre conoscenze sulle emissioni in *aes* della Sicilia occidentale, fra il V sec. a.C. e l'età imperiale, sono state notevolmente arricchite dall'esauriente studio di S. Frey-Kupper di oltre 1400 monete antiche rinvenute negli scavi svizzeri sul Monte Iato.[25] La fase immediatamente precedente al periodo agatocleo che coincide con la Terza Democrazia Siracusana (336-316 a.C.),[26] è caratterizzata da un repertorio numismatico ricco ed articolato. Fra le emissioni puniche in *aes* troviamo, accanto a due serie a diffusione sovra-regionale,[27] alcuni tipi a circolazione locale/regionale che nella loro maggioranza sono stati attribuiti ad alcune città della costa nord-occidentale ed occidentale dell'isola.[28] In passato, Frey-Kupper ha già rilevato da un lato la sovrapposizione geografica delle aree di provenienza delle monete riferite al gruppo della Sicilia nord-occidentale e delle anfore dei tipi Ramon T-4.2.2.7 e T-7.1.2.1[29] e dall'altro la coincidenza della distribuzione areale dei tipi monetali di *Lilybaion* e delle anfore della forma Ramon T-4.2.1.5.[30]

Intorno al 300 a.C., invece, si assiste alla scomparsa di tutte queste serie regionali (la più recente va riferita a Şyş-*Panormos*), a vantaggio di un'occorrenza ancora più ampia di emissioni sovra-regionali, *in primis* del tipo SNG Cop., North Africa nn. 109-119, il tipo monetale più frequente nella Sicilia occidentale punica.[31]

4. Sintesi del quadro storico della Sicilia occidentale sullo scorcio fra IV e III sec. a.C.

In Sicilia, le vicende storiche successive al trattato siracusano punico del 405-404 sono caratterizzate dai continui conflitti bellici fra Cartagine e Siracusa che durante la prima metà del secolo sfociano in tre guerre con i rispettivi trattati di pace del 392 a.C., del 374 a.C. e del 366 a.C.[32] Il periodo immediatamente precedente allo scorcio del IV sec. a.C. che qui ci interessa si apre con la pace del 339 a.C., stipulata dopo la battaglia al *Krimissos*, che ridefinisce l'andamento della frontiera fra l'epicrazia cartaginese e il regno siracusano lungo il fiume *Lykos* (F. Platani).[33] Nel 316 a.C. un colpo di stato a Siracusa porta al potere Agatocle. Ripetute aggressioni contro Messina da parte di quest'ultimo rendono necessario un nuovo trattato (nel 313 a.C.) che sancisce la frontiera fra le due egemonie lungo la linea *Thermae* - Eraclea Minoa. Dopo lo sventato attacco contro Agrigento nel 311 a.C., Agatocle invade i territori dell'epicrazia, dando inizio ad una sanguinosa guerra '(...) durante la quale molti centri dell'eparchia punica furono distrutti (…)'.[34] Il conflitto si conclude con il contratto di pace del 306 a.C., a conferma dell'integrità territoriale della zona sotto il controllo cartaginese.

Nel suo fondamentale contributo sulla 'formazione della "eparchia" punica di Sicilia' P. Anello conclude che ancora fino alle prime decadi del IV sec. a.C. (...) Cartagine interviene nell'isola solo quando i Greci minacciano i suoi interessi e i suoi alleati (…).'[35] L'atteggiamento della metropoli nordafricana cambia sensibilmente con la 'rivoluzione oligarchica' dei proprietari terrieri cartaginesi, il cd. partito della guerra, che si esprime attraverso una 'preoccupazione della conquista territoriale' avvertibile, per la prima volta, nel primo dei trattati post-magonidi del 374 a.C.[36] Sul piano archeologico, attorno alla metà del IV sec. a.C., questo nuovo interesse per la *chora* siciliana si traduce sul territorio nella '(...) creazione di una catena di centri e roccaforti cartaginesi tra Platani e Belice (..) che costituiscono "una linea articolata lungo l'asse *Minoa-Thermae* (e quindi *Solus-Panormos*)"'[37] a difesa del limite orientale dell'epicrazia.[38] Alla luce delle più recenti indagini archeologiche, in particolare delle diverse ricognizioni in superficie intraprese nella Sicilia occidentale a

partire dagli anni '80, oggi sappiamo che anche il vistoso incremento dell'insediamento rurale avviene proprio nel corso del IV sec. a.C.[39] L'istituzione di una linea di apprestamenti fortificati e la graduale occupazione del territorio, entrambi funzionali al controllo che Cartagine stava consolidando nella Sicilia occidentale,[40] costituirebbero '(...) la prima tappa significativa verso la creazione di quella *epikrateia* punica di Sicilia, intesa come "dominion", che però solo a partire dalla fine del IV secolo avrebbe conseguito la piena realizzazione.'[41] '(...) significativamente il passo decisivo di Cartagine verso l'*epikrateia* coincide con il momento di Agatocle, il primo greco che aveva osato portare la guerra nel cuore stesso della potenza nordafricana. A questo tentativo audace Cartagine risponde, infatti, con una più accentuata presenza politica nella cuspide occidentale della Sicilia, divenuta *epikrateia* a tutti gli effetti, e dove non c'era più posto per le autonomie.'[42]

Parallelamente alla graduale formazione della sua epicrazia siciliana che rappresenta, quindi, il risultato di un secolare opporsi alle mire espansionistiche di Siracusa, in combinazione con la caduta del regime della dinastia magonide, Cartagine combatte su un secondo fronte: Negli anni 348 a. C. e 306 a.C. datano, infatti, il secondo ed il terzo trattato romano-cartaginese, convenzioni stipulate per regolare le azioni commerciali fra Roma, i suoi alleati e Cartagine.[43] Per le fila del nostro discorso è fondamentale rilevare il ruolo attribuito alla Sicilia che nel contratto detto di Philinos del 306 a.C. rientra nella zona interdetta ai Romani, alla quale dal 348 a.C. appartengono già la Spagna, la Sardegna ed il Nordafrica. L'accordo, inoltre, impone ai Cartaginesi il veto di avvicinarsi alle sponde italiane.[44]

5. Discussione delle discontinuità nelle serie anforiche e monetali punico-siciliane della fine del IV sec. a.C.

Negli anni immediatamente successivi alla stipula dei contratti tra Agatocle e Roma nel 306 a.C., nell'eparchia si verificano due importanti fenomeni legati alla vita economica e socio-politica delle città puniche: cessano le ultime emissioni in *aes* delle serie locali (cap. 3), unitamente ad una uniformazione del linguaggio anforico, diviso fra costa Nord-Ovest e costa Sud-Ovest, che vede l'introduzione di tipi nuovi, in discontinuità con la precedente tradizione regionale (cap. 1-2). Proprio nel contempo compare la legenda MHŠBM sulla più recente emissione argentea di Cartagine battuta in Sicilia,[45] ad indicazione dell'esistenza '(..) di una magistratura del tipo dei *quaestores romani* (...).'[46] Sia P. Anello che S.F. Bondì interpretano la coincidenza fra la cessazione delle serie locali e la comparsa della legenda cartaginese come '(...) segno evidente ( ) della definitiva cessazione del ruolo autonomo degli stanziamenti punici e di un controllo più diretto della Sicilia da parte di Cartagine.'[47]

I dati numismatici parlano quindi chiaramente a favore di una centralizzazione della produzione monetale attorno al 300 a.C., probabilmente ad espressione di cambiamenti avvenuti a livello amministrativo. Le evidenze emerse dallo studio delle produzioni anforiche forniscono delle informazioni complementari: per le serie di *Panormos* e *Solus*, ora esemplificate dalle T-7.1.2.1 e T-6.1.2.1 (*fig. 1, 5-8*), gli anni compresi fra lo scorcio del IV ed il primo terzo del III sec. a.C. rappresentano indubbiamente il periodo aureo dell'intero arco produttivo di entrambe le città:[48] l'ampia distribuzione delle anfore soluntine/palermitane interessa sia l'ambito regionale che extra-regionale (soprattutto le coste tirreniche della Calabria e della Lucania), [49] ma evidentemente anche alcune parti della Sicilia orientale.[50] Attraverso l'individuazione del più recente *fabric* punico SOL-A-5, per lo meno per *Solus* è stato possibile evidenziare, inoltre, la probabile nascita di un'officina legata alla produzione industriale della forma T-7.1.2.1 (ved. cap. 1.1).

Le contemporanee anfore 'di tipo cartaginese' T-4.2.1.5 (*figg. 2, 4*) di *Lilybaion*,[51] invece, sembrano godere di una circolazione solo modesta, limitata sostanzialmente alla propaggine sud-occidentale della Sicilia, e non finalizzata alla loro esportazione ad ampio raggio. Infine, le contemporanee serie selinuntine[52] non risultano documentate, perlomeno al momento, fuori dal sito di produzione.

In seguito ai contratti del 306 a.C. e contemporaneamente alla centralizzazione monetale, probabilmente accompagnata da una restrizione dell'autonomia delle singole città siciliane, la distribuzione regionale ed extra-regionale dei due circuiti anforici individuati sopra (cap. 1.4) si sviluppa quindi molto diversamente: l'area produttiva fra *Panormos* e *Solus* consolida la sua posizione di interfaccia commerciale privilegiata soprattutto con l'Italia tirrenica, creatasi a partire dalla fine del V o dagli inizi del IV sec. a.C.[53] Infatti, in seguito alla distruzione di Himera nel 409 a.C. e probabilmente in stretta connessione con il continuo arrivo di mercenari italici da diverse zone dell'Italia tirrenica, a rafforzamento

delle truppe cartaginesi, l'area fra la Conca d'Oro ed il promontorio di Sòlanto riveste un ruolo di primo piano nel più ampio disegno degli spostamenti di beni e di individui dall'Italia tirrenica verso l'area di influenza cartaginese centro-mediterranea.[54] Ne parlano chiaramente i dati anforici che documentano il regolare arrivo di anfore lucane (soprattutto da *Paestum*, ma anche da *Elea*) nei siti della sfera cartaginese a partire dall'inizio del IV sec. a.C., in perfetta concomitanza con le più antiche attestazioni di anfore palermitane/soluntine in ambito tirrenico.[55] L'estrema rarità delle serie della Sicilia nord-occidentale nelle zone direttamente sotto il controllo della metropoli nordafricana permette l'ipotesi di considerare i Cartaginesi stessi gli agenti responsabili della distribuzione delle anfore lucane dagli *emporia* siciliani verso il *mare clausum*.[56]

Nella Sicilia occidentale, l'apice della circolazione dei tipi palermitani/soluntini T-7.1.2.1 e T-6.1.2.1 fra la fine del IV ed il primo terzo del III sec. a.C. trova la sua controparte nel culmine delle importazioni di anfore lucane, soprattutto veliane, nella fattispecie dei tipi 8-9 della nuova classificazione di V. Gassner, documentate in molti siti dell'eparchia siciliana e nel Nordafrica sotto controllo cartaginese.[57] Ora, tornando al discorso delle discontinuità di cui sopra, le evidenze anforiche per il culmine dei rapporti economici fra la Conca d'Oro, via le isole Eolie,[58] e i porti di *Paestum* e/o *Elea*, vanno quindi inquadrate proprio nel periodo storico in cui Cartagine realizza anche l'ultimo passo verso la creazione di una vera e propria eparchia che comporta probabilmente una diminuzione dei poteri di autonomia delle singole città. In considerazione della contemporanea introduzione di un linguaggio anforico standardizzato, diviso fra Nord e Sud che rompe con le precedenti tradizioni locali (cap. 1.4), bisogna chiedersi ovviamente dei possibili agenti di tali provvedimenti. Nulla sappiamo, al momento, dell'organizzazione della produzione industriale delle città punico-siciliane.[59] Era interamente in mano a dei privati? oppure sottostava, almeno entro una certa misura, ad autorità ufficiali, locali o cartaginesi che fossero? È possibile collegare non solo l'emissione della serie sovra-regionale in *aes* SNG Cop. North Africa, nn. 109-119, ma anche l'introduzione dei nuovi tipi di anfore al fenomeno di un'accentuata centralizzazione dell'amministrazione metropolitana attorno al 300 a.C.?

Al momento non ci rimane che l'interpretazione dei nuovi dati archeologici (cap. 1-2) che sembrano suggerire una sorta di bipartizione del ruolo assolto dalle città puniche della Sicilia di età agatoclea: *Lilybaion* e *Selinus*, sulla costa sud-occidentale, per le quali una forte presenza di gente cartaginese sembra plausibile per molti motivi,[60] rientrano pienamente nell'ambito egemone della metropoli con compiti probabilmente legati al consolidamento della presenza cartaginese nell'eparchia.

La circolazione notevolmente ampliata delle forme T-7.1.2.1 e T-6.1.2.1 rispetto alle serie di IV sec. a.C. (cap. 1.1), invece, rappresenta l'espressione materiale del *floruit* della produzione economica di *Solus* e *Panormos*. In un periodo in cui il contratto di Philinos regolava le azioni sia degli agenti romani e dei loro alleati che dei Cartaginesi, l'attività commerciale di queste due città garantiva quindi la continuità, incrementando anzi il flusso mercantile fra l'area tirrenica e l'eparchia. I due *emporia* siciliani avrebbero quindi definitivamente assunto la funzione di intermediario commerciale fra la sempre più potente area economica campano-lucana[61] e il mercato cartaginese, perennemente assettato di vino d'importazione soprattutto nel periodo medio punico.[62] Non conosciamo i vettori mercantili attivi lungo la rotta tirrenica, ma potremmo, in via d'ipotesi, immaginarli anche come siciliani,[63] ai quali l'accesso alle coste italiane non era stato vietato.

In sintesi e forse paradossalmente, l'interpretazione dei dati archeologici sopra esposti crea quindi l'immagine di una Sicilia nord-occidentale che, pur limitata nella sua secolare autonomia, arriva all'acme della produzione economica proprio negli anni fra lo scorcio del IV ed il primo trentennio del III sec. a.C.[64] Nel contempo, anche gli studi numismatici di Frey-Kupper sembrano delineare la supremazia economica, in ambito regionale, soprattutto di *Panormos*.[65]

Nell'ambito dei flussi commerciali fra i porti di *Elea*/*Paestum* e *Panormos*/*Solus* giungono nell'eparchia punica anche le più antiche anfore della Baia di Napoli.[66] Mentre nella fase IV (425-300 a.C.) di *Cossyra*[67] i contenitori campani sono ancora chiaramente minoritari rispetto alle anfore lucane, negli strati in fase con la costruzione del tempio B sull'acropoli di *Selinus* attorno al 300 a.C. o poco dopo, anfore lucane e campane costituiscono rispettivamente ca. un quarto dell'intera selezione anforica analizzata (N 66).[68] Le evidenze anforiche nuovamente di *Selinus*[69] e *Cossyra*[70] dimostrano che nei siti punico-siciliani di consumo la componente campana arriva ben presto, ancora nel corso della prima metà del III sec. a.C., a dominare i repertori vascolari d'importazione, a discapito del vino lucano ed analoga-

mente a quanto è stato constatato per la stessa *Elea*.[71] Nel contempo, i nuovi dati stratigrafici di *Elea* indicano per tutta la prima metà del III sec. a.C. una continuità dei rapporti commerciali con l'area palermitana.[72] Per questa più antica fase di commercializzazione del vino campano propongo quindi di identificare soprattutto il porto di *Panormos*[73] come il principale *emporion* siciliano dal quale avveniva la redistribuzione della merce sui mercati dell'eparchia punica, ma anche verso i territori nordafricani. Infatti, tra i materiali rinvenuti al tempio B di Selinunte di cui sopra, in associazione alle anfore lucane e campane, i contenitori prodotti nell'area di *Panormos* e *Solus* rappresentano con oltre il 27% (N 66) la classe meglio documentata,[74] suggerendo una commercializzazione, più verosimilmente via mare e mediante una navigazione di cabotaggio, in partenza dai porti di *Panormos* e di *Solus*.

Le evidenze materiali per l'attività delle officine punico-siciliane per gli anni centrali del III sec. a.C., corrispondenti al periodo della Prima Guerra Punica, sono tuttora molto scarse. Mancano, soprattutto, contesti di scavo ben datati. Le nostre ricerche suggeriscono, tuttavia, di attribuire agli *ateliers* di *Solu*s e di *Panormos* di quel periodo alcune anfore caratterizzate da orli molto allungati, rispettivamente ricondotti alle forme T-7.1.1.1 (*fig. 1, 11*) e T-6.1.2.1/7.1.1.2 (*fig. 1, 12*) e chiaramente derivati dal precedente tipo chiave T-7.1.2.1, mentre nell'area fra *Lilybaion* e *Selinus* si producono sostanzialmente contenitori 'di tipo africano' T-4.2.1.3/5.2.3.2 (*figg. 2, 5 e 3, 2*) e T-5.2.3.1 (*fig. 3, 3*), nonché le T-3.2.1.2. (*fig. 3, 4*).

Posteriore alla Prima Guerra Punica sarà la produzione siciliana della forma Ramon T-7.2.1.1 (*figg. 1, 13 e 2, 8*), al momento documentata, oltreché a Cartagine,[75] fra le serie di *Panormos* e di *Lilybaion*. Va verificato in futuro se queste evidenze possano indicare un'eventuale uniformazione del linguaggio anforico in tutta la Sicilia occidentale in seguito alla conquista romana. Estremamente interessante a questo riguardo è, in ogni caso, la documentazione stratificata di *Elea* dove nei depositi databili fra la seconda metà del III e gli inizi del II sec. a.C. compaiono, insieme ad alcune anfore palermitane, dei frammenti probabilmente da riferire alla produzione di *Lilybaion*.[76] Questa importante testimonianza potrebbe essere un primo, pur sempre labile indizio per un allacciamento diretto di *Lilybaion* alle rotte dei traffici tirrenici in seguito alla fine della prima Guerra Punica, in via d'ipotesi da collegare alla nuova funzione della città come sede del *quaestor* romano. Le scarse conoscenze attuali circa la cultura materiale siciliana durante la seconda metà del III sec. a.C. rendono ancora impossibile un'analisi dettagliata delle attività degli *ateliers* punico-siciliani nella prima fase della provincia romana.[77] Andrà forse ridimensionata, comunque, l'idea di un 'brusco calo di volume' della produzione siciliana espressa precedentemente,[78] anche se la costante compresenza di anfore africane nei depositi archeologici della Sicilia occidentale e di parte della Lucania della seconda metà del III sec. a.C. sembra ormai un fatto assodato.[79]

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Velia:
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Tab. 1. Tavola di corrispondenza per i frammenti di anfore illustrati nelle figg. 1-3. Le sigle indicate nella seconda colonna si riferiscono all'inventario della banca dati di FACEM che sono state attribuite ai frammenti nell'ambito delle ricerche menzionate alla nota 1.

Fig.	Codice FACEM	Inventario di scavo	Pubblicato
1, 1	M 179/1	Himera, necropoli Est, prop. Lo Monaco, L 164	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-179-1
1, 2	M 165/14	Segesta survey, SG 96 RIC, UT 652.2	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-165-14. Bechtold 2015a, fig. 1,9
1, 3	M 165/13	Segesta survey, SG 96 RIC, UT 45.3	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-165-13.
1, 4	M 179/22	Himera, necropoli Ovest, W 296.	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-179-22.
1, 5	M 106/13	Panormos, necropoli Crs. Calatafimi, CAL 17.1, dromos US 15, US 29	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-106-13. Bechtold 2015a, fig. 2, 1
1, 6	M 154/20	Selinus, tempio B, saggio B, US 3, P07.1750	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-154-20. Bechtold c.s. 1, cat. 14
1, 7	M 165/43	Segesta, rinvenimento sporadico acropoli Nord	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-165-43.
1, 8	M 165/3	Segesta, Porta Nord, SG 93 SAS 7, US 5253-1	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-165-3.
1, 9	M 106/33	Panormos, abitato Pz. Bologni, US 701/4	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-106-33. Bechtold 2015a, fig. 2,2
1, 10	M 165/8	Segesta survey, SG 96 RIC, UT 1.75	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-165-8.
1, 11	M 119/214	Cossyra, survey, PN 04 ACR RIC, UT 100.1-2	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-119-214. Bechtold 2013c, 464, cat. 27
1, 12	M 106/31	Panormos, abitato Pz. Bologni, US 701/2	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-106-31. Bechtold 2015a, fig. 2,4
1, 13	M 119/255	Cossyra, acropolis, PN 14 ACR V/XVI, 6699-1	Bechtold 2015a, fig. 2,7
2, 1	M 165/2	Segesta, Porta Nord, SG 93 SAS 7, US 5817-2	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-165-2
2, 2	M 154/70	Selinus, tempio B, saggio H, US 3B, P09.94	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-154-70
2, 3	M 166/13	Lilybaion, necropoli Crs. Gramsci 1989, US 1029-49, MR 172	Bechtold 1999, 328, tav. XXXIV,292.
2, 4	M 154/18	Selinus, tempio B, saggio E, US 0, P08.499	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-154-18 Bechtold c. s. 1, cat. 49
2, 5	M 169/6	Lilybaion, Baglio Anselmi, saggio D, US 46-4, MR 9946	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-169-6 Bechtold 2012, 4, pl. 3.2
2, 6	M 119/54	Cossyra, acropoli, PN 02 ACR IV, 652-6	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-119-54 Bechtold 2013c, 476, cat. 61
2, 7	M 165/44	Segesta, necropoli ellenistica, SG 96 SAS 15, US 15019-1	inedito
2, 8	M 165/31	Segesta, survey, SG 96 RIC UT 1.73	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-165-31
3, 1	M 154/15	Selinus, tempio B, saggio E, US 1, P08.506	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-154-15 Bechtold c.s. 1, cat. 71
3, 2	M 154/88	Selinus, acropoli, "punische Ladenstoa", saggio A3, 2000, US 19, SL 23905	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-154-88. Helas 2011a, 338.
3, 3	M 154/82	Selinus, acropoli, "punische Ladenstoa", saggio B2, 2000, US 25, SL 23954.	FACEM – http://facem.at/m-154-82. Helas 2011a, 342, pl. X 46,9.
3, 4	-		Da: Fourmont 2013, fig. 17,2.

Note

[1] I risultati principali di tale ricerca finanziata dall'Austrian Science Fund (FWF: P 25046-G19) dal titolo 'Economic interactions between Punic and Greek settlements in the southern-central Mediterranean (late 7th-4th century BCE): the evidence of the transport amphorae' sono editi nella quarta edizione della banca dati di FACEM, ved. http://www.facem.at/. La stesura del lavoro qui presentato non sarebbe stato possibile senza l'esemplare liberalità ed il fondamentale sostegno di molti amici e colleghi che mi hanno concesso lo studio dei materiali di loro competenza. L'elenco completo delle persone coinvolte nel presente studio si trova in fondo all'articolo, in seguito alla tabella 1. È questo il luogo, invece, per ringraziare di cuore i miei validissimi collaboratori a Vienna K. Schmidt (studio al microscopio di tutto il materiale anforico preso in considerazione) e R. Lampl (documentazione grafica e fotografica di tutto il materiale preso in considerazione, elaborazione delle figg. 1-3), nonché T. Arena a Castellammare del Golfo (TP) (documentazione grafica delle anfore di Himera e Palermo, selezione dei campioni a Palermo, lettura critica del testo italiano) che hanno contribuito in maniera decisiva alla realizzazione di questa e di altre ricerche. All'amica S. Frey-Kupper (Università di Warwick) devo invece la lettura critica di una prima bozza del presente articolo.

[2] Va sottolineato che le ricerche condotte nell'ambito del progetto menzionato alla nota 1 sono basate in tutti i casi sullo studio dell'impasto del singolo frammento, osservato al microscopio e fotografato in triplice ingrandimento secondo i metodi sviluppati per la banca dati di FACEM (http://facem.at/project/about.php). Questa procedura standardizzata, supportata da analisi petrografiche e chimiche eseguite sul 30% ca. del materiale, ha permesso quasi sempre l'attribuzione del frammento ad un *fabric* riferito ad un determinato sito produttivo. La combinazione di questi dati relativi al *fabric* con le informazioni archeologiche intrinseche nel singolo frammento ha reso possibile, infine, la definizione dei repertori anforici attestati per ciascuno dei cinque siti presi in esame.

[3] Non viene discussa qui la produzione di *Motya* per la quale non disponiamo di indicazioni sicure per una sua continuità fino al periodo analizzato.

[4] Per tutte le osservazioni seguenti sulle produzioni di *Panormos* e *Solus* ved. Bechtold 2015a, 2015b.

[5] Per degli esempi morfologici ben conservati ved. Greco 1997, 64, fig. 4,17; Corretti / Capelli 2003, tav. LX,76-77.

[6] Imitazioni locali della più antica forma Ramon T-1.4.5.1 sono note a *Motya* e nella Sardegna occidentale, ved. Bechtold 2015b, cap. 5.2, nota 107.

[7] La produzione del tipo Ramon T-2.2.1.2 dal profilo dell'orlo poco standardizzato è stata accertata, oltreché per le officine di *Panormos* e *Solus*, anche per *Lilybaion*, *Motya*, *Melite* e Cartagine, ved. Bechtold 2015c, cap. 4.

[8] In base alle nostre ricerche effettuate su una trentina di esemplari, la forma T-7.1.2.1 risulta prodotta esclusivamente nelle officine di *Panormos* e di *Solus*.

[9] Per una sintesi del tipo ved. Bechtold 2008a, 548, 556-558. In particolare, la data iniziale della produzione della forma attorno al 300 a. C. o poco prima viene discussa in Bechtold c. s., cap. 1.2-1.3, 2.2.1 e 2.4 e si basa in prima linea sull'occorrenza stratificata del tipo negli scavi al tempio B sull'acropoli di *Selinus* e a Porta di Valle, a Segesta, ma anche sul Monte Iato (deposito agora Sud), nonché sulla sua assenza negli strati di distruzione accertati nelle aree 3000 e 23000 ad Entella.

[10] Per alcuni esemplari conservati per intero o quasi che esemplificano bene questa forma ved. Greco 1997, 58, fig. 1,22.24; Castiglione/Oggiano 2011, 214, fig. 4,1.4-6, 217, fig. 5,1-5.

[11] Precedentemente ved. Ramon 1995, 205.

[12] Un secondo *fabric*, il PAN-A-2, è documentato in pochissimi esemplari databili nel breve periodo di tempo fra la seconda metà del V ed il IV sec. a.C., ved. Bechtold 2015a, cap. 2.

[13] Per gli aspetti particolari dei *fabrics* soluntini ved. Schmidt 2015.

[14] Per tutte le osservazioni seguenti sulla produzione di *Lilybaion* ved. Bechtold 2015c.

[15] Esemplare proveniente dallo scarico di Grotta Vanella (Segesta), pubblicato in Quartararo 2015b, ved. anche FACEM – http://facem.at/m-165-52.

[16] Nella bibliografia archeologica la forma viene ritenuta tipica della produzione lilibetana (Bechtold 1999, 162 con bibliografia precedente), mentre nessuna evidenza certa emerge dai nostri 'fabric studies'.

[17] Le anfore di ignota provenienza del relitto di El Sec, datato attorno alla metà del IV sec. a.C. (Cabrera/Rouillard 2003), dal disco dell'orlo ancora molto stretto, rientrano indubbiamente tra gli esemplari più antichi di questo tipo (ved. anche Ramon 1995, 189).

[18] Non attestata fra le serie soluntine, è presente, con tre esemplari, fra la produzione di *Panormos* (Bechtold 2015a, cap. 3).

[19] Per tutte le osservazioni seguenti sulla produzione di *Selinus* ved. Bechtold 2015d.

[20] Va sottolineato che i due esemplari da Entella ricondotti ai tipi Ramon T-4.2.1.7/Toti T18 e Ramon T-8.1.1.1 sono stati sottoposti ad analisi archeometriche che indicano una loro compatibilità con le materie prime in uso a *Selinus* (Bechtold 2015d, cap. 5 con ulteriore bibliografia).

[21] Pubblicato in Quartararo 2015a, ved. inoltre FACEM – http://facem.at/m-187-8.

[22] Pubblicato in Quartararo 2015a, ved. inoltre FACEM – http://facem.at/m-187-19.

[23] A proposito di *Solus*, rifondata sui fianchi sud-occidentali del Monte Catalfano - in seguito alla distruzione dionigiana del 396 - in un momento non ancora precisabile a causa della mancanza di dati stratigrafici, F. Spatafora (2009, 231-232) sottolinea, infatti, '(...) la prosecuzione delle attività artigianali e produttive documentate ancora nell'area del vecchio abitato, e (...) l'intensificarsi di quei traffici commerciali con l'entroterra ed in direzione tirrenica attestati dalla documentazione archeologica (...)'. Tale continuità, nel caso specifico della produzione anforica, è stata pienamente confermata nell'ampio lotto di materiale ceramico preso in esame nell'ambito del progetto menzionato alla nota 1. Nel caso di *Solus*, la rifondazione ellenistica non ha inciso, quindi, sul funzionamento del *kerameikos* locale che prosegue nella fabbricazione delle serie morfologiche tipiche della Sicilia nord-occidentale, con circuiti distributivi simili a quelli constatati per il periodo precedente.

[24] I recenti studi soprattutto archeologici ed urbanistici indirizzano verso una frequentazione poco intensa dell'area urbana di *Selinus* durante i primi tre quarti del IV sec. a.C., dopo la distruzione della città nel 409 a.C., e nel periodo delle tre guerre fra Siracusa e Cartagine, aumentando, invece, sensibilmente nell'ultimo

quarto del IV sec. a.C., con un'acme nella prima metà del III sec. a.C. (Helas 2011a, 34-36).

25 Frey-Kupper 2013.

26 Per questa fase storica ved. in dettaglio Hans 1983, 78-83.

27 Frey-Kupper 2013, 115-122 SNG Cop., North Africa, nn. 94-97, produzione non ancora identificata, databile fra il 350/340-330 a.C. ca. pp. 126-129 SNG Cop., North Africa, nn 102-105, produzione non ancora identificata, databile fra il 330-310 a.C. ca.

28 Da ultima Frey-Kupper 2013, 143-146, tab. 35 ed in sintesi p. 337: *Şyş-Panormos*, *Solus*, *Himera-Thermai*, *Eryx e Motya* (oppure *Lilybaion?*); 2014, 85-86.

29 Frey-Kupper 2013, 177, nota 305.

30 Frey-Kupper 2013, 178, nota 307; 2014, 86, nota 7.

31 Frey-Kupper 2013, 129-135, 176-178, 338. La serie SNG Cop., North Africa nn. 109-119 rappresenta una produzione della Sicilia occidentale non ancora attribuita ad una zecca precisa, con un periodo di circolazione databile fra il 310-280 a.C., forse anche oltre. Per il significato di questa emissione vedi da ultima Frey-Kupper 2014, 86-87 con riferimento al tipo Ramon T-7.1.2.1; precedentemente Hans 1983, 135.

32 Per una recente, breve sintesi vedi anche Spatafora / Vassallo 2007, 11.

33 De Vincenzo 2013, 24; Hans 1983, 78.

34 Per questi episodi vedi da ultimo De Vincenzo 2013, 26-27.

35 Anello 1986, 154. A questo proposito vedi anche Hans 1983, 108; Bondì 1990-1991, 221-222 dove si sottolinea la '(...) sostanziale indipendenza dei centri punici dell'isola rispetto a Cartagine (...)'.

36 Anello 1986, 169. Da ultimo vedi Bondì 2014, 420-421.

37 Anello 1986, 171; per il fenomeno di questi *phrouria* vedi anche Bondì 1990-1991, 228-229; Fariselli 2002, 312-316. 'A riprova del rafforzamento militare che si accompagna all'occupazione capillare del territorio più orientale dell'*epikrateia* si pone l'incremento quantitativo, dalla metà del IV sec. a.C., del volume di monete in metallo forte ( ).'

38 Nello stesso periodo, al più tardi a partire dal 357 a.C., nella Sicilia occidentale si incontrano anche delle guarnigioni puniche regolari (Anello 1986, 174; Hans 1983, 137-140).

39 Per la più recente sintesi sulle ricognizioni effettuate nella Sicilia centro-occidentale vedi Spanò-Giammellaro/Spatafora 2012, 341; precedentemente, in dettaglio, Spanò-Giammellaro/Spatafora/van Dommelen 2008, part. 134-146, 156; da ultima Frey-Kupper 2013, 175, 338. Secondo F. Spatafora e S. Vassallo (2007, 114-115) un incremento particolarmente significativo sia dei centri urbani che dell'abitato rurale è forse possibile avvertire proprio a cavallo dei secoli IV e III a.C.

40 Bondì 1990-1991, 229. Da ultimo vedi Bondì 2014, 421-422. È fondamentale ricordare, tuttavia, che ancora durante questa fase di età timoleontea e della Terza Democrazia Siracusana le città siciliane dell'*epikrateia* cartaginese - puniche e non - godevano di relativa autonomia che si esprimeva, fra l'altro, nel diritto di battere moneta propria (Anello 1986, 164; Hans 1983, 133-134). Non esistono, poi, testimonianze certe per '(...) una pressione fiscale esercitata da Cartagine sul "territorio punico" di Sicilia.' (Anello 1986, 165-166; per questa problematica vedi anche Bondì 1990-1991, 226; Hans 1983, 144-145).

41 Anello 1986, 172.

42 Anello 1986, 177. A questo proposito vedi anche Cataldi 2003, 238: '(..) solo nel corso del IV secolo inoltrato, allorché Cartagine promosse, con il suo forte apparato militare e burocratico, il consolidamento della propria presenza in Sicilia, che portò infine, con l'estinzione delle autonomie cittadine, alla costituzione di una vera e propria provincia al tempo di Agatocle.'

43 Hans 1983, 109-110.

44 'Die Veränderungen gegenüber den älteren Vereinbarungen der beiden Mächte liegen somit einerseits in der Schaffung politischer anstelle der bisherigen kommerziellen Schutzzonen, andererseits in der Einbeziehung Siziliens in diese Sperrgebiete' (Hans 1983, 110).

45 Per queste emissioni 'militari' siculo-puniche, iniziate nel 409 e riprese, dopo un'interruzione nella prima metà del IV sec. a.C., attorno alla metà del IV sec. a.C. con un netto aumento nell'ultimo quarto del IV sec. a.C. fino al primo decennio del III sec. a.C. che indica l'accresciuta presenza militare cartaginese nella parte occidentale dell'isola, vedi da ultima Frey-Kupper 2013, 100-101; precedentemente Hans 1983, 140-141.

46 Anello 1986, 176 con bibliografia precedente.

47 Anello 1986, 176-177; S.F. Bondì (1990-1991, 225) specifica che il termine MHŠBM determina 'una classe di funzionari di livello modesto', ad indicazione della configurazione giuridica dell'isola come parte dello stato cartaginese. In generale, per una riorganizzazione dell'apparato burocratico e militare cartaginese in Sicilia nell'ultimo quarto del IV sec. a.C. vedi anche Hans 1983, 140-141, 149. Per questo argomento, vedi da ultimo Bondì 2014, 422.

48 Bechtold 2015a, cap. 4.2; 2015b, cap. 5.2. Per il generale quadro socio-economico si rimanda ancora alla valida descrizione in Hans 1983, 115, 118.

49 Da ultima vedi Docter/Bechtold 2011, 107, note, 47-50 con una bibliografia aggiornata. Per la Calabria e la Lucania vedi precedentemente i contributi fondamentali di Mollo 2011 e Castiglione/Oggiano 2011.

50 Ringrazio molto il professore M. Bell di avermi messo a disposizione le prime bozze della sua relazione tenuta nel 2012 a Pisa, vedi Bell c.s., tab. 1-2. fig. 14. Lo scavo di uno scarico ceramico al centro della valle dell'agora di Morgantina, contenente materiali provenienti dalle botteghe commerciali demolite in occasione della costruzione dell'Ekklesiasterion, ha permesso di distinguere tre diversi livelli stratigrafici, datati rispettivamente 290/280 a.C., 280/270 a.C. e 270/260 a.C. Il materiale scartato consisteva in gran parte in frammenti di anfore di tipo punico e greco italico. Il tipo morfologico forse più frequente rientra nella forma Ramon T-7.1.2.1 '(...) di un impasto rosso-arancio (...)', abbondantemente attestato in tutti e tre i livelli archeologici.

51 Bechtold 2015c.

52 Bechtold 2015d.

53 Bechtold 2015a, cap. 3, 4.1; 2015b, cap. 5.2.

54 Bechtold 2013a, 79-80.

55 Bechtold 2013a, 77-79.

56 Bechtold 2013a, 80.

57 Bechtold 2013a, 78-79.

58 Per il coinvolgimento di Lipari nei traffici lungo la rotta tirrenica nella prima età ellenistica vedi Bechtold 2007, 62-663, nota 218 con bibliografia precedente.

59 I pochi dati attualmente a disposizione e relativi ad aree industriali ceramiche (*Solus*, vedi Bechtold 2015b; *Selinus*, vedi Bechtold 2015d; *Lilybaion*, vedi Bechtold 2015c) non permettono attualmente interpretazioni più dettagliate. Non sono stati poi ancora studiati i pochis-

simi materiali di presumibile produzione siciliana bollati e/o contraddistinti da graffiti che possano dare informazioni circa i proprietari, i vasai o le pratiche legate al processo lavorativo.

60 Anche i più recenti studi di anfore puniche citate alla nota 1 non hanno smentito, infatti, la mia ipotesi secondo la quale '(...) nei siti della Sicilia occidentale la presenza di quantità rilevanti di anfore punico-nordafricane databili fra la fine del V e l'inizio del III sec. a.C. starebbe ad indicare uno stretto rapporto con la stessa città di Cartagine.' (Bechtold 2013b, 20 con bibliografia per *Selinus*, *Cossyra* e *Lilybaion*). Osservazioni simili sono state rilevate di recente anche per il settore numismatico (Frey-Kupper 2013, 333, 339). Ulteriori indizi di una forte impronta cartaginese sulla vita della città multietnica di *Selinus* nella prima età ellenistica si trovano in Helas 2011b, 188 (per gli aspetti urbanistici), Bechtold 2013b, 22, fig. 6 con bibliografia precedente (per gli aspetti della cultura materiale, in particolare per l'individuazione di frammenti di ceramica comune punica di origine sia cartaginese che siciliana (dall'area di *Motya*/*Lilybaion*) fra i materiali rinvenuti negli scavi al tempio B), Chiarenza 2011, nonché De Simone 2010 (per gli aspetti religiosi e cultuali). Il carattere cartaginese di *Lilybaion*, l'unica vera colonia della metropoli nella Sicilia sud-occidentale, sembra incontestato: 'Die einzige "Kolonie", deren deutlich punischer Charakter und deren starke Befestigungsanlagen darauf schließen lassen könnten, daß die Stadt politisch-strategische Aufgaben erfüllte und das Rückgrat der Karthagischen Herrschaft auf Sizilien bilden sollte, ist Lilybaion (…) ein Einzelfall' (Hans 1983, 142).

61 A questo riguardo, sarebbe fondamentale indagare su un'eventuale presenza di monete siculo-puniche in area lucano-campana, simile al *survey* numismatico presentato da L.I. Manfredi (2011) per la Calabria. Un primo indizio in questa direzione è forse l'identificazione di tre esemplari del tipo SNG Cop., North Africa, nn. 109-119 nella piccola raccolta di monete puniche (N 13) rinvenute nell'alveo del Tevere (Frey-Kupper 1995, 43).

62 Bechtold 2008b, 32, fig. 13, 48.

63 Molto interessanti a questo riguardo sono le recenti ricerche di F. Mollo sulla distribuzione di ceramiche a vernice nera e a figure rosse fabbricate lungo la costa settentrionale o nord-occidentale della Sicilia che godono, analogamente alle anfore soluntine/palermitane, di un'ampia diffusione nei centri italici della costa tirrenica (Mollo 2011, 241-243).

64 A conferma di questa osservazione, per la *Panormos* di età ellenistica si è riconosciuta '(...) una più intensa frequentazione delle aree portuali e una serie di relazioni commerciali ad ampio raggio attestate da numerosi scarichi di materiali, contenenti soprattutto anfore da trasporto e vasellame da mensa, rinvenuti nelle zone prossime agli attracchi.' (Spatafora 2009, 226). Il ruolo primario del suo porto, '(...) testa di ponte nelle rotte mediterranee nord-occidentali (...)' era comunque probabilmente per l'intero periodo di vita del sito di grande importanza strategico e militare (Spatafora 2009, 224-226).

65 Frey-Kupper 2013, 331-333, 337-338.

66 Per una recente discussione del fenomeno vedi Bechtold 2013c, 431-432. Per la scoperta, in piazza Nicola Amore sulla spiaggia antica di *Neapolis*, di un quartiere artigianale attivo a partire dal primo quarto del III sec. a.C. ed in espansione probabilmente nella prima metà del III sec. a.C., vedi Febbraro / Giampaolo 2009, 118, fig. 1, 120.

67 Bechtold 2013c, 430-432, tab. 9, fig. 32.

68 Bechtold c.s., cap. 2, fig. 1.

69 Vedi a proposito l'analisi degli assemblaggi anforici rinvenuti negli scavi dell'Istituto Germanico di Roma sull'acropoli di *Selinus* in Bechtold c.s., cap. 2.3.

70 Bechtold 2013c, 435, tab. 11.

71 Gassner/Trapichler 2010, 168: nella fase D1 del primo terzo del III sec. a.C. l'incidenza delle anfore dalla Baia di Napoli è del 15%, ma raggiunge il 30% nella successiva fase D2 (secondo terzo del III sec. a.C.).

72 Gassner c.s., cap. V.A.5.3.3.

73 Anticipo in questa sede l'identificazione, nell'ambito del progetto menzionato alla nota 1, di due orli di anfore campane riferibili al tipo Gassner 10a/MGS V, rinvenuti negli scavi della Soprintendenza BB.CC.AA. di Palermo in area di necropoli: M 106/74 da piazza Indipendenza, palazzo d'Orléans (scavo 2011-2012), M 106/65 da Corso Calatafimi, civ. 133-137 (scavi 2011-2012). La forma Gassner 10a è particolarmente caratteristica della produzione del Golfo di Napoli ed è documentata a partire dall'inizio del III sec. a.C., vedi Gassner c.s., cap. V.A.2.2.1.6.

74 Bechtold c.s., cap. 2.1.1.

75 Dal sito subacqueo 1 del relitto di Cala Tramontana (Pantelleria), contesto datato attorno alla metà del III sec. a.C., vedi Baldassari 2012, 191, fig. 4,1-2. Anche a Velia si conoscono esemplari della forma T-7.2.1.1 di produzione cartaginese rinvenuti in depositi del secondo terzo del III sec. a.C., vedi Gassner c.s., cap. V.A.5.2.2.

76 Gassner c.s., cap. V.A.5.4.2, *fabrics* IG-PUN-A-2 e IG-PUN-A-5 che in base alle nostre ricerche sono da attribuire alle serie di *Lilybaion*.

77 Per questa problematica vedi da ultima Bechtold 2007, 58.

78 Bechtold 2007, 65.

79 Per *Elea* vedi Gassner/Trapichler 2010, 167-168, fig. 112.

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Le evidenze greche e romane nell'*Insula Episcopalis* di Napoli: una nuova ricostruzione storico-strutturale

Armando Cristilli

Abstract

The western Insula Episcopalis *of Naples is an archaeological site of great value in order to reconstruct the history of* Neapolis*. The first phase of construction is a large orthostatic wall with a drainage channel dating to the 4th century BC. Later the wall suffered a collapse, but we don't know exactly when it happened. In the first half of the 1st century AD (probably in the first quarter of the century), when Naples became a* municipium*, a thermal bath was built above the wall. At the end of the 3rd-4th century AD a wall in* opus vittatum *was built in the south-east corner of the bath and the Aurelius Eutycianus' leaden* fistula *was placed at the same point, recording the transformation of the original character of the* thermae*. Finally, the orthostatic wall and the bath were completely obliterated by the early Christian buildings, the Basilica of Santa Restituta and the Baptistery of San Giovanni in Fonte.*

Nel corso delle mie ricerche sulla scultura napoletana di età romana,[1] ho avuto la possibilità di interessarmi ai ritrovamenti del complesso arcivescovile di Napoli, il cui studio, com'è naturale aspettarsi, non ha potuto esimersi dall'analisi del contesto di provenienza e delle relative vicende storico-strutturali.

L'area di Via Duomo a Napoli, dove ricadono gli edifici della Cattedrale e quelli annessi della Curia e del Palazzo Arcivescovile, costituisce, anche se a grandi linee, il limite ovest della *Regio Thermensis*, il quartiere più orientale di *Neapolis*, che deve il suo toponimo probabilmente alla presenza in zona di un numero considerevole di strutture termali (private e pubbliche),[2] come il grande impianto di Castelcapuano[3] (*fig. 1*). Senza dimenticare i rinvenimenti sporadici dei secoli precedenti, le maggiori informazioni sulla frequentazione antica di Via Duomo sono state recuperate durante i lavori della risistemazione ottocentesca del tratto superiore della strada,[4] per continuare con le investigazioni successive all'interno della cosiddetta *Insula Episcopalis*,[5] oggetto del presente studio (*fig. 2*). Pur non essendo possibile eseguire uno studio tipologico approfondito delle strutture urbane antiche a Napoli, tuttavia, i dati in nostro possesso indicano chiaramente che dalla metà del I sec. a.C. (ma non prima di questa data) l'edilizia privata del ceto medio imprenditoriale ha prediletto quest'area, preservando una tale specificità ancora in età imperiale,[6] salvo poi assistere a un processo di gra-

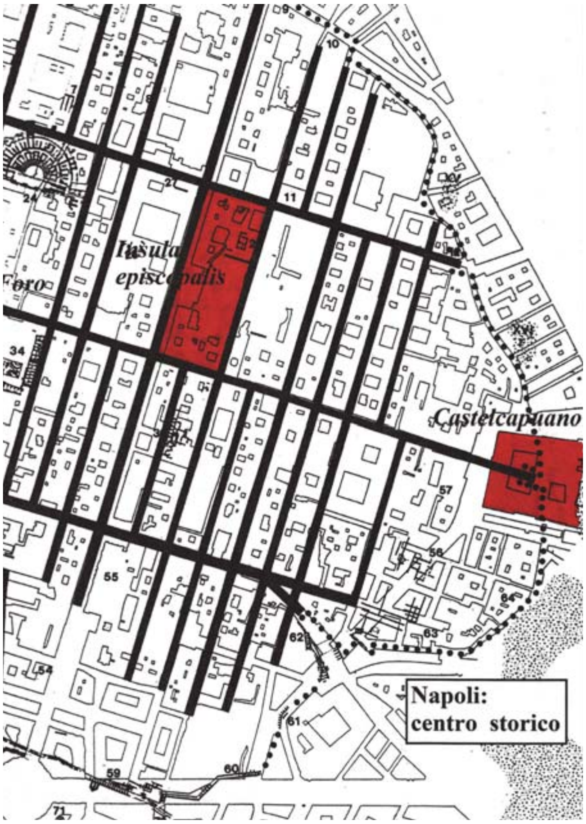

Fig. 1. Napoli. Pianta archeologica.

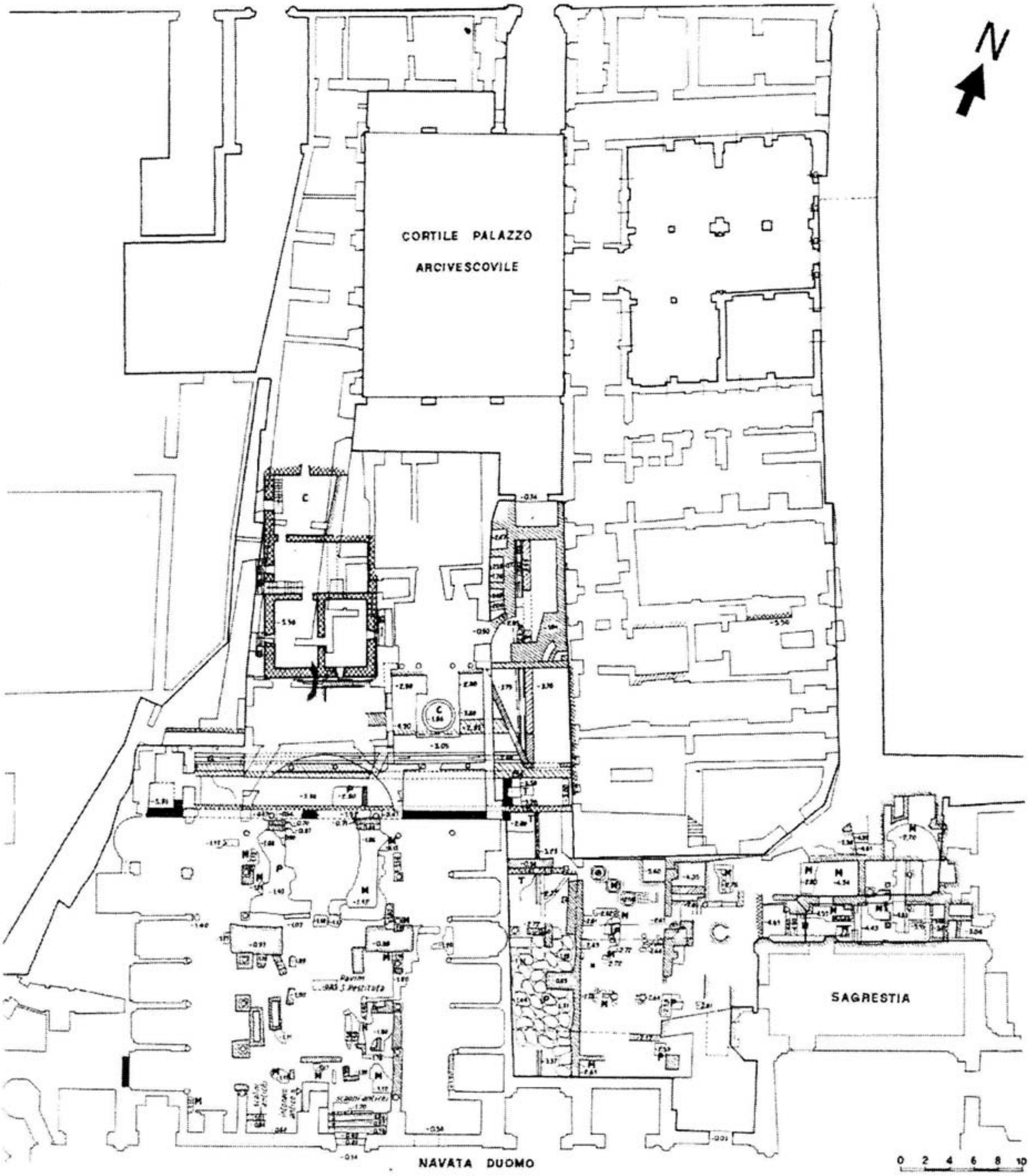

Fig. 2. Napoli. Insula Episcopalis. *Pianta (Ebanista 2013).*

duale abbandono delle stesse costruzioni a partire dal IV sec. d.C.

L'interpretazione delle strutture dell'*Insula Episcopalis*, che ricade appunto in questa zona, è stata ardua fin dalla loro messa in luce, tanto che ancora oggi non ne è stata proposta una conclusiva ricostruzione storica né una corretta restituzione architettonica.[7] Varie le motivazioni alla base di questa difficoltà: 1) la zona si sviluppava in antico su una successione di terrazza-

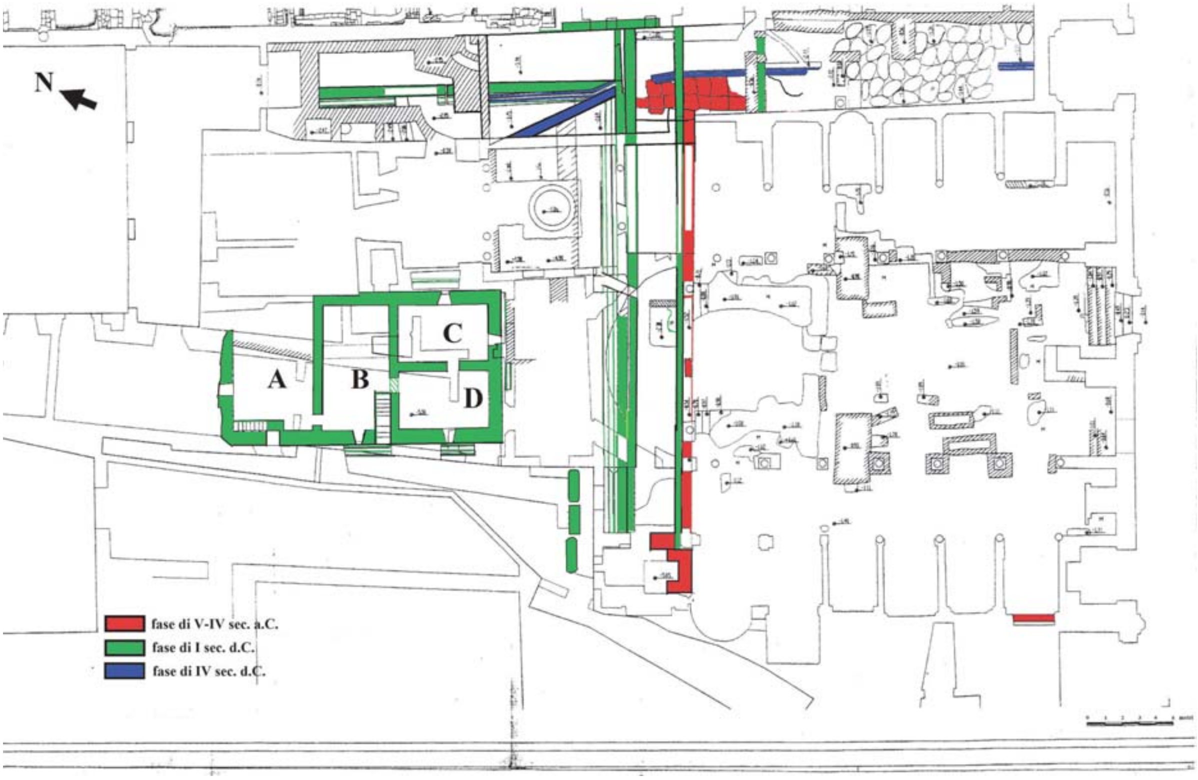

Fig. 3. Napoli. Insula Episcopalis*. Pianta dell'area occidentale sotto Santa Restituta e San Giovanni in Fonte.*

menti non più apprezzabili né documentati graficamente, se non in maniera parziale e molto sommaria; 2) i massicci interventi dall'età paleocristiana fino al XVII secolo,[8] sovrapposti irreversibilmente a intere porzioni degli edifici antichi, hanno comportato la perdita di molti elementi relativi alla partizione originaria degli spazi e degli apparati decorativi; 3) i restauri (compiuti a seguito di scavi non sempre eseguiti con criteri scientifici) che in molte occasioni hanno completamente ricostruito (anche arbitrariamente) ampie sezioni di muri, falsandone la ricostruzione delle fasi edilizie e rendendo difficoltosa la restituzione di una cronologia più precisa;[9] 4) le strutture in più punti risultano sottoscavate oppure non indagate del tutto, se non addirittura rasate sensibilmente; si aggiunga, infine, 5) che molta letteratura specializzata si è fermata esclusivamente all'esigenza di fornire pedisseque misurazioni dei reperti, talvolta inesatte, quando non ha anche tenuto conto delle questioni relative alle improprie reintegrazioni, riproponendo interpretazioni precedenti non vagliate in maniera critica o presentando nuove esegesi non supportate da un appropriato impianto di prove che diventano così, a conti fatti, pure suggestioni.

Proprio lo stato dell'arte fin qui ricostruito ha fatto sentire la necessità di avvicinarsi nuovamente a queste evidenze, ma, questa volta, in una prospettiva differente, più attenta alla specificità del dato archeologico, soprattutto calato nella sua realtà storica effettiva e non confuso nella congerie delle ricostruzioni architettoniche, così da rintracciare un insieme di informazioni utile a comporre un quadro più completo di quanto noto al momento e di offrire nuove indicazioni per comprendere lo sviluppo degli impianti nel loro assetto e impiego.

In questo contributo ci si è limitati a indagare lo spazio occupato dall'abside dell'edificio di Santa Restituta e da San Giovanni in Fonte, rispettivamente basilica paleocristiana e relativo battistero, inglobati come un'unica grande cappella nella successiva Cattedrale di età angioina (*figg. 3-4*): le evidenze archeologiche in questo punto, infatti, non solo pongono importanti questioni interpretative, ma si mostrano al contempo come unità architettoniche strutturalmente e cronologicamente indipendenti da quelle rinvenute altrove all'interno dell'*Insula Episcopalis* e della stessa basilica di Santa Restituta in particolare[10] (*fig. 4*).

I. La fase greca

La fase di frequentazione più antica documentata nel settore consiste nel lungo muro di sostruzione in ortostati, già considerato ingiustificatamente pertinenza di un tempio di età greca,[11] ma in realtà parte di un'imponente terrazza a superamento della movimentata orografia locale (oggi privo del riempimento originario), e in una serie di lastroni tufacei noti tradizionalmente con il nome di 'Strada greca' (*fig. 3*).

I.1. Il terrazzamento

Il muro su cui insiste l'intera fondazione settentrionale dell'edificio di Santa Restituta (*fig. 3*) è documentabile per una lunghezza di 30 m, è orientato in senso E-O e s'impianta a una quota di -5,85 m. I blocchi della cortina, uniti a secco, sono di ignimbrite campana, alti in media 38 cm, larghi 40 cm circa e lunghi variabilmente tra 133 e 72 cm.[12] Dal saggio effettuato sotto il pavimento della Cappella di San Giovanni lo Scriba, al limite N della navata occidentale di Santa Restituta, la cortina si ricostruisce come formata da 11 filari (ma dovevano essere almeno 13) con una base a scarpa costituita da altri 2 filari (il più basso, quasi completamente infisso nel terreno (*fig. 5*). La struttura era corredata di ammorsature avanzate dalla faccia interna della sostruzione di circa 50-55 cm in senso N-S, di cui se ne conservano solo due: una a 1,95 m dal limite occidentale del muro in direzione N (*fig. 6*) e un'altra quasi all'estremità opposta. Queste ammorsature, sicuramente insieme con altre non più visibili perché smontate o nascoste dagli edifici moderni, costituivano il sistema di ancoraggio della cortina muraria della terrazza al retrostante declivio montuoso,[13] creando una fila di vani che, opportunamente riempiti, andavano a costituire la sostruzione del piano di calpestio superiore. L'impianto documenta nella zona dell'*Insula Episcopalis* l'uso di tecniche e di materiali coerente con quanto registrato per la sistemazione urbanistica neapolitana di V-IV sec. a.C., ivi compresi i bastioni difensivi della cinta urbica. Nello specifico, un confronto stringente, solo per citare un esempio di più recente identificazione, è costituito dal muro in ortostati di Via d'Alagno (all'angolo con Piazzetta del Grande Archivio), nella parte meridionale della città (*fig. 7*),[14] mentre i blocchi sono per dimensioni, materiale, messa in opera e segni di cava[15] del tutto analoghi a quelli impiegati nel resto della Napoli greca, da Via Pietro Colletta[16] a Piazza Vincenzo Calenda,[17] dal 'Cortile del Salvatore' in Via Giovanni Paladino[18] alla Basilica di San Lorenzo Maggiore,[19] da Piazza Vincenzo Bellini all'adiacente complesso di Sant'Antoniello delle Monache.[20]

Mi sia concesso, a questo punto, fare una considerazione più precisa circa gli interventi in materia di urbanistica che, in generale, permisero la completa fruibilità della mossa orografia di *Neapolis* al momento della sua fondazione. Si tratta di un apparato articolato su grandi terrazze sistemate sulle pendici di un rilievo digradante verso il mare, sui cui diversi livelli si susseguivano gli edifici residenziali e le architetture pubbliche: presumibilmente siamo in presenza di un unico progetto originario, per quanto il programma edilizio dovette strutturarsi nel corso del tempo nel rispetto del rapporto tra l'organizzazione a terrazze e le diverse funzioni degli spazi interni (religiosa, militare e residenziale), collegando ogni terrazza per mezzo di una rete di *plateiai* e di *stenōpoi* tra loro ortogonali (decenni prima della tradizionale codifica ippodamea),[21] che si perpetuerà in modo evidente nei secoli a venire (*fig. 1*).[22] Va tenuto presente, inoltre, che l'impianto delle terrazze neapolitane non rispondeva a precisi canoni di regolarità e simmetria, dal momento che il paesaggio si caratterizzava per un profilo assai irregolare e discontinuo fin dalla cresta di Caponapoli, come confermato anche dagli scavi più recenti.[23] Nonostante tutto, però, la disposizione delle strutture si è dimostrata costantemente rispettosa dell'orientamento della rete viaria: le massicce opere di regolarizzazione di V-IV sec. a.C., pur variate nell'apprestamento murario, di fatto sembrano allinearsi tutte sul medesimo asse 22° N -23°/24° O.

L'impianto sotto Santa Restituta è attinente all'assetto della parte superiore del declivio del Pendino, da identificare agevolmente come terrazzo non a carattere difensivo, come indirizzano sia la topografia (dietro le fortificazioni prospicienti il Vallone dei Vergini a N) sia la struttura della sua apparecchiatura muraria, priva com'è di indicatori specifici, *in primis* le fodere di rinforzo o anche la cremagliera a doppia serie di diatoni, caratteristiche dei tratti fortificati partenopei[24]. Il limite settentrionale doveva essere costituito da Via Donnaregina, che ricalca il tracciato della *plateia* superiore, e svilupparsi longitudinalmente verso S fino all'imposta dell'abside di Santa Restituta, dove terminava a strapiombo sulla terrazza sottostante, posta a una quota più bassa ed estesa verosimilmente fino alla *plateia* mediana di Via dei Tribunali (poi *Decumanus Maximus* in età romana). Di questa seconda terrazza sopravvive

Fig. 4. Napoli. Cattedrale.
Ingresso alla Cappella di Santa Restituta.

Fig. 5. Napoli. Cattedrale. Muro in ortostati sotto la cappella di San Giovanni lo Scriba in Santa Restituta.

una porzione della cortina occidentale, su cui si è impostato il muro di fondo della Cappella di San Nicola all'inizio della navata O di Santa Restituta,[25] a sua volta coincidente con la parete perimetrale O

Fig. 6. Napoli. Cattedrale. Muro in ortostati e briglia O sotto la cappella di San Giovanni lo Scriba in Santa Restituta.

Fig. 7. Napoli. Via d'Alagno. Muro in ortostati (Giampaola 1996).

della stessa basilica:[26] esso costituisce, di fatto, la perfetta prosecuzione del muro occidentale del terrazzamento superiore, oggi non più visibile (*fig. 8*). Sulla stessa seconda terrazza, come si è detto a una quota più bassa del primitivo piano del terrazzo superiore,[27] dovevano trovare posto le strutture in *opus reticulatum* scoperte altrove nello stesso edificio basilicale di Santa Restituta e, soprattutto, quelle con andamento E-O in cor-

rispondenza del cortile della Curia a S della terrazza sovrastante, appartenenti senza dubbio a un diverso edificio (*fig. 9*).[28]

I.2. La 'Strada greca'

Pertinente senz'altro alla nostra cortina in ortostati è la già citata 'Strada greca', come suggestivamente è stata contrassegnata nella tradizione bibliografica fin dai lavori dell'ingegner Calogero Roberto Di Stefano, che sulla sua superficie individuava 'ben visibile un solco che mostra di essere stato prodotto, come a Pompei, dal passaggio dei carri'.[29] Si tratta di otto lastre (80 cm x 80 cm x 40 cm), della stessa ignimbrite del muro in ortostati, affiancate a coppie (della prima e della quinta coppia si sono conservate solo parte delle rispettive lastre orientali) e disposte in senso N-S, con la superficie rozzamente spianata (*figg. 9 e 13*). Di recente è stata acutamente proposta l'impossibilità di identificare le lastre come la copertura di una strada antica, senza tuttavia alcuna definitiva proposta alternativa,[30] ma anzi ipotizzando alla fine, nonostante le evidenze, che 'la presenza di un tracciato viario non è da escludere del tutto'.[31] A riguardo, va chiarita innanzitutto la difficile sistemazione in questa zona di uno *stenōpos*, per quanto, in base alla ricostruzione della rete viaria urbana, esso si troverebbe a costituire il naturale prolungamento verso N di Vico Zuroli (*fig. 1*). Di fatto, le evidenze registrate mostrano l'impossibilità dell'apertura in questo punto della terrazza dell'*Insula Episcopalis* di una strada N-S in età greca: infatti, non solo il lungo muro in ortostati del nostro terrazzamento continua in direzione E invadendo proprio la zona della c.d. 'Strada greca' (*fig. 11*), ma a valle di esso, laddove il presunto *stenōpos* si sarebbe dovuto sviluppare verso S, sono stati trovati i lacerti E-O di opera reticolata del cortile della Curia citati sopra, che ne indicano l'occupazione senza soluzione di continuità ancora in età romana (*figg. 9 e 11*). A questo punto, appare difficile, pur ammettendo la presenza di un originario *stenōpos* greco, considerare quest'ultimo come soppresso in età romana (così da giustificare le strutture in reticolato già dette), il cui ricordo, però, sarebbe rimasto nei secoli successivi fino a rispolverarne il vecchio tracciato in età molto tarda con la realizzazione della strada basolata rinvenuta anch'essa nel cortile della Curia (*figg. 2-3*).[32] Come anche non potremmo essere in grado di stabilire i motivi, certamente di grande rilevanza storico-sociale, che avrebbero potuto determinare un evento così radicale e così insolito per l'urbanistica romana come quello della soppressione di un asse viario. Le evidenze disponibili, dunque, non solo fanno escludere la presenza di una strada di età greca, ma concorrono a prolungare il terrazzamento in oggetto verso E, cosa che impone una diversa soluzione spaziale in questo punto della città: infatti, tenendo presente anche le curve di livello in corrispondenza degli edifici moderni della Curia, adiacenti al limite orientale dell'area archeologica in oggetto, e le strutture di età romana individuate sotto le loro fondazioni, non sembra ardito parlare di un'*insula* doppia,[33] compresa tra la *plateia* di Via Donnaregina-Largo Donnaregina a N e lo *stenōpos* di Vico Sedil Capuano a E (*fig. 1*).

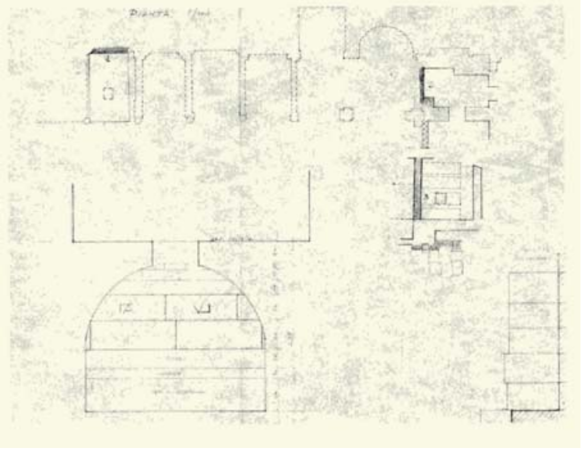

Fig. 8. Napoli. Cattedrale. Pianta e sezione della cappella di San Nicola in Santa Restituta (Cuccaro 2012).

Tornando alla c.d. 'Strada greca', va osservato che la disposizione dei lastroni tufacei indica, in realtà, la pertinenza di questi ultimi alla copertura di un grande collettore fognario urbano[34] del tipo a spalle lapidee,[35] orientato in senso N-S con una graduale pendenza a meridione (da -2,42 m a -3,58 m) e apprezzabile per una lunghezza di 14 m circa. Lo speco a sezione rettangolare, alto all'incirca 38 cm, è delimitato da due spallette di blocchi tufacei, delle quali quella occidentale è incastrata nella briglia di ammorsatura E della cortina del terrazzamento con cui è in fase (*figg. 10-14*). La muratura della briglia che poggia direttamente sul canale, a sua volta, garantisce alla copertura dello speco una solidità di costruzione e una maggiore stabilità, oltre a testimoniarne una contemporaneità progettuale. Lo scarico doveva svilupparsi, dunque, da Largo Donnaregina (N) in direzione di Via dei Tribunali (S), ricalcando idealmente l'orientamento degli *stenōpoi* dell'urbanistica neapolitana. Nello specifico, l'impianto trova strette analogie con la sistemazione ellenistica del grande

Fig. 9. Napoli. Cattedrale. Cortile della Curia. Muro in reticolato sulla terrazza inferiore.

Fig. 10. Napoli. Cattedrale. Condotto fognario (Strada greca).

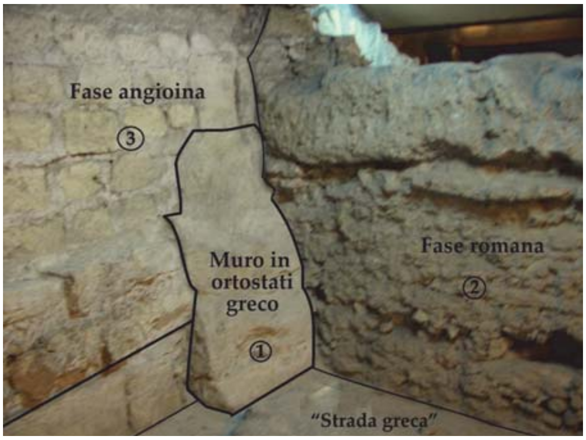

Fig. 11. Napoli. Cattedrale. Muro in ortostati. Particolare del margine E.

Fig. 12. Napoli. Cattedrale. Cortile della Curia. Condotto fognario (Strada greca) sotto il muro in reticolato.

Fig. 13. Napoli. Cattedrale. Condotto fognario (Strada greca).

canale del *temenos* occidentale del santuario di Apollo *Lykaios* a Metaponto, con la sola differenza del materiale lapideo impiegato.[36] Non è possibile restituire la funzione precisa del collettore napoletano, essendo questo tipo di infrastruttura utilizzato sia per evacuare le acque d'uso come anche per impedire il dilavamento del terreno (che a *Neapolis* doveva costituire un problema oggettivo, data la morfologia del suo territorio). Nonostante tutto, si tratta di un'evidenza eccezionale, dal momento che costituisce l'unico tratto documentabile della rete fognaria di cui era dotata la Napoli greca, ancora in attesa di essere studiata dal punto di vista della gestione dei sistemi idrici, che in generale offre la possibilità di 'stabilire nessi precisi tra la forma adottata di sfruttamento

fig. 14. Napoli. Cattedrale. Condotto fognario (Strada greca). Particolare.

dell'acqua e il disegno del piano di sviluppo urbano di una città'.[37] Più difficile, invece, è fissare la cronologia dei due interventi edilizi, poiché non sono noti i ritrovamenti associati a tali evidenze, né tantomeno avanzano resti dell'*emplekton* correlato alla struttura in ortostati, oltre al fatto che il collettore fognario necessiterebbe ancora di un'indagine ulteriore. Nondimeno, essendo ormai accettata la fine del VI sec. a.C. come data di fondazione di *Neapolis*,[38] con un suo riassetto in senso monumentale nel corso del IV sec. a.C., ed essendo i reperti in questione analoghi a quelli riferibili con sicurezza a quest'ultimo orizzonte cronologico, si potrebbe proporre la stessa data del IV sec. a.C. anche per l'impianto del terrazzamento dell'*Insula Episcopalis* e delle infrastrutture annesse.

II. La fase romana: l'impianto termale

In età romana si assiste a una radicale trasformazione del paesaggio urbano della parte della città antica in cui ricade l'*Insula Episcopalis*, proprio nel momento in cui le dinamiche socio-politiche ed economiche interne alla comunità neapolitana si ristrutturavano in relazione con i nuovi eventi storici sopravvenuti.[39] Parte del nostro terrazzamento viene allora occupata da un edificio, che si caratterizza per una pianta dai margini accertati solo per il limite S-E, ma per il quale è ipotizzabile uno sviluppo verso Largo Donnaregina a N (cioè sotto l'attuale Palazzo Arcivescovile), verso Via Duomo a O, verso la parte absidale dell'edificio di Santa Restituta a S e in direzione di Vico Sedil Capuano a E: così, il complesso, che asseconda l'orientamento standard degli isolati neapolitani in relazione alle *plateiai* cittadine, avrebbe avuto il suo ingresso principale sulla *plateia* superiore di Via Donnaregina-Largo Donnaregina,[40] con un'ipotetica estensione di circa 2100 m² (*fig. 1*). Le pertinenze del monumento individuate, già oggetto di passati studi, sono costituite in sostanza da un ampio *viridarium* con portico, di cui sono ricostruibili solo i bracci S ed E (quest'ultimo molto parzialmente) e da un sistema di cisterne ipogee poste al suo interno, e con una storia costruttiva più organica e meno complessa di quanto non sia stato finora ipotizzato.[41] A ciò va aggiunto che, sulla base delle evidenze archeologiche, che saranno di seguito approfondite, tutto concorre a identificare l'edificio come un ampio complesso termale piuttosto che come una *domus*,[42] e questo sia per le dimensioni del portico (con il rilevante numero di colonne per esso previsto) sia per lo sviluppo planimetrico ricostruibile. Di fatto, il grande peristilio, concepito scenograficamente come un denso colonnato, si rivela plausibilmente come la palestra dell'impianto con lo spazio interno occupato in parte dalla cisterna dei *balnea* disposti a N, dove era anche l'ingresso principale all'edificio: in questo modo, il peristilio viene a costituire il limite meridionale dell'impianto termale.

Ciò che al tempo stesso appare, invece, più evidente è la vasta operazione di escavazione che ha interessato e la superficie e il riempimento del terrazzamento greco, insieme al parziale smantellamento della sua cortina muraria, che, anche se non necessariamente connessa ai lavori di costruzione di età romana, di fatto, potrebbe aver richiesto un successivo intervento di risistemazione in età più recente in connessione con l'impianto del *balneum*. Dunque, tra il momento della realizzazione del terrazzamento e l'impianto dell'edificio di età romana va inserita una fase intermedia, seppur registrata per via indiretta e senza poter essere più precisi circa la sua natura né la sua cronologia, per quanto da collocare prima o quasi contestualmente (ma solo in parte) ai lavori di costruzione dell'edificio romano. Invece, non ci sono evidenze per stabilire se il dissesto abbia interessato anche la parte settentrionale della terrazza: in caso affermativo, ci troveremmo con un intero edificio con un ingresso posto a una quota più bassa del calpestio della *plateia* superiore, altrimenti dobbiamo ipotizzare unicamente per la parte meridionale del complesso un livello più basso rispetto a quella settentrionale, tra loro raccordate da una semplice scalinata.

II.1. Il peristilio

Il nuovo edificio, quindi, viene a sorgere a una quota più bassa rispetto al piano di calpestio originario, con il muro perimetrale S del portico impiantato direttamente sulle briglie di ancoraggio del muro in ortostati, parzialmente smontate e abbassate, come già detto, di quattro (se non addirittura sei) ricorsi (*figg. 3 e 15*): in questo modo non fu necessario realizzare in quei punti la fondazione in muratura, che, al contrario, sarà assicurata al resto dell'estensione dell'apparecchio murario. Inoltre, lo stesso muro del portico aderisce con la sua faccia esterna direttamente alla cortina in ortostati: si tratta evidentemente di una soluzione tecnica che assicurava maggiore solidità statica all'impianto, sfruttando la precedente situazione di dissesto che aveva già interessato la parte alta della terrazza di IV sec. a.C.

Dunque, analizziamo nel dettaglio il nuovo complesso partendo proprio dal portico. Come già evidenziato, è possibile apprezzarne solo i bracci S e E, che presentano una larghezza di 3,57-3,60 m (compreso lo stilobate), oltre a tre grossi avanzi di muratura in crollo del braccio O[43] (*fig. 16*). Non sappiamo se a N ci fosse un quarto braccio, tuttavia è presumibile che la struttura dovesse racchiudere uno spazio scoperto di circa 780-900 m^2.

Degli ambulacri superstiti, quello meridionale (meglio conservato) presenta alcuni interessanti dettagli tecnici, che possono essere attribuiti per

Fig. 15. Napoli. Cattedrale. Muro in ortostati con briglia e muro in reticolato.

Fig. 16. Napoli. Cattedrale. Peristilio. Resti del braccio ovest.

Fig. 17. Napoli. Cattedrale. Peristilio meridionale. Particolare con lo spiccato del pavimento.

estensione anche al resto del peristilio. Il muro perimetrale poggia su una fondazione in opera a sacco di scaglioni di tufo in cassaforma (h 1,20 cm) e si conserva per un'altezza di 96-130 cm, con uno spessore complessivo di circa 45 cm; il suo paramento è in *opus reticulatum*, con orditura regolare di *cubilia* di ignimbrite campana (lato 7 cm) accuratamente allettati nella malta con ricorsi di poco meno di 1 cm (*figg. 15-16*). Sulle pareti sono ancora visibili cospicue tracce della decorazione dipinta che, su fondo rosso, presenta nella parte bassa due sottili fasce bianche, delle quali quella superiore è più larga (*fig. 17*): in effetti, il partito decorativo doveva essere più complesso e svilupparsi nella parte superiore della parete, che, purtroppo, per l'esigua altezza delle strutture murarie conservate, non riusciamo ad apprezzare né a riscostruire. Ciò nonostante, possiamo plausibilmente supporre che si tratti di un affresco a sfondo rosso inquadrabile nell'ambito del III stile.

Alla base del muro in reticolato, a quota -2,20 m, resta ben visibile la traccia dello spiccato del pavimento (*fig. 18*), completamente asportato durante i lavori del Di Stefano (forse per rendere fruibile da parte del pubblico il giacimento archeologico), anche se fortunatamente se ne sono conservati alcuni grossi frammenti sfuggiti alle ricerche precedenti (*fig. 19*). Per tutto ciò, il piano pavimentale del portico consisteva in una *stratura* per esterni assai consueta sia in contesti pubblici che privati: si tratta di un piano di cocciopesto di grossi ed eterogenei frammenti laterici, inclusi piroclastici e scaglie sparse di calcare e basalto (spessore 3,5 cm, compreso il *rudus* di preparazione).[44]

Nel portico meridionale sono stati identificati i resti di otto colonne in laterizio, sebbene apprezzabili solo per pochi centimetri (in qualche caso anche meno) dal livello dello stilobate (*figg. 20-23*). A questi va aggiunta una frammentaria semicolonna (h max conservata 70 cm), anch'essa in laterizi (h 6 cm) allettati con cura, posta nell'angolo SE del peristilio e rivestita di intonaco bianco (spessore 2 cm). Sulla facciavista orientale di quest'ultima si imposta una lesena listata in stucco (*figg. 24-25*). Il diametro del fusto delle nove colonne è di 36 cm e per esse si ricostruisce facilmente un'altezza complessiva di 2,52-2,54 m (8,5 piedi romani), dimensione coerente con le indicazioni proposte dal modello vitruviano,[45] capace di sostenere anche una copertura, per esempio, di campate a trave unica con sezione 20/18-14 cm; l'interasse misura 1,80 m con un intercolumnio ripetuto regolarmente di 1,44 m (cioè quattro volte il diametro delle colonne[46]), creando un porticato a colonne concentrate che deve aver garantito, oltre a una stabilità d'impianto e a una visione d'insieme assai scenografica, anche un costo di realizzazione molto più contenuto.

Fig. 18. Napoli. Cattedrale. Peristilio meridionale. Particolare.

Fig. 19. Napoli. Cattedrale. Frammento del pavimento del peristilio.

Le colonne si impostano direttamente su uno stilobate costituito da due muri E-O, alti circa

Fig. 20. Napoli. Cattedrale. Peristilio meridionale. Colonna in laterizio.

Fig. 21. Napoli. Cattedrale. Peristilio meridionale. Colonna in laterizio.

1,20 m, nella stessa opera a sacco della fondazione del muro perimetrale del portico e tra loro giustapposti ragionevolmente per motivi statici:[47] di essi, il muro più interno è spesso 40 cm, mentre la larghezza dell'altro è di 60 cm.

Del portico orientale, invece, restano solo il muro perimetrale (già molto disturbato dalla costruzione degli edifici della Curia che vi insistono sopra e poi fortemente restaurato in occasione delle più recenti campagne di scavo) e la muratura dello stilobate, la cui superficie è rasata al di sotto dell'imposta del relativo colonnato. Tut-

Fig. 22. Napoli. Cattedrale. Peristilio meridionale. Colonna in laterizio.

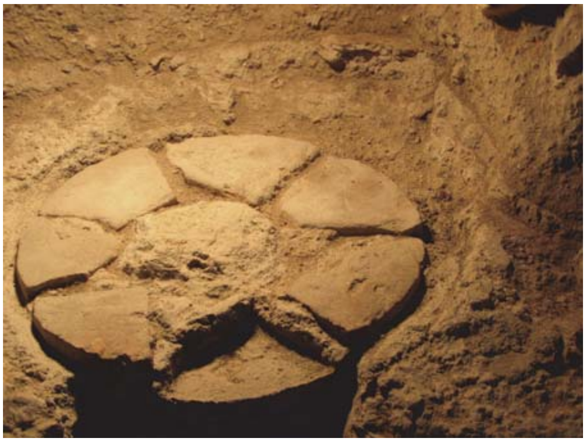

Fig. 23. Napoli. Cattedrale. Peristilio meridionale. Colonna in laterizio.

tavia, questo, che a seguito dei restauri moderni appare come ammorsato al portico S con l'ausilio di catene di laterizi,[48] è analogo, per tecnica costruttiva e materiali impiegati, allo stesso braccio meridionale.

Esternamente al peristilio, lungo entrambi gli ambulacri superstiti, corre una canaletta di scolo con una pendenza verso l'esterno di 15° (anche se è possibile che questa vada attribuita a un cedimento statico), in blocchi calcarei larghi 55-57 cm. Lo *specus* misura 25 cm di larghezza circa e prevede un rivestimento superficiale in cocciopesto.

II.2. La cisterna

Lo spazio porticato (quota -2,88 m) prevedeva una sistemazione a giardino con all'interno serbatoi ipogei (*fig. 3*), che in età post-classica sono

Fig. 24. Napoli. Cattedrale. Peristilio meridionale. Semicolonna dell'angolo sud-orientale.

Fig. 25. Napoli. Cattedrale. Peristilio meridionale. Semicolonna dell'angolo sud-orientale. Lesena.

stati utilizzati sia come discariche di vario materiale sia come fondazione per gli edifici connessi al culto cristiano dell'*Insula Episcopalis,* determinandone la rasatura delle volte superiori e la distruzione di alcune porzioni dei muri.[49] Si tratta, contrariamente a quanto oggi visibile,[50] di un sistema di quattro camere quadrangolari ordinate a coppie non comunicanti tra loro e con orientamenti alternati. I muri perimetrali sono realizzati in reticolato a parete piena con uno spessore di 60 cm (i tramezzi interni misurano, invece, 45 cm), alti presumibilmente intorno ai 3-3,50 m (*fig. 26*); solo la parete divisoria N-S tra i vani C e D presenta un ampio arco di scarico centrale con ghiera a tre teste in tufelli (*fig. 27*).[51] Le *tesserae* del reticolato misurano 7 cm di lato e sono allettate in strati di malta spessi 1-1,5 cm. Le pareti esterne erano intonacate di bianco (4 cm di spessore), come indicano le cospicue tracce sul lato occidentale del manufatto (*fig. 28*). La coppia costituita dai vani A (5 m x 7,70 m)[52] e B (4,20 m x 7,70 m) è orientata in senso E-O, con due scale in muratura che consentono di accedervi all'interno in modo indipendente.[53] Queste due camere, a loro volta, sono rese intercomunicanti grazie a un'apertura sistemata quasi al limite occidentale del muro divisorio E-O ad arco a tutto sesto (larg. luce 50 cm) con ghiera e piedritti di tufelli (21 cm x 10 cm) che ammorsano nella cortina reticolata (*fig. 29*); inoltre, il vano A ha conservato tutto l'originario rivestimento costituito da uno spesso strato di cocciopesto sul pavimento e lungo le pareti, compreso il *pulvinum* (h 11 cm) alla loro base. Invece, i vani C e D, di analoga superficie (3,5 m x 5,5 m) e completamente privati del loro rivestimento, sono orientati in senso N-S e comunicano per mezzo di un'apertura (*fig. 29*) con piattabanda semplice (larg. 75 cm; h 1,80 m) e piedritti in tufelli (21 cm x 10 cm). L'altezza dei vani fino all'imposta delle volte (tutte rigorosamente di ricostruzione) è di 2,56 m e, pertanto, la capacità utile totale della cisterna doveva essere pari a circa 280.000 l. Oltre ai due accessi sul lato O, la cisterna presenta cinque finestre a bocca di lupo,[54] ciascuna ammorsata lateralmente da sette ricorsi di tufelli (21 cm x 10 cm) per lato e approfondita in senso obliquo nello spessore di muro nella

Fig. 26. Napoli. Cattedrale. Cisterna. Parete meridionale.

Fig. 27. Napoli. Cattedrale. Cisterna. Angolo nord-orientale della parete divisoria N-S.

sua porzione inferiore: in questo modo, l'apertura esterna veniva a trovarsi più in alto dell'imposta della volta (*figg. 26 e 31*). È molto probabile, inoltre, che fossero almeno sei le finestre previste, ma per la lacuna della parete perimetrale E non possiamo essere più precisi. All'esterno della

Fig. 28. Napoli. Cattedrale. Cisterna. Prospetto esterno occidentale.

cisterna e rasente a essa corre una canaletta di scolo per le acque pluviali (larg. 86 cm) in scaglie di tufo e rivestimento in malta mista a frammenti di laterizi e pietrisco (*fig. 28*). La captazione dell'acqua doveva avvenire presumibilmente attraverso un foro d'immissione posto sul perduto lato E, piazzato alla quota d'innesto delle volte, ed è ragionevole supporre, inoltre, un'integrazione attraverso un sistema di raccolta delle acque pluviali, a cui potrebbero essere state pertinenti le canalette esterne rinvenute, come indurrebbero a pensare le loro ampie dimensioni.

II.3. Gli interventi di età tardo-imperiale

A una fase successiva a quella di costruzione va attribuita la realizzazione di un muro (*fig. 32*) che, impostato sulla già detta colonna d'angolo sud-orientale del peristilio e orientato in senso NO-SE, procede verso l'interno del *viridarium* (quota -2,20 m). L'apparecchio murario, spesso 50 cm, si apprezza per un'altezza massima di 2,25 m e una lunghezza di 7,50 m ed è realizzato in una grossolana opera vittata di mattoni di ignimbrite campana (h 7-7,5 cm e larghezza variabile tra 14 e 22

Fig. 29. Napoli. Cattedrale. Cisterna. Porta ad arco.

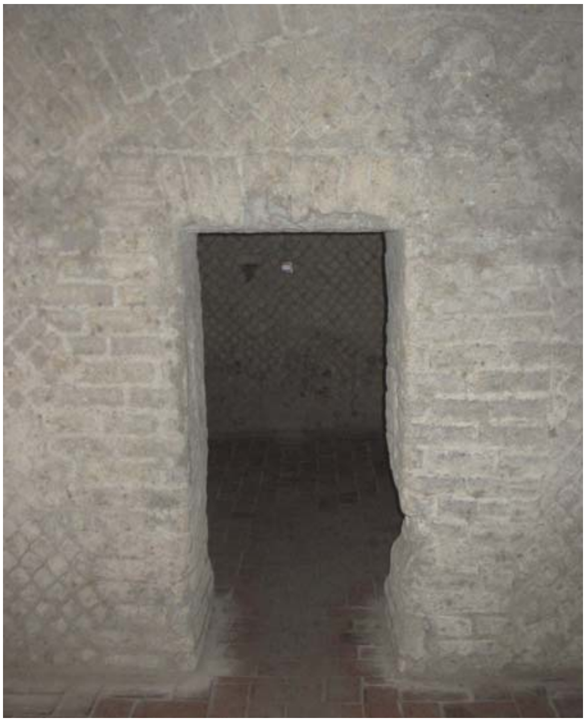

Fig. 30. Napoli. Cattedrale. Cisterna. Porta con piattabanda.

cm), con giunti di malta grigia alti 3-4 cm. Assai evidente, infine, è una profonda lesione da schiacciamento nella muratura, da imputare al sovraccarico degli edifici moderni che insistono al di sopra. Difficile è ricostruire le vicende che hanno portato alla realizzazione della struttura, anche se si tratta di un chiaro indizio di defunzionalizzazione o, meglio, di rifunzionalizzazione del peristilio o solo della sua porzione orientale. Quel che è certo, però, è che il muro, che con ogni probabilità doveva raggiungere la cisterna nel suo proseguire verso NO, veniva a creare uno spazio nuovo gravitante sul braccio orientale del peristilio. Resta però impossibile, dato lo stato delle evidenze, rintracciarne l'utilizzo.

Sempre nell'angolo SE del peristilio è stata rinvenuta una conduttura in piombo (ø esterno 8 cm x 5 cm[55]) ancora nella sede originaria, in posizione orizzontale, che può essere seguita per una lunghezza di 16,5 m circa (*figg. 33-34*). La sua importanza risiede nella presenza sulla superficie esterna di otto bolli in rilievo: ciascuno di essi, lungo mediamente 28 cm, consiste in una sola riga, costituita dall'iscrizione nella duplice forma, esplicita e sincopata, AURELIEUTYCIANI (sette bolli) e AURELIEUTYCIAN (un solo bollo),[56] che fanno collocare paleograficamente la *fistula aquaria* tra fine III e IV sec. d.C.[57] I quattro segmenti individuati sono uniti con altrettanti giunti a distanze molto irregolari l'uno dall'altro, per cui non possiamo fornire la lunghezza media di ciascun segmento dell'intera tubatura. Questa è collocata in un vano di alloggiamento a sezione rettangolare (h 25 cm; largh. 17 cm circa), con spallette e copertura in blocchetti di ignimbrite campana (20-30 cm x 10 cm) e piano di posa di *lateres bessales* dimidiati triangolari (spessore 3,5-4 cm) in buono stato di conservazione, tanto da recare ancora ben visibili le suddivisioni per le eventuali spezzature. L'andamento della *fistula* indicherebbe una sua posteriorità rispetto all'impianto del muro in vittato descritto sopra: infatti, la *fistula* sembra essere stata sistemata partendo da N in direzione del peristilio, di cui segue la canaletta esterna all'ambulacro E, per poi deviare con un'evidente curvatura in direzione SE nel punto in cui incontra il muro in *vittatum*, che, dunque, appare come già esistente al momento del nuovo apprestamento idrico (*fig. 33*). Superato il peristilio in corrispondenza della c.d. 'Strada greca' (*fig. 3*), l'andamento della *fistula*

Fig. 31. Napoli. Cattedrale. Cisterna. Finestra orientale.

Fig. 32. Napoli. Cattedrale. Peristilio. Muro in vittato.

torna ad avere un orientamento N-S, proseguendo nel livello della terrazza inferiore. Non è possibile stabilire, data l'esiguità delle evidenze, se la tubazione servisse effettivamente il complesso della terrazza superiore o se, al contrario, ne oltrepassasse soltanto l'area, essendo pertinente a strutture posizionate altrove.

Fig. 33. Napoli. Cattedrale. Peristilio. Fistula aquaria. Particolare.

Fig. 34. Napoli. Cattedrale. Peristilio. Fistula aquaria.

Relativa all'arredo statuario dell'edificio romano è una frammentaria *Miniaturherme* in marmo, sicuramente rinvenuta[58] insieme ad altro materiale scultoreo, di cui, tuttavia, non restano altre indicazioni, se non la notizia che non era "tutto omogeneo per datazione"[59] (*fig. 35*). Data l'inaffidabilità stratigrafica, tuttavia, siamo costretti a segnalare il reperto fuori dalla successione cronologica fin qui tracciata, nonostante sia da riferire senza dubbio alla *facies* romana dell'area archeologica.

L'erma raffigura una testa barbata di uomo adulto, eretta e in posizione frontale, con il largo viso ovale, zigomi pronunciati e fronte ampia. Per lo stato di conservazione non è possibile dire molto circa l'organizzazione del volto, eccetto che le arcate sopraciliari erano larghe e che la bocca era socchiusa. La barba è squadrata e limitata al contorno dell'ovale, resa con due file di piccoli riccioli stilizzati e baffi spioventi. Il mento è prominente e completamente nascosto dalla barba. Quanto resta del collo ci consente di ricostruirlo come solido e vigoroso. Le orecchie, con profondo foro auricolare, sono lasciate completamente a vista, fuoriuscendo da sotto la capigliatura.

La pettinatura è rigonfia e morbida ed è ben aderente al cranio, di cui segue il profilo: questa si divide in due ondulate bande laterali, spartite da una scriminatura centrale, per poi essere raccolte in una bassa crocchia in corrispondenza della nuca. Le bande, inoltre, appaiono dense e compatte e sono completate con lunghe incisioni parallele, per rendere i ciuffi di capelli. Le basette davanti alle orecchie sono descritte in una triplice fila di boccoli geometricamente schematizzati. Dallo chignon, infine, passando dietro le orecchie, vengono lasciate libere due paia di ciocche che scendevano fluenti ai lati del collo.

Fig. 35. Napoli. Cattedrale. Ermetta in marmo (MANN-Fuori Museo D/31898).

Il retro è reso con molta attenzione al dettaglio e ai volumi e si nota, oltre a ciò, una certa precisione nella descrizione della pettinatura e delle ciocche, che si avvalgono del medesimo trattamento della parte frontale. Tali particolari designano la scultura in esame come visibile a tutto tondo.

Come è stato notato da Antonio De Simone,[60] il primo a occuparsi della scultura in questione, ci troveremmo di fronte alla testa di un Dioniso arcaizzante.[61] In realtà, non sussistono attributi o altri elementi più specifici per determinare l'identificazione di questa erma, che, senza dubbio si palesa come una rielaborazione dell'Hermes Propylaios di Alkamenes,[62] con cui condivide l'impostazione generale e il disegno della barba, anche se, in realtà, sulla base dei dati disponibili, non siamo in grado di stabilire quale specifica divinità, se di divinità si tratta, venga riprodotta nella nostra testina. Ricordiamo, in ogni caso, che l'impossibilità di giungere a un'identificazione più precisa potrebbe non essere attribuita esclusivamente alla frammentarietà del reperto: infatti, non è da escludere che sia stato nelle intenzioni dell'artista non fornire più puntuali dettagli iconografici oltre alla semplice acconciatura dei capelli e della barba, la descrizione dei quali da sola riesce a dare alla statuina quel tocco arcaizzante, che ne costituisce l'intera cifra stilistica.

L'erma, malgrado lo stato di conservazione, è un prodotto qualitativamente discreto, come si desume principalmente dalla resa dei tratti fisiognomici, che, a dispetto della peculiare genericità della categoria scultorea di appartenenza,[63] tradiscono un'esecuzione dettagliata e attenta: si notino, in proposito, l'armonica corrispondenza tra le parti, la cura dei particolari nella pettinatura e nella barba, la coerenza e il naturalismo nella resa della parte posteriore, che la rendono una realizzazione di buon artigianato.

Per la cronologia sono stati proposti gli anni a cavallo tra la fine del I sec. a.C. e gli inizi del I sec. d.C.,[64] mentre gli studi più recenti fanno rientrare tipologicamente questa piccola scultura nell'ampio orizzonte cronologico del I-II sec. d.C.[65]

Circa la ricostruzione del contesto originario, la nostra scultura troverebbe un'agevole colloca-

zione all'interno di un *viridarium*, essendo questa tipologia statuaria utilizzata spesso come arredo da giardino.[66] Ma va ricordato, per completezza di documentazione, che le erme miniaturizzate possono trovare posto anche in ambienti termali,[67] seppur con minore incidenza.

Conclusioni

L'area occidentale dell'*Insula Episcopalis* di Napoli, coincidente con la basilica di Santa Restituta e l'annesso battistero di San Giovanni in Fonte, si conferma ancora oggi come un giacimento archeologico di grande valore circa la ricostruzione dell'antica *Neapolis*, concentrandosi in essa gran parte della sua storia urbanistica. Le strutture più antiche, nella forma in cui appaiono ancora oggi, risultano, però, il prodotto di due soli momenti progettuali, con minimi rifacimenti che le integrarono in dinamiche di utilizzo diverse da quelle originarie.

I dati raccolti non hanno dimostrato cosa abbia preceduto l'edificio termale di età romana, dal momento che rimangono tracce troppo scarse dell'occupazione di età greca: l'imponente cortina muraria in ortostati e il relativo canale fognario indicano, infatti, solo una sistemazione a terrazze di questa parte della città antica di *Neapolis*, dove, in ogni caso, appare credibile che siano state ospitate strutture, di cui però non possiamo definire né la tipologia né la datazione. Questi apparecchi murari costituiscono, comunque, una prima fase costruttiva databile al IV secolo a.C., a cui segue una fase di dissesto o di degrado, che in qualche modo ne ha compromesso il non definibile impiego.

Invece, circa la datazione entro cui inserire la realizzazione dell'edificio romano, l'analisi delle strutture murarie e le osservazioni tipologiche, insieme alle decorazioni conservate, rinviano a esperienze architettoniche inquadrabili nella prima metà del I sec. d.C., segnatamente il primo quarto del secolo, inserendosi così in quel nuovo sviluppo edilizio che sembra aver contraddistinto *Neapolis* a seguito dell'acquisizione dello *status* municipale.[68] Sulla destinazione d'uso, è molto plausibile l'ipotesi che sia stato un *balneum*: l'ampio peristilio con cisterna centrale dalla discreta capienza è un allestimento reperibile in più di un caso, specialmente in area microasiatica (e questo è un aspetto che meriterebbe, sebbene non in questa sede, un aggiuntivo approfondimento), come nelle monumentali terme-ginnasio di Salamina di Cipro di età augustea, solo per fare un esempio: si tratta di complessi che presentano tutti ampi porticati con cisterne nei cortili centrali e che, quindi, per forma e destinazioni d'uso risultano assimilabili all'esemplare napoletano.

Nei secoli successivi il complesso termale continua a funzionare, finché sul finire del III-IV sec. d.C. fu soggetto a un intervento di rifunzionalizzazione e riorganizzazione degli spazi: venne realizzato il muro in vittato nell'angolo SE del peristilio attraverso il giardino del complesso, a cui fece seguito non molto dopo l'impianto della *fistula plumbea* di *Aurelius Eutycianus*, sebbene senza essere certi di un suo utilizzo da parte del nostro edificio.

Alla fine, la realizzazione del complesso basilicale di Santa Restituta e del battistero di San Giovanni in Fonte, installati assieme sull'edificio romano, ne sancì la fine d'uso: i muri del peristilio e, forse, il suo colonnato vengono rasati e lo stesso accade alle volte a botte della cisterna ipogea, che così, dopo essere stata livellata, viene verosimilmente riempita per creare il cortile dei nuovi edifici sacri in età costantiniana.[69]

Note

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2 Da scartare, sulla base dei dati disponibili, è la proposta di Mario Napoli di una derivazione del toponimo dall'edificio di Carminiello ai Mannesi (Napoli 1967, 448).

3 Per le terme pubbliche di Castelcapuano e il suo apparato scultoreo, Cristilli 2003, 8-15; Rippa 2007, 215-216; Cristilli 2012, 25-48.

4 Questo intervento, limitato al lato orientale della strada e già progettato nel 1853 da L. Cangiano e A. Francesconi, fu bandito nel marzo 1861 e concluso nell'aprile del 1868, mentre l'inaugurazione della nuova 'Strada del Duomo' avvenne il 19 settembre dello stesso 1868 (*Giornale Officiale di Napoli* del 18 gennaio 1869: Appendice). Ferraro 2002, 365-366.

5 Gli interventi sono del 1969-1983, all'interno del progetto di risistemazione della Cattedrale e degli edifici della Curia. Di Stefano/Strazzullo 1971, 3; Di Stefano 1975, 49; Ebanista 2009, 314; 2011, 386; 2013, 165.

[6] Cristilli 2003, 27-29 (con bibliografia); 2012, 50-61.
[7] Dello stesso avviso già Arthur 2002, 62.
[8] Sugli edifici, da ultimi, Lucherini 2009; Cuccaro 2012.
[9] Sul problema, esaustiva bibliografia in Ebanista 2009, 317; Cuccaro 2012, 20; Pagano 2012, 401.
[10] Ebanista 2009; Cuccaro 2012, 25-33; Ebanista 2013, 165-168.
[11] Di Stefano/Strazzullo 1971, 10; Di Stefano 1975, 139-140 e 146; Farioli 1978, 277.
[12] Durante lo svuotamento della 'Tomba dei Canonici' e sotto il pavimento della parte N della navata orientale della basilica di Santa Restituta fu messa in luce la facciata S della parte del muro passante per quel punto, due blocchi del quale erano impressi con le lettere 'Γ' e 'A' dell'alfabeto greco. Di Stefano/Strazzullo 1971, 10; Di Stefano 1975, 140.
[13] Sull'orografia dell'area, Di Stefano/Strazzullo 1971, 8, fig. 3; Cuccaro 2012, 25; Ebanista 2013, 165.
[14] Giampaola 1996, 87.
[15] Uno studio di riferimento sui segni di cava delle mura di Napoli resta Gabrici 1906, 456-457; un aggiornamento è Giampaola 2009, 196-198; anche Vecchio 2010.
[16] Giampaola 1996, 88.
[17] Johannowsky 1960, 490.
[18] Johannowsky 1960, 494.
[19] Giampaola 2005; 2013, 90.
[20] Giampaola 2009.
[21] Mazza 2008, 89-90; Hellmann 2010, 191-204.
[22] Di Mauro 1989; Andreucci Ricciardi 1991; Arthur 2002, 2-5.
[23] Giampaola 2012.
[24] Per esempio, Giampaola 2009.
[25] Ebanista 2013, 165.
[26] Cuccaro 2012, 25.
[27] *Contra* Cuccaro 2012, 25.
[28] Diversamente Ebanista 2009, 344; Cuccaro 2012, 26; Ebanista 2013, 165-166.
[29] Di Stefano/Strazzullo 1971, 10; Di Stefano 1975, 140. Sulla figura dell'insigne ingegnere, di recente Aveta/Di Stefano 2013.
[30] Cuccaro 2012, 25-26; Ebanista 2013, 165, nota 12.
[31] Cuccaro 2012, 26.
[32] Sulla strada basolata, Pagano 2012, 404.
[33] Dello stesso avviso, anche se senza una relativa discussione, Ebanista 2009, 341; Cuccaro 2012, 25-26; Ebanista 2013, 165. In tale prospettiva, non convince la proposta di uno *stenopos* 'diviso in due tronconi' (Cuccaro 2012, 26, nota 19) proprio per l'ingombro delle succitate strutture in reticolato.
[34] L'identificazione è stata già proposta preliminarmente su mio suggerimento, anche se non dimostrata e discussa, in Cuccaro 2012, 26, nota 14; Ebanista 2013, 165, nota 12.
[35] Sconfienza 1996; Sconfienza 2005, 89-90.
[36] Sconfienza 1996, 47-48. Sull'argomento, anche Hellmann 2010, 238.
[37] Livadiotti 2012, 94.
[38] Giampaola/d'Agostino 2005; Mele 2010.
[39] Cristilli 2012, 14-15 (con bibliografia).
[40] Di Stefano/Strazzullo 1971, 14; Ebanista 2009, 342; Cuccaro 2012, 26.
[41] Senza riscontro nei dati archeologici, pesantemente rimaneggiati dagli interventi del Di Stefano, è l'individuazione di due fasi distinte di intervento costruttivo, una di età repubblicana (muro in pietre rustiche di tufo e pavimento in basoli di pietra lavica nella porzione est dell'area) e una successiva di età imperiale, in: Ebanista 2009, 342; Cuccaro 2012, 26; Ebanista 2013, 165-166.
[42] Diversamente Ebanista 2009, 342; Cuccaro 2012, 25-26; Ebanista 2013, 165-166.
[43] Frammento O: 116 cm x 56 cm x 63 cm; frammento centrale: 98 cm x 62 cm x 63 cm; frammento E: 170 cm x 55 cm x 58 cm.
[44] Confronti stringenti possono essere rinvenuti facilmente a Pompei, rimanendo nell'area del Golfo di Napoli, come il corridoio di servizio della palestra delle Terme del Sarno (VIII 2, 22) o ancora quello di collegamento (P_6) tra la scala di accesso al giardino meridionale e l'*oecus* 6 della Villa dei Misteri. Ioppolo 1992; Cicirelli/Guidobaldi 2000.
[45] Vitruvio, *De architectura*, 4.3.3-5.
[46] Vitruvio, *De architectura*, 6.3.7.
[47] Diversamente Ebanista 2009, 342.
[48] I laterizi in questione sono riferibili cronologicamente all'età severiana, dunque molto più recenti rispetto al reticolato a cui si associano.
[49] Sul ritrovamento: Di Stefano/Strazzullo 1971, 15-16; Di Stefano 1975, 141; Ebanista 2009, 318.
[50] L'apertura che attualmente mette in comunicazione i vani B e C è stato praticato in occasione dei restauri del Di Stefano.
[51] Dimensioni tufello 21 cm x 10 cm; raggio ghiera 2,50 m.
[52] La parte NE del vano non è più conservato a seguito della fondazione degli edifici moderni impiantati direttamente sul muro perimetrale E della cisterna.
[53] La scala del vano A è rasente alla parete O con orientamento N-S, mentre quella del vano B si appoggia alla parete S ed è orientata in senso E-O.
[54] Queste misurano 60 cm x 80 cm.
[55] Diversamente Ebanista 2009, 344.
[56] Errata è la trascrizione *Eutychianus* proposta in Bruun 2010, 309, non attestata tra gli otto bolli rinvenuti.
[57] Ebanista 2009, 344; Ebanista 2013, 165. Sull'identificazione di *Aurelius Eutycianus*: Ebanista 2009, 344; Bruun 2010, 309 (*plumbarius*); Ebanista 2013, 165; Amodio 2014.
[58] Già Napoli, Duomo - Basilica di S. Restituta; inv. 44; inv. fot. MANN (fuori Museo) D/31898; marmo bianco; h: 12 cm; rinvenuta nel 1968-1971; inedito. Stato di conservazione: mancano la basetta con la porzione superiore dell'orecchio destro; la parte inferiore. Il volto è abraso. La superficie marmorea è dilavata in molti punti. Si registrano numerose scalfitture sparse. ACSAN 1971; ACSAN 1973.
[59] ACSAN 1978. La scultura è stata trafugata nell'ultimo ventennio, come segnalatomi dall'arch. M. Rippa.
[60] ACSAN 1971.
[61] Fullerton 1990, 127-145.
[62] Willers 1975; Schuchhardt 1977, 30-43; Lippolis/Vallarino 2010, 264-265.
[63] Mayer 1999 (con bibliografia); Peña Jurado 2002; Cristilli 2011, 194-195.
[64] ACSAN 1971.
[65] Mayer 1999.
[66] Si pensi, solo per fare un esempio, alla splendida ermetta dionisiaca dal giardino della Casa degli Amorini Dorati a Pompei (Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 20363; marmo bianco; h 27,2 cm; I sec. d.C.).
[67] Rückert 1998, 196.
[68] Arthur 2002, 6.
[69] Cuccaro 2012, 39.

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ACSAN 1971 = Archivio Corrente della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli - N3/8: relazione di A. De Simone (novembre 1971).

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The impact of Rome on *luci* (sacred glades, clearings and groves) in Italy

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Abstract

Luci *in Italy are mentioned in ancient literary sources and inscriptions. Usually they were sub- or extra-urban, poly-functional, sometimes even multi-functional sacred places. After an initial stage of being a sacred glade, clearing or grove where votive gifts could be deposited, a* lucus *could be monumentalized by the addition of altars, statue bases, votive cippi and temples. Some* luci *were used as secret meeting places by Latin leagues for preparing their defense against Rome in the sixth, 5th and 4th centuries BC.*[1] *This paper investigates the effects of Rome's conquest of Italy on the development of* luci.

Introduction

Since the publication of *Les bois sacrés* edited by Olivier de Cazanove and John Scheid in 1993 no synthesizing publication on *luci* in Italy has been written, while various articles and book-chapters on individual *luci* did appear. Short *lemmata* have been written by Annamaria Comella in the *ThesCRA*[2] and by Fritz Graf in *Brill's New Pauly*. The latter deals indiscriminately with Greek *alse* and Italic *luci*.[3] In general *luci* are defined as sacred glades, clearings and groves. In this article I focus on *luci* in Italy, outside Rome. Some of them date to the period before the Romans intervened. *Luci* are a typical Italic phenomenon. The sacred, numinous places were important mini-landscapes which were not dedicated to one particular deity. As regional meeting places they played a role in the creation of social bonding and ethnicity. The original meaning of *lucus* is glade or clearing since the older form **loucos*, derives from the Indo-European root **louc-* which means '(to) light.' The nominative **loucos* is reconstructed from the accusative *loucon* in two inscriptions from Spoleto (see below). Identification and localization of *luci* can only be based on ancient literary and epigraphic sources, and Italian placenames containing the word *luco* (e.g. Monteluco). The inscriptions indicate the presence of a sacred glade, clearing or grove. Probably no inscription can be dated before the 4th century BC. From the Augustan period onward Latin poets often do not make a distinction between *lucus*, *nemus*, *silva* and *saltus*, all words which mean grove, forest or wood.[4] Therefore, authors from the Republican and Early Imperial period like Cato, Varro, Cicero and Livy give more useful information although the historicity of events before ca 600 may be doubtful. The following is an attempt to examine Rome's impact on twelve *luci* in Italy from the end of the 6th century until ca 80. The question is how Romans dealt with Italic *luci*[5] and whether they created *luci*, where and under which conditions.

Luci in *Latium Vetus*

Luci in *Latium Vetus* were present to the south and north of Lake Albano, two near Aricia, one at Corne near Tusculum, and one at Lanuvium.

A grove near Aricia is mentioned in Cato's *Origines* fragment 58 Peter (cf. Festus 128L): *Lucum Dianium in nemore Aricino Egerius Baebius Tusculanus dedicavit dictator Latinus. Hi populi communiter: Tusculanus, Aricinus, Lanuvinus, Laurens, Coranus, Tiburtis, Pometinus, Ardeatis, Rutulus* ('*Dictator Latinus* Egerius Baebius Tusculanus dedicated the *lucus* of Diana in the wood of Aricia. These people (cooperated) together: people from Tusculum, Aricia, Laurentum, Cora, Tibur, Pometia, Ardea and the Rutulian (people)'). Tusculanus is a cognomen or it means 'from Tusculum' *Dictator Latinus* is the title of the highest magistrate of a league. Since Rome is not mentioned, most scholars hold that the *lucus* was used by an anti-Roman league of *Latini* which came together before the Battle of Lake Regillus in 499.[6] In addition, Pometia was occupied by the Volscians at the beginning of the 5th century.[7] Coarelli incorrectly presumes that the *lucus* was a '*quid*', in other words something substantial.[8] He makes an anachronistic comparison with the sanctuary (probably of Juno) at Gabii which was built around 150. Trees, presumed to have belonged to a *lucus*, would have

stood behind the temple, judged by the presence of pits. However, they rather attest to the presence of a sacred garden. Incorrect too is Coarelli's comparison with the incompletely quoted definition in *Origines (Etymologies)* 14.8.30 (cf. 17.6.3) of Isidorus of Seville (Cartagena) who lived between AD 560 and 636: *lucus est locus densis arboribus septus* ('a *lucus* is a place densely surrounded with trees'). Coarelli leaves out the following words: *solo lucem detrahens* ('(the place) that keeps light from (reaching) the ground'). There is, however, no literary or epigraphic evidence that the Gabian sanctuary, its temple or trees were called *lucus*. A better explanation is that the *lucus* near Aricia was a secret open place in a wood for assemblies. There are no traces of buildings from the 6th or 5th century on the northern shore of Lake Nemi, a place called Il Giardino.[9] Some votive gifts there can be dated to the archaic period.[10] The oldest inscriptions date to the 3rd century.[11] The oldest terracotta votives date to the end of the 4th and 3rd centuries[12] and the oldest roof terracottas to ca 300.[13] The latter may have belonged to the first stone temple. The second, monumental stone temple dates to ca 150-100.[14] Judged from the inscriptions the stone sanctuary seems to have been used until the Antonine period.[15] The oldest sculptures from the sanctuary date from ca 150 and the most recent from around AD 150.[16] Archaeological material from ca 500/480 until ca 330/300 is absent.

According to Pliny (*NH* 16.242) there was another *lucus* of Diana in Latium: *Est in suburbano Tusculani agri colle, qui Corne appellatur, lucus antiqua religione Dianae sacratus a Latio*…('There is on the suburban hill of the ager of Tusculum, which is called Corne, a *lucus* in accordance with ancient religion dedicated to Diana by Latium…'). The grove, maybe a copy of the one at Aricia (Nemi), may have had a federal function too.[17] Pliny tells that the consul and orator Passienus Crispus who lived in the time of Nero, used to embrace an old tree in it, to sleep under it, and to libate wine on it. No epigraphic and archaeological traces of this *lucus* have been left. The idea of a contemporary spread of the Diana cult may be confirmed by fragments of a late archaic bronze statue of Diana from a temple tympanum at Sillene, a place named after Greek Selene (Moon), near Chianciano Terme in Etruria. Claudia Giontella suggests that king Porsenna of Chiusi adopted the cult for political reasons.[18] Earlier, king Servius Tullius who dedicated a *fanum* of Diana on the Aventine, probably shortly before 535 BC, may have used a similar strategy.[19] In both cases the rulers tried to establish good relations with the Latini.

The *lucus Ferentinae* probably was another grove in the neighbourhood of Aricia. Its history goes back to the end of the 6th century if we may believe Livy (1.50.1-2):[20] *Iam magna Tarquini auctoritas inter Latinorum proceres erat, cum in diem certam ut ad lucum Ferentinae conveniant indicit: esse, quae agere de rebus communibus velit.* ('Tarquinius (sc. Superbus) had already won great influence with the Latin nobles, when he gave notice that they should assemble on a certain day at the grove of Ferentina, saying that there were matters of common interest which he wished to discuss'). As for 348 Livy (7.25.5) writes: *Inter hos longe maximus exstitit terror concilia populorum Latinorum ad lucum Ferentinae habita*… ('but by far the greatest of these alarms was occasioned by councils of the Latin tribes, assembled at the grove of Ferentina…'). The grove evidently had a political-military function.

Regarding a *lucus* at Lanuvium Livy (8.14.2-3) writes: *Lanuvinis civitas data sacraque sua reddita cum eo, ut aedes lucusque Sospitae Iunonis communis Lanuvinis municipibus cum populo Romano esset* ('The Lanuvini were given citizenship, and their worship was restored to them, with the stipulation that the temple and grove of Juno Sospita should be held in common by the inhabitants of the *municipium* of Lanuvium and the Roman People'). This happened after Rome's conquest of Latium in 338. The sacred place has a long history. The temple dates from 500-480 and it got a facelift at the end of the 4th century. It had one or two predecessors. An *oikos* from ca 625-600 was built upon a rectangular, possibly cultic, hut which is dated ca 800-750.[21] In 90, after the Social War, the temple was restored once more, this time by the Senate of Rome. Celia E. Schultz suggests that the restoration took place with the same intention as after 338: to strengthen the bond with Juno, Lanuvium and the Latins.[22] The Romans probably used a similar integration policy regarding the sanctuary of Iuppiter on Monte Albano, and the sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars at Lavinium. This may be inferred by a statement of Livy (5.52.8): *Et videte quid inter nos ac maiores intersit. Illi sacra quaedam in monte Albano Laviniique nobis facienda tradiderunt* ('See, too, how great the difference is between us and our ancestors. They left to us certain rites and ceremonies which we have to perform on the Alban Mount and at Lavinium').

Lucus Feroniae in the *Ager Capenas*

If we may believe Livy (1.30.5), the *fanum Feroniae* already existed in the 7th century: *Utrimque iniuriae factae ac res nequiquam erant repetitae: Tullus ad Feroniae fanum mercatu frequenti negotiatores Romanos conprehensos querebatur, Sabini suos prius in lucum configisse ac Romae retentos* ('Each side had inflicted injuries on the other and refused all redress: Tullus (sc. Hostilius (673-641)) complained that Roman traders had been arrested in the market at the shrine of Feronia; the Sabines' grievance was that some of their people had previously sought refuge in the grove and been kept in Rome'). In his report of the events in 211 Livy (26.11.8-10) uses the word *lucus* instead of *fanum*: *Inde ad lucum Feroniae pergit ire* (sc. Hannibal), t*emplum, ea tempestate inclutum divitiis. Capenates aliique qui accolae eius erant primitias frugum eo donaque alia pro copia portantes multo auro argentoque id exornatum habebant. iis omnibus donis tum spoliatum templum; aeris acerui cum rudera milites religione inducti iacerent post profectionem Hannibalis magni inuenti.--huius populatio templi haud dubia inter scriptores est* ('Thence he (sc. Hannibal) proceeded to the grove of Feronia, a shrine which at that time was famous for its wealth. The people of Capena and others who lived near it used to carry thither first-fruits and gifts in addition according to their means, and had kept it richly adorned with gold and silver. Of all those gifts the temple was at that time despoiled. Great heaps of bronze were found after the departure of Hannibal, since the soldiers inspired by religious fear deposited crude lumps. As to the spoiling of this temple there is no uncertainty among the historians'). Livy (27. 4.11-15) further mentions Rome's care for the *lucus* in the following year: *…et in agro Capenate ad lucum Feroniae quattuor signa sanguine multo diem ac noctem sudasse. haec prodigia hostiis maioribus procurata decreto pontificum; et supplicatio diem unum Romae ad omnia pulvinaria, alterum in Capenati agro ad Feroniae lucum indicta* ('…and that in the territory of Capena, at the grove of Feronia, four statues sweated much blood for a day and a night. These prodigies were expiated with full-grown victims by decree of the pontiffs. And prayers were ordered for one day in Rome at all the *pulvinaria*, and for a second day at the grove of Feronia, in the territory of Capena').[23] The *lucus Feroniae* has been excavated at a distance of seven km south-east from Capena and one km from the Tiber.[24] Evidently it was a multi-ethnic market place, asylum and sacred treasury.[25] The offering of the first fruits points to horticulture. Many votives, mostly bronze statuettes, date from the archaic period. According to Massimiliano Di Fazio the *lucus* was a primary cult place of Feronia. From there her cult may have spread to the Adriatic coast and, maybe by the *Volsci* from the Sabine area, to Anxur (Tarracina) in southern Latium. The goddess would be of Sabine origin.[26] Terracotta votives appear after ca 330/300.[27] The remains of the oldest temple and a Republican building are dated to ca 250-200.[28] Two inscriptions probably date to the same period date.[29] There are no archaeological remains from the period between ca 500/480 and ca 330/300.

Luci in Umbria

Luci in Umbria are without archaeological context. Two are known from almost identical Latin inscriptions on two sides of *cippi*, containing laws of a sacred grove or groves which were probably dedicated to Jupiter. Both come from an extra-urban context to the north of Spoleto. One was found built in the church S. Quirico, 2 km west of Castel Ritaldi, *CIL* 1^2.366a: *honce loucom / nequ<i>s violatod / neque exvehito neque / exferto quod louci / siet neque cedito, / nesei quo die res deina / anua fiet; eod die / quod rei dinai cau[s]a / [f]iat sine dolo cedre / [l]icetod, sei quis // violasit, Iove bovid / piaclum datod; / seiquis scies / violasit dolo malo, / Iovei bovid piaclum / datod et a(sses) CCC / moltai suntod. / eius piacli / moltaique dicator[ei]*[30] */ exactio est[od]*, and the other in the church S. Francesco a Picciche, 3.5 km northeast of Castel Ritaldi, *CIL* 1^2. 366b: *[h] once loucom / nequis violato / neque exvehito / neque exferto / quod louci siet / neque caiditod / nesei quo die res / [dei]na anua / [fiet, e]od died / [quod] rei dinai / [causa fi]at sine // [d]olo malo cedr[e / li]ceto sequis / advorsum ead / violasit Iovei / bovid piaclum / dato; seiquis scies / violasit dolo / malo et Io[vei] / bovid piacl[um dato] / et a(sses) CCC mo[ltai sunto.] / eius piacli e[xactio / dicatori esto.]* ('Let nobody damage this *lucus* and transport by cart or carry outside what belongs to the *lucus* nor fell (trees) unless on the day which will be, once a year, divine on which day it is permitted to fell (trees) for divine reason without ruse and bad intention. If anybody violates against this, he must make an expiatory sacrifice with an ox. If anybody knowingly violates with ruse and bad intention, he must make an expiatory sacrifice with an ox and the fine will be 300 *a(sses)*. Let the exaction of this expiatory sacrifice be the task of the dicator (probably the chief magistrate)'). The Spoleto inscriptions have briefly been discussed by John Bodel.[31] He dates them after 241 when Spoletium

became *colonia latina*. He states that 'there was, of course, no single Roman law of sacred groves.'[32] Indeed, Cato (*De agricultura* 139-140) does not mention a *bos* but a *porcus* as *piaculum* for an unspecified god or goddess (around 149): *Lucum conlucare Romano more sic oportet. Porco piaculo facito, sic verba concipito: 'Si deus, si dea es, quoium illud sacrum est, uti tibi ius est porco piaculo facere illiusce sacri coercendi ergo harumque rerum ergo, sive ego sive quis iussu meo fecerit, uti id recte factum siet, eius rei ergo te hoc porco piaculo inmolando bonas preces precor, uti sies volens propitius mihi domo familaeque meae liberisque meis; harumce rerum ergo macte hoc porco piaculo inmolando esto.' Si fodere voles, altero piaculo eodem modo facito, hoc amplius dicito: 'operis faciundi causa.' Dum opus, cotidie per partes facito. Si intermiseris aut feriae publicae aut familiares intercesserint, altero piaculo facito* ('It is proper to open out a grove in this way, according to the Roman manner. Offer as expiation a pig, recite words thus: "Be you god or be you goddess, to whom this place is sacred, as it is right to offer as expiation to you a male pig for the pruning of this sacred place, on account of these things, whether I or whether one ordered by me offered it, in order that it may have been done rightly, for the sake of this thing I pray good prayers to you for the sacrificing of this male pig as expiation, that you may be favorable and gracious to me, to my family and house, to my children; for the sake of these things be honored by the sacrificing of the pig as expiation." If you wish to dig, offer in the same manner for another expiation, say this in addition: "for the cause of carrying out the work." During the work, offer every day over some area. If you will break off, or public or family festivals will interfere, offer for another expiation').[33] It may be no coincidence that both Spoleto inscriptions were found walled into churches. They may originate from sanctuaries in or at the margin of two groves or one sacred wood.

Luci are also mentioned in the Umbrian *Tabulae Iguvinae*. The seven famous bronze tablets were found in or near the Augustan amphitheatre near Gubbio (*Iguvium*). They are usually dated between the end of the 3rd century and ca 80. Some tables are written in the so-called national Etruscan-Umbrian alphabet, to be read from right to left, others in the Latin one, to be read from left to right. The so-called Umbrian letter m of Etruscan origin (probably from Cortona), is still present in Etruscan inscriptions (e.g. on the Bronze Liver of Piacenza) until the beginning of the 1st century. Gubbio borrowed the Etruscan alphabet from Perugia, Arezzo or Cortona, after the end of the 4th century BC. *Tabulae* III-IV, dated to ca 225-200, describe a procession to and sacrifices in a grove.[34] The first lines read: *esunu fuia herter sume / ustite sestensiaru / urnasiaru. huntak vuke prumu pehatu* ('The rite should be performed on the highest station (i.e. high moon) of the nones of Urnasia; the grounds in the grove first purify!'[35] Line 10 reads: *inumek via mersuva arvamen etuta* ('Then along the usual road into the field go!'). The procession continues in line 20: *inenek vukumen esunumen etu* ('Then into the grove into > for the rite go!'). Since the ritual ends with the purification of the grounds, the first lines probably have to be interpreted as a preliminary action. So the text probably deals with one and the same *vuku* (*lucus*)[36] which does not belong to one deity. Gods to whom sacrifices had to be made are: *iuvepatre* (*Iupiter Pater*), *puemune pupṛike* (Pomonus Popdicus), *vesune puemunes pupṛikes* (Vesuna of Pomonus Popdicus), *purtupite* (*Pordoviens*), *hule* (*Holus*), and *turse* (Torsa). Michael Weiss suggests that the ritual is a New Year festival.[37] This hypothesis is, however, based on his wrong reading of the inscription *fatuus* (assumed to be written *dextrorsus*…) instead of *svutaf* on an Etruscan mirror from Castelgiorgio near Orvieto dated to the second half of the 4th century.[38] All inscriptions (*hercle* (Herakles), *fufluns* (the Etruscan Dionysos), *vesuna* (the Umbrian Vesuna) and *svutaf* (Svutaf, a *hapax* name of a male deity or personification) are written from right to left (notice the identical direction of the letters s!). It seems that the ritual was rather meant to promote the fertility of fields and fruits (cf. Pomonus and Lat. *pomus*). The Etruscan combination of Vesuna and Fufluns may point to viniculture as a vine-tendril encircles the scene. The Expiation Ritual in *Tabula* 1a I-b 9 (ca 225-200 BC) and *Tabula* VI a 1-VI b 47 (ca 100-80) respectively describes the taking of *auspicia* from above, from the city, from below, from the boundaries of the city, and sacrifices in front of and behind the three city gates. *Tabula* I b, 1 and VI b, 43 respectively mention sacrifices: *vukukum iuviu* and *vocucom ioviu* ('In the grove of Jupiter') and *Tabula* I b, 4 and VI b, 45: *vukukum kureties* and *vocucum coredier* ('In the grove of Coretii'). As place name it is preserved in Goredie (AD 1063) which nowadays is called Goreggio (a place near Gubbio). The name may be of Sabine origin (cf. Cures and Curitis, see below).The ritual activities started in the urban region and ended in groves at the periphery. If something went wrong, the priests had to take again the *auspicium* and return to the *porta Trebulana*. Petra Amann holds that the *Tabulae* do not prove that Gubbio was a city before the 3*rd*

century.[39] Recent research shows that there were already city walls and gates in the 4th century.[40] Simon Stoddart hypothesises that the *Tabulae* inscriptions were 'textually imagined landscapes.'[41] There is no reason, however, to presume that the rituals are fictive. Several names mentioned in the *Tabulae* are preserved in place names, for example Akersonia in Middle Age Crissonia, Atiied- in Attiggio, Tessanaca in Tessanara, and Trebulana in Trebulo (Roman Trebulum).[42] The Bronze Tables were made in the period after the Roman conquest of Umbria (304) and the presence of adopted Latin words like *a(sses)*, *forum*, *kvestur* in these texts proves Roman influence. A fine of *a. CCC* (300 *asses*) is not only mentioned in *Tabula* VII b but also in the inscriptions of Spoleto (see above), which may be dated after 241.[43] The amount of money points to Roman influence since Table VIII of the *Laws of the Twelve Tables* (ca 450) reads: 'For breaking a bone of a freeman, the fine shall be 300 *asses*.'

A rectangular bronze bar (incorrectly called *aes signatum*) with the representation of a bull on both sides was found near Città di Castello (Tifernum Tiberinum). Its later engraved inscription reads: *vukes sestines*. It has been translated in Latin as *luci Sestini* ('of the grove of Sestinum').[44] The bar dates to the 3rd century and Luciano Agostiniani refines the chronology to ca 275 and 250. It has no context and so far no *lucus* has been found at Città di Castello or Sestinum. So we may not exclude that Sestine was the name of a male deity as no *lucus* in Italy bears the name of a city.

The *lucus Pisaurensis* in the *Ager Gallicus* (Umbria)

In a sacred place about 1500 m to the south of Pesaro (ancient Pisaurum), near Santa Veneranda and an area called Sotto le Selve ('Under the woods') fourteen inscribed votive *cippi* were found by Annibale degli Abbati Olivieri-Giordani in 1737. He called the place *lucus Pisaurensis* though the *cippi* do not mention the word *lucus*. Later on, however, a truncated conical artefact of terracotta, a so-called *terminus isoscelis* (*fig. 1*), was found in the same area which seems to confirm Olievieri's name giving. It bears a graffito reading (from above downward; *fig. 2*):[45]

Δ
luci coiirii ('of the grove Coiiriian > of the Coerian grove'*)*
CI LX

Fig. 1 Terracotta boundary marker. Courtesy of Museo Archeologico Oliveriano, Pesaro (inv. 3272bis).

Fig. 2 Idem, detail of the inscription. Courtesy of Museo Archeologico Oliveriano, Pesaro (inv. 3272bis).

Emilio Peruzzi interprets the letter *delta* as a symbol known from the *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum* indicating a *lucus* between a mountain, well and river. The adjective **coiirios* would be of Sabine

origin, reminding us of Cures, a Sabine place near the Tiber and Curitis, an epithet of Iuno.[46] Iuno is mentioned on three votive *cippi* which may mean that she was the main deity of the *lucus*. In my opinion the numerals CI ('101') and LX ('60') may indicate measures in feet (ca 31 and 18 m), indicating length and width of the *lucus*. The area may be called *lucus* as a similar space with *cippi* has been found near Capua (see below) one of which mentions the word *lúvkeí* ('in the *lucus*'). Since Pisaurum became *colonia civium Romanorum* in 184, Paul B. Harvey Jr considers this year as a *terminus post quem* of all *stelae*. In addition, the orthography of god names and the presence of a *matrona* would confirm this.[47] However, probably not all dedicants were *cives Romani*. Some may have come from the Ager Capenas or the Sabine area, and from Campania in view of the non-Roman deities Feronia[48] and Marica.[49] This implies that some votive *cippi* may be older than 184. The fact that all names of deities are written in archaic datives (*CIL* 1^2.368-379 and 381; *CIL* XI.6290-6303) may also point to an earlier date (368: *apolenei*); 369: *fide*; 370: *iunone*: 371: *iuno(ne) loucina*; 372: *mat(re) matut(a)*; 373: *salute*; 374: *dei(va) marica*; 375: *deiv(eis) no[v] esede(bus)*; 376: *diane*; 377: *feronia*; 378: *iunone re(gina)*; 379: *matre matuta*; 381: *lebro*).[50] A bronze statuette (*CIL* XI.6303) found near the latter *cippus* is also inscribed: *lebro* ('to Liber'). This type of dative is also present in inscriptions from Nemi and *Lucus Feroniae* which are dated between ca 250 and 200. In addition, the oldest terracotta votives from *lucus Pisaurensis* date to the 3rd century.[51] The *lucus* may have been a *conciliabulum*, a meeting place for people of different origins, before the foundation of the *colonia*. As Coarelli suggests, it may have been created after the *viritim* colonization of the *Ager Gallicus* by C. Flaminius in 232.[52] In other places of the Marche and the Po valley, sanctuaries of early colonists who probably were protected by the Roman army, were already present in or near places where some decades later coloniae were founded.[53]

A *LUCUS* IN VENETO

From a suburban *lucus* at Padova (Patavium), probably near ponte Tadi, originates a boundary *cippus* with Venetic inscriptions on both sides. It dates to the 4th or 3rd century. The inscriptions read:[54]

Side A: *e.n.θo.l.lo.u.ki / θe.r.mo.n.*

Side B: *[ ]etiio.s. / θe.u.θe.r.s.*

In transcription: *entollouki termon*, and: *[ ]edios teuters.*

Entollouki may mean: **entos louki* ('inside of a *lucus*' or 'inside-*lucus*') and *termon* means: boundary (*cippus*). [ ]*edios* is the name of a *gens* and the translation of *teuters* ('have (publically) placed') has been rejected by Carlo de Simone.[55] According to Luigi Prosdocimi the word *termon* looks like Latin *termo*, *termen* and *terminus*. The concept of boundary would be typically Roman.[56] So, in principle we may not exclude Latin influence, also because Padova assisted Rome against the Celts in 250. The *terminus ante quem* of the *cippus* may ca 150 when Latin replaced Venetic.

A *LUCUS* IN CAMPANIA

From the suburban sanctuary fondo Patturelli, just to the east of Capua, originate twenty seven votive *cippi*, some of terracotta and some of stone. They are called *iúvilas*. They bear Oscan inscriptions. Michael Crawford now dates them between 330 and 250. One of them reads:[57] *tr(ebieís). vírriieís. ken/ssurineís. ekas / iúvilas. trís[.] eh/peílatas set. ve/sulliaís fertalis / staflatas set. / mi(nieís). blússii(eís). mi(nieís). m(eddikiaí). t(uvtikaí). / nessimas. staíet / veruís. lúvkeí* ('Of Trebie Virriie Kenssurine. These three *iúvilas* were erected (?) during the (feast) Vesulliai Fertalis; they are fixed in place (or: guaranteed) during the *meddix tuticus*-ship of Minie Blussiie, son of Minie. They stand next to the gates in the grove'). The word **luvke* derives from Italic **louk*-. From the text we may infer that the whole sanctuary was a grove. According to Crawford the gates are a plural with a singular meaning. However, as there were three *iúvilas*, there may have been three gates. Remains of a wall have been found in situ.[58] Though Capua asked Rome for help against the Sabellians in 343 and the Via Appia was built in 312, hardly any Roman influence can be found in the texts of the *iúvilas*. Only Trebie Virrie Kenssurine looks Latin Trebius Verius Censorinus. Censorinus is a cognomen or title.

A *LUCUS* IN DAUNIA

From a suburban grove near Lucera (ancient Luceria) originates a *cippus* with the following Latin inscription (*CIL* 1^2, 401):

in hoce loucarid stircus / ne [qu]is fundatid neve cadaver / proiecitad neve parentatid. / sei quis arvorsu(m) hac faxit [in] ium / quis volet pro ioudicatod n(ummum)

[L] / manum iniect[i]o estod, seive / mag[i]steratus volet moltare, / [li]cetod
('In this **loucar* let nobody dump excrement (or: refuse)[59] or discard a corpse or celebrate a feast for ancestors. / If anyone should have acted contrary to this, let there be, as for a judgment rendered, laying of hands upon him, to an amount of 50 pieces, on the part of anyone who shall so desire, (and) if a magistrate wants to fine (him), it will be permitted').

The inscription has been studied by John Bodel.[60] He dates it after 314 when Luceria became a *colonia latina*. He holds that the *lucus* was used as cemetery like the *lucus Libitinae* at Rome. Fragments of a long inscription on marble regarding the *lucus Libitinae* at Pozzuoli (Puteoli) which is dated to the Augustan period, mention the same prohibitions of violation.[61] Bodel presumes that the word **loucar* would be a space inside the grove, the headquarters of undertakers.[62] However, *lucar* can have the same meaning as *lucus* since the name *Lucaria*, the festival in memory of the hiding of Romans in a *lucus* after the Battle of Allia in 390, has the root *lucar*. In addition, the word is identical to Latin *lucar* which indicates the revenues from a *lucus (Libitinae*) used for *ludi* (games).[63] The formula *sei quis arvorsu(m) hac* reminds us of the words *sequis advorsum ead* in the Spoleto inscriptions. These congruencies may point to a common *lex luci Libitinae* of Roman origin. The verbal endings on –*id* on *-ad* in the inscription may point to Oscan influence. Therefore, it may have made some decades after 314. The *lucar* itself may have been older since the oldest votives from the *stips* of the Belvedere date from ca 400. That place was uninterruptedly used until ca 150.[64]

Conclusions

The *Lucus Dianius* at Nemi and the *Lucus Feroniae* show the absence of archaeological evidence between ca 500/480 and ca 330/300,[65] whilst the *Lucus* of Iuno Sospita at Lanuvium shows an uninterrupted continuity. The reason may be that the first two were considered possible places of resistance and therefore forbidden areas after ca 499 or 493, the date of the *Foedus Cassianum*. Nevertheless, they remained in the collective memory as they came to life again in later centuries. Especially after 338, groves got a monumental appearance. For political and probably economic reasons some became to be used as communal religious meeting places for both Romans and locals (Nemi, Lanuvium and *Lucus Feroniae*). One or two *luci* near Spoleto may have been created under Roman influence since some formulas in the inscriptions have antecedents in the Laws of the Twelve Tables. Problematic is the date of the *lucus Pisaurensis*. Most likely, some votive inscriptions, like some terracotta votives, date from the 3rd century as deities like Marica and Feronia are not Roman, which may imply that some of the dedicants came from Campania, and the *Ager Capenas* or Sabine area. The inscription from Lucera is not written in pure Latin. Its Oscan elements may show that it was made some time after the foundation of the *colonia*. The rituals in suburban groves at Gubbio were of local origin without apparent Roman influence. However, some *Tabulae Iguvinae*, which are not related to *luci*, do mention words of Latin origin. The inscriptions from Padova and Capua, respectively written in Venetic and Oscan, are only very slightly, if it all, influenced by Rome. As far as can be seen all *luci* discussed were sub- or extra-urban. As for linguistics, the root **louc-* is rather of Latin than of Umbrian-Sabellic origin judged by the fact that the Umbrian root *vuk-* developed from **louk-*. The velarisation (the transition from the initial letter l to v) may have taken place in prehistory.

Notes

1 Henceforth all dates are before BC unless AD dates are mentioned.
2 Comella 2005.
3 Graf 2013. Both F. Graf and C. Jacob in *Les bois sacrés* (1993, 23-29 and 31-44) define *alse* as less numinous than *luci*. The first would be woods of beauty and amenity in which gods could give oracles causing ecstasy. Bodel (1994, 25) notes that violations of *alse* were seen as offenses against property whilst those against luci were considered as religious crimes.
4 Malaspina 2003-2004.
5 For Rome's attitude towards Italic sanctuaries (except for *luci*) in the Republican period, see Stek 2009, 28-33.
6 For a recent comment, see Coarelli 2012. He reads *Ardeatis Rutulus* in stead of *Ardea, Rutulus*. Green 2007, 88-89.
7 Ampolo 1983 and 1993, 161-163. Coarelli 1987, 165-169.
8 Coarelli 1993. The same author (1987, 174), however, more correctly interprets *lucus* as a clearing.
9 R. Kassel, in Brandt/Touari/Zahle 2000, 131.
10 Green 2007, 14 n. 18. Moltesen 1997, 36, fig. 20 (bronze head (of a statue?)).
11 Ceccarelli/Marroni 2011, 70. M.G. Granino Cecere, in Brandt/Touari/Zahle 2000, 35-44. Most interesting is the dedication reading: *C. Manlios Aci(dinos) pro poplo Arimenesi* ('Caios Manlios Acidinos for the people of Ariminum'). Rimini was founded as *colonia latina* in 268. The inscription may show a long distance pilgrimage of a high magistrate and probably the spread of the Diana cult from Aricia as a primary place to the Adriatic coast.

12 De Cazanove (forthcoming) shows that the spread of anatomical votive gifts of terracotta in Italy was due to Roman *coloni*. See, however, for a sceptic view Stek 2009, 23-24, 27, 28, 34, 129, 157, 214. For the terracotta votives from Nemi, see Green 2007, 18-19, figs 7 and 8 (after p. 146); Moltesen (ed.) 1997, 147, 157-165 dates the oldest ones (now at Rome (Villa Giulia), Copenhagen and Nottingham) to the 3rd century. Ceccarelli/Marroni (2011, 79-80) and Coarelli (1987, 170) date them probably too early, to the 4th century.

13 R. Känel, in Brandt/Touari/Zahle 2000, 131-139.

14 G. Ghini, in Brandt/Touari/Zahle 2000, 53-64.

15 M.G. Granino Cecere, in Brandt/Touari/Zahle 2000, 44.

16 P. Guldager Bilde, in Brandt/Touari/Zahle 2000, 93-109, suggests that an earthquake around AD 150 may have caused a landslide.

17 Ceccarelli/Marroni 2011, 587; Ampolo 1993, 164-166.

18 Giontella 2006, 27-31.

19 Green 2007, 97-105.

20 See also Dion. Hal. 5.61.6. Ampolo's localization near Castel Savelli (1993, 163-164) is incorrect.

21 Ceccarelli/Marroni 2011, 213-216.

22 Schultz 2006, 227.

23 As for 196 Livy (33.26.8) tells: *aedis Feroniae in Capenati de caelo tacta erat* ('the temple of Feronia, in the *ager* of Capena, was struck by lightning').

24 Moretti Sgubini 2006.

25 Dion. Hal. (*Ant. Rom*. 3.32.1) mentions Sabines and Latins.

26 Di Fazio 2013, 39-65; 2012a and b. For the scanty remains of and artefacts from the suburban *lucus* (also referred to as *fanum*, *fons* or *aedes*) *Feroniae* at a distance of 3 km from Terracina, see Di Fazio 2013, 59-64 and Ceccarelli/Marroni 2011, 475-476, 482-483.

27 See De Cazanove, forthcoming. Di Luca 2004, 22 (end of 4th, 3rd and 2nd centuries). Di Luca 1995, 80 (ca 220-100). Moretti 1975, 110-132.

28 Moretti Sgubini 2006, 132-136.

29 *CIL* 1.2867 (from Lucus Feroniae) reads: *Pesco Sal(via) / Plaria T(iti) l(iberta) / Fero(niae) don(o) // [q]uod a[f luc(o)] / dedet libe(n)s / m(erente) mereto*, and *CIL* 1.2869 (from Capena): *]no(s) / [Feronea] af luc(o) / [dedet] mere(to)*. The archaic formulas *Feronea ab luco*, translated in classic Latin read *Feroneae ab luco*, and can be translated as: 'to Feronea (who manifests herself) from (her) *lucus*.' A similar inscription from Nemi (*CIL* I.2444), dated to the 3rd century, reads: *Diana af louco*.

30 Amann 2011, 279 incorrectly reads dictator.

31 Bodel 1994, 24-29. Agostiniani et al. 2011, 82-84 (n. 75) date the *cippi* around 200.

32 Bodel 1994, 24.

33 It may be no coincidence that the *Acta* of the *Fratres Arvales* mention an expiatory sacrifice of two female pigs: ((x) *ante lucum in aram porcas piacu/lares duas luco coinquendi et operis faciendi immolavit / deinde vaccam deae Diae honorariam immolavit* ('on the altar in front of the grove x sacrificed two expiatory female pigs, subsequently he sacrificed a female lamb in honour of Dea Dia'). See Scheid 1990, 554-558.

34 See Weiss 2010.

35 Tentative translation by Weiss 2010, 433.

36 According to Meiser (2010, 155) the difference is due to velarisation (v < l), in other words *vuku* derives from the Italic root **louc*- (like **vape* from *lapis*). This may imply that **louc*- is of Latin origin. See also Untermann 2000, 439-440.

37 Weiss 2010, 236-244.

38 Weiss 2010, 243, fig. and cover illustration.

39 Amann 2011, 220-221.

40 Manconi (ed.) 2008.

41 Stoddart 2012, 185-186.

42 Devoto 1948, 15-18.

43 For bronze coins with the legends *iguvins* and *ikuvini* (?), probably produced in Iguvium in the first half of the 3rd century, see Amann 2011, 304-306, 424 and Agostiniani et al. 2011, 80-81.

44 Amann 2011, 178, fig. 70; 383-384, 421. Agostiniani et al. (2011, 67-69) interpret *vuke*- as Latin *vicus*.

45 Museo Archeologico Oliveriano, Pesaro, inv. 3272bis. Height: 21.3 cm. Di Luca 1995, 78-80, fig. 42. Agnati 1999, 203-204, 245-246.

46 Peruzzi 1990, 127-133. For the delta, see *Gromatici*, L I, 325 (*expositio literarum finalium*): Δ *ad montem se colligit. Inferius maiores fines habet. Ad pedem aquam vivam habet, et flumen inferius* (('Explanation of boundary letters): Δ refers a mountain. More below it has larger boundaries. At its foot it has living water, and a river below').

47 Harvey 2008. Cf. Wachter 1987, 432.

48 Di Fazio 2012, 347-353.

49 Livi 2006, 105-113.

50 Trevisiol 1999, 94-101; Coarelli 2000, 198-199, figs 2-3 (facsimile of all inscriptions).

51 Di Luca 1995, 74-82; 2004, 22-30. The oldest votive heads may date to the end of the 4th century. Harvey 2008 does not mention the votives.

52 Coarelli 2000, 200.

53 Lepore 2012; Boschi et al. 2013; Locatelli et al. 203.

54 Fogolari/Prosdocimi 1988, 293-295; *Padova Preromana* 1976, 53-56, 205 no 78 (PA 14). Kathryn Lomas (personal communication) dates it to the end of the 5th or 4th century.

55 De Simone 1998.

56 Fogolari/Prosdocimi 1988, 420 n. 2.

57 Crawford 2011, I, 434-435 (s.v. Campania/CAPVA 29).

58 Sampaolo 2010, 8, fig. 3.

59 The Lapis Niger inscription at Rome mentions a similar prohibition.

60 Bodel 1994.

61 Bodel 1994, 76 dates the fragments between ca 100 and 50. The following fragment (*AE* 1971, 88; Bodel 1994, 77 (II, 3-7)) reads: *lucus: ….oper(ae) quae at eam r(em) praeparat(ae) erunt ne intra turrem ubi ubi hodie lucus est Libit(inae) habitent* … ('let the workers who will be prepared for this thing, not live inside (? > beyond/at the other side of?) the tower where today is the *lucus Libitinae* …'). It shows that the *lucus* was first on another place, probably at the periphery of the *colonia* of 194. For the prohibition of depositing corpses, see Bodel 1994, 76 (I 29-II 2).

62 Bodel 1994, 64-68.

63 Festus 106L: *lucar appellatur aes quod ex lucis captatur*.

64 Sanpaolo 1999, 29-54.

65 The date is based on the appearance of anatomical votives of terracotta. See De Cazanove, forthcoming.

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Fasti Capitolini, Parther- und Actiumbogen - Monumente augusteischer Siegespropaganda

Philipp Baas

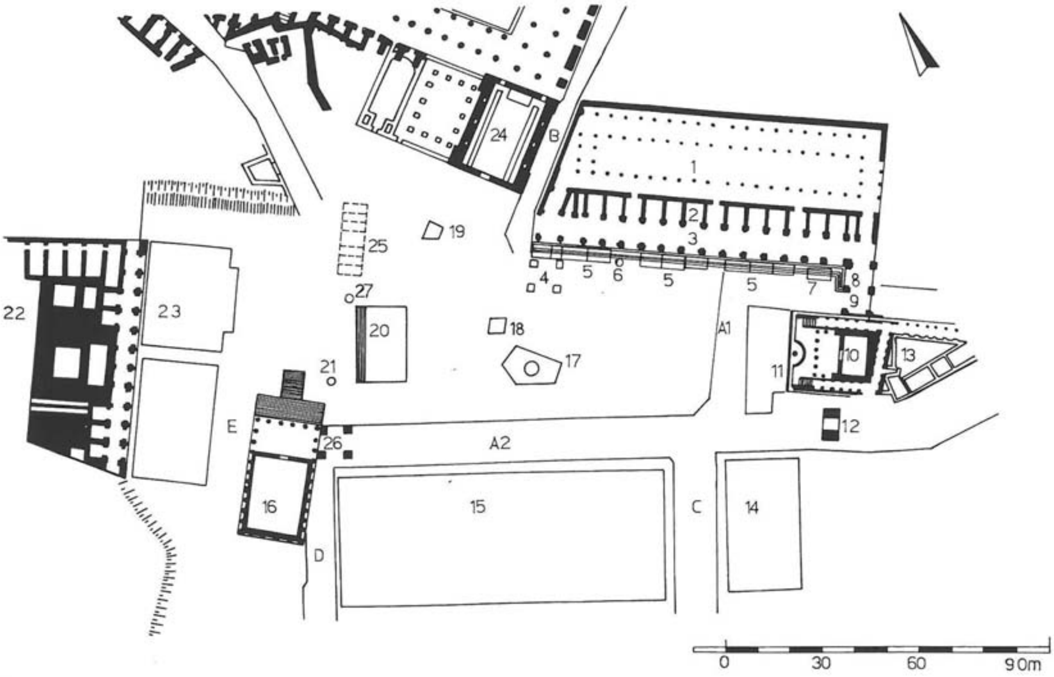
Abstracts

*Zu Augustus' frühen Erfolgen zählen der Seesieg von Actium und die Rückholung der an die Parther verlorenen Feldzeichen. Für beides - so überliefern Schriftquellen und Münzbilder - wurden dem Princeps zu Ehren Bogenmonumente errichtet, jedoch kann im archäologischen Befund nur ein Bogen belegt werden, dem Fundamente an der östlichen Seite des Forum Romanum zugewiesen werden. Daher wird die Existenz eines zweiten Bogens auch zum Teil in der Forschung angezweifelt. Die im Bereich des Bogenfundamentes gefundenen Fasti Capitolini sind ein Hinweis darauf, dass der Bogen als Träger dieser Inschrift fungierte. Der Artikel diskutiert die schriftlichen, numismatischen und archäologischen Quellen sowie die aktuellen Rekonstruktionsvorschläge zu den Bögen und den Fasti. Darauf aufbauend gelingt es, die Bogenarchitektur und die Fasti als propagandistisches Architekturensemble an der östlichen Seite des Forum Romanum zu erklären wie auch die bislang bestehenden Widersprüche zwischen Schriftquellen, Münzen und archäologischen Hinterlassenschaften aufzulösen.**

Augustus' early representation policy mainly refers to two major successes of the Princeps: The naval victory of Actium and the recuperation of the standards lost to the Parthians. Ancient authors and coinage tell us that Augustus was honored for these achievements with two triumphal arches. However, today only the footings for one arch located at the eastern side of the Forum Romanum are known. The absence of remains of a second arch raised doubt to its existence. The discovery of the Fasti Capitolini near the footings led to the conclusion that this famous inscription was part of the arch. This article discusses the written, numismatic and archeological evidences as well as the recent research on both, the arches and the Fasti. Referring to these sources the eastern side of the Forum Romanum can be explained as an architectural propaganda ensemble, solving the discrepancies between the different kinds of sources.

Drei entscheidende Ereignisse aus dem Wirken des Princeps vor seiner Machtübernahme spielen innerhalb der augusteischen Propaganda eine herausragende Rolle. Zu diesen äußerst sich Augustus retrospektiv in den *Res Gestae*:[1] Als erstes brachte er die Mörder seines Adoptivvaters Gaius Iulius Caesar zur Strecke: '*Diejenigen, die meinen Vater ermordet haben, trieb ich in die Verbannung und rächte durch gesetzeskonforme gerichtliche Verfolgung so ihr Verbrechen und als sie darauf Krieg gegen den Staat anfingen, besiegte ich sie in doppelter Feldschlacht*.'[2] Danach führte und beendete er erfolgreich die Kriege und Bürgerkriege, die auf das Ereignis an den Iden des März 44 v.Chr. gefolgt waren, deren Sinnbild die Schlacht von Actium ist: '*Kriege zu Wasser und zu Lande gegen innere und äußere Feinde habe ich auf dem ganzen Erdkreis oftmals geführt, und als Sieger habe ich den Bürgern, die um Gnade flehten, Schonung gewährt.*'[3] Schließlich konnte er auch die verlorenen Feldzeichen von den Parthern zurückerlangen: [4] '*Die Parther habe ich dazu gezwungen, mir die Beute und die Feldzeichen dreier römischer Heere zurückzugeben und demütig um die Freundschaft des römischen Volkes nachzusuchen.*'[5] Besonders die beiden letzten Taten fanden schon durch bekannte antike Werke und Monumente ihre Würdigung. Die eroberten Schiffsschnäbel aus der Schlacht von Actium zierten die Rostra vor dem Tempel des Divus Iulius ('…*Sie beschlossen, dass das Fundament des Schreins des Iulius mit den Schnäbeln der eroberten Schiffe geschmückt werden sollte*…'),[6] während die Rückgabe der Feldzeichen auf dem Panzer des Augustus von Primaporta dargestellt ist. Die zurückgewonnenen Feldzeichen selbst waren im Mars Ultor Tempel auf dem Forum des Augustus ausgestellt ('*Diese Feldzeichen ließ ich im Innersten des Mars-Ultor-Tempels aufstellen.*').[7]

Obwohl das propagandistische Bildprogramm[8] unter Augustus wie auch die effektvollen Inszenierungen von Staatsakten[9] sowohl im Detail als auch übergreifend weitgehend erforscht sind, so kommt jedoch die Forschung im Zusammenhang mit zwei Monumenten zu keiner abschließenden Beurteilung: Für den Parther- und den Actiumbogen sind Standort, Schmuck, Semantik und sogar deren bloße Existenz immer wieder kontrovers



1: Basilica Aemilia; 2: Tabernae Novae; 3: Portiken; 4: Heiligtum des Janus (?); 5: Sacella; 6: Sacellum der Venus Cloacina; 7: Puteal Libonis (?); 8: Bogen des Gaius und Lucius Caesar; 9: Bogen der Fasti Consulares und Triumphales; 10: Tempel des Divus Iulius; 11: Rostra des Tempels des Divus Iulius; 12: Augustusbogen („Actiumbogen"); 13: Regia; 14: Tempel der Dioskuren; 15: Basilica Iulia; 16: Tempel des Saturn; 17: Lacus Curtius; 18: Marsyas; 19: Lapis Niger; 20: Rostra; 21: Milliarium Aureum; 22: Tabularium; 23: Tempel der Concordia; 24: Curia; 25: „Partherbogen" (?); 26: „Tiberiusbogen"; 27: Umbilicus Urbis (Mundus); A1–A2: Via Sacra; B: Argiletum; C: Vicus Tuscus; D: Vicus Iugarius; E: Clivus Capitolinus.

Abb. 1. Karte des Forum Romanum in augusteischer Zeit laut Freyberger (nach Freyberger 2012, Abb. 42).

diskutiert worden. Die Lösung dieses Problemkomplexes ist umso bedeutender, da mit diesen Bögen die Entstehung, Anbringung und der Kontext der Fasti Consulares und Triumphales verknüpft sind.

Angeregt durch eine neue Zuweisung der Fasti an einen Quadrifrons südlich der Basilica Aemilia und die Neuverortung des Actium- und des Partherbogens durch S. Freyberger[10] (*Abb. 1*) ist eine neuerliche detaillierte Besprechung dieser Monumente sowie eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit den verschiedenen Thesen und Überlieferungen zu diesen Fragen dringend notwendig. Dieser Aufsatz möchte daher nicht nur die belegbaren Quellen und Grabungsergebnisse zu den Bogenmonumenten, aber auch zu den Fasti vorstellen, sondern diese auch mit den verschiedenen Vorschlägen zur Datierung, Verortung und Rekonstruktion zu allen drei Monumenten verknüpfen. Ein Schwerpunkt wird dabei auf den Thesen von Freyberger, Elisabeth Nedergaard und F. Coarelli liegen. Das Resümee wird diese Monumente innerhalb der augusteischen Baupolitik einordnen und die archäologische Perspektive um eine historische erweitern. Zuletzt wird ein konkreter Vorschlag zum Erscheinungsbild des Triumphbogens[11] für Augustus gemacht.

Obwohl im augusteischen Rom die Diskurse in vielen öffentlichen Lebensbereichen vom Princeps und seinen Claqueuren geprägt waren,[12] möchte der Begriff 'Propaganda' in diesem Aufsatz keine monolithische Steuerung einer Propagandamaschinerie durch Augustus suggerieren. T. Hölscher spricht im Hinblick auf die Außenrepräsentation und Propaganda in der Kunst, Architektur und Literatur von einem 'Ritual demonstrativer Pluralität … unter Regie des Kaisers',[13] womit er m.E. eine prägnante Beschreibung der gesellschaftlichen Situation unter der Herrschaft des Augustus liefert.

Der Partherbogen

Widmen wir uns zunächst dem Partherbogen, dessen Existenz mehrere Quellen belegen: Nach-

dem Augustus die Feldzeichen, die Crassus, L. Decidius Saxa und Oppius Statianus an die Parther verloren hatten, zurückerhielt, überliefern sowohl Cassius Dio ('…*wurde mit einem Triumphbogen geehrt*…')[14] als auch ein Scholion zu Vergil ('*Zeichen dieses Sieges werden dargestellt an dem Bogen, der neben dem Tempel des Divus Iulius steht*…'),[15] dass der Senat Augustus zum Dank einen Triumphbogen errichten ließ. Interessant an dem Scholion ist vor allem seine Beschreibung der Lage des Bogens, da dieser anscheinend nicht mitten auf dem Forum lag wie erst vor Kurzem vorgeschlagen wurde.[16]

Darüber hinaus geben zwei Münzserien[17] (*Abb. 2-3*) aus dem ausgehenden 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr. einen Hinweis zum möglichen Aussehen des Partherbogens. Die erste Serie zeigt auf ihren Revers einen dreitorigen Bogen, dessen mittlerer Teil von einer Quadriga bekrönt ist. Mittelbogen und Seitenbögen haben dabei die gleiche Abschlusshöhe, lediglich bei einer Variante kann bei genauer Betrachtung ein fast unwesentlicher Höhenunterschied bei den Bögen beobachtet werden. Die Seitenbögen tragen jeweils eine Figur: die eine reckt ein *signum* und die andere ein *aquila* empor. Beide Figuren sind durch ihre langen Hosen, spitze Kopfbedeckungen und die Bewaffnung mit einem Bogen als Orientalen zu identifizieren.[18] Zusätzlich (*Abb. 2*) findet sich auf den Revers die Beischrift CIVIB • ET • SIGN • MILIT • A • PA-RT • RECVP, was eindeutig auf die Rückgewinnung der Feldzeichen verweist. Auf dem Avers ist ein Porträt des Augustus zu sehen und die Beischrift S • P • Q • R • IMP • CAESARI • AVG • COS • XI • TRI • POT • VI ermöglicht die Datierung in die Zeit 18-17 v.Chr.[19]

Die zweite Münzserie (*Abb. 3*) weist eine leicht andere Darstellung auf. So wird beispielsweise auf einen Verweis auf die Wiedererlangung der Feldzeichen durch eine gesonderte Beischrift verzichtet wie auch auf eine chronologische Einordnung anhand von Augustus' Titeln, die auf dem Avers mit der Porträtdarstellung nicht genannt werden. Das Revers zeigt ähnlich der ersten Münzserie einen dreitorigen Bogen mit den gleichen Figuren, die nur viel schematischer dargestellt sind. Zusätzlich ist der Name des Münzmeisters VINICIUS ergänzt. Die größte Abweichung zwischen beiden Münzserien ist jedoch in der Architektur zu erkennen. Auf der zweiten Serie sitzt über dem Mittelbogen eine erhöhte Attika mit der Inschrift S • P • Q • R • IMP • CAE auf. Auch die seitlichen Durchgänge sind bei beiden Münzbildern unterschiedlich gestaltet. Wirken sie auf der ersten Serie (*Abb. 2*) einförmig mit Arkadendurchgängen, zeigt die zweite Serie (*Abb. 3*) nur eine Arkade beim Mittelbogen. Hier bestehen die Seitenbögen aus Kolonnaden, über denen jeweils schematisch ein dreieckiges Giebelfeld auf einem Architrav angedeutet ist. Auch sind Position, Armstellung sowie Attribute der Nebenfiguren auf beiden Serien unterschiedlich. Die Semantik wie auch die dargestellten Grundelemente sind jedoch so ähnlich, dass Nedergaard zu dem Schluss kommt, dass beide Münzen denselben Bogen porträtieren.[20] Die Unterschiede in der Darstellung ergeben sich demnach durch eine abweichende Intentionen der Münzpräger und einen verlagerten Fokus in der Darstellung.[21]

Das ist jedoch m.E. nur ein möglicher Aspekt: Vernachlässigt wurde bei dieser Interpretation die Bedeutung der Datierungen des Partherbogens im Verhältnis zur Emission der Münzen wie auch die Emissionsorte der Prägungen. Cassius Dio überliefert im Kontext der Rückgewinnung der Partherfeldzeichen, dass die Ehrungen für Augustus erst später als die Feierlichkeiten anlässlich seiner Rückkehr aus dem Osten stattfanden: '*All dies wahrlich wurde in Erinnerung an dieses Ereignis später ausgeführt.*'[22] Der Denar des VINICIUS (*Abb. 3*) aus dem Jahre 16 v.Chr.[23] wurde in Rom selbst geprägt und gehört damit in die Reihe der Münzbilder, die als recht vollständige und realistische

Abb. 2. Augusteische Münze mit zweitorigem Bogen. RIC² *131.*

Abb. 3. Augusteische Münze mit zweitorigem Bogen. RIC² *359*
(Photo Numismatische Bilddatenbank Eichstätt).

Abb. 4. Fundament und Bauteile des Bogens südlich des Tempels des Divus Iulius (Photo Autor).

Reproduktionen von Monumenten zu Ehren Augustus gelten können.[24] Die andere Münzserie hingegen stammt aus Spanien. Die Vergrößerung einzelner architektonischer Elemente im Münzbild, wie zum Beispiel der Attika, ist ein gängiges Mittel, die politische Botschaft der jeweiligen Emission zu verstärken.[25] Auch ist die Genauigkeit der Stempelschneider in der Wiedergabe der Vorbilder stets fraglich.[26] Somit können Münzbilder desselben Monuments in der Darstellung stark variieren.

Die Gemeinsamkeiten der Münzbilder machen jedoch klar, dass sicherlich dasselbe Monument gemeint ist. Die früher datierte Serie aus Spanien bildet wahrscheinlich sogar nur einen projektierten, noch nicht ausgeführten Bogen ab.[27] Da es sich grundsätzlich um die erste Darstellung eines Bogens auf einer Münze überhaupt handelte[28] und die Beischrift das Ereignis eindeutig benennt, bestand keine Verwechslungsgefahr. Die etwas spätere Emission aus Rom benötigte keine Beischrift, da der Bogen bereits fertig war. Der Stempelschneider dieses Münzbildes kannte das Monument und wollte sehr wahrscheinlich die Inschrift auf der Attika des Bogens hervorheben. Dem stadtrömischen Publikum war dieses Monument ebenfalls gut bekannt, weswegen für keine der beiden Serien die Gefahr einer falschen Zuweisung durch den Empfängerkreis bestand.[29]

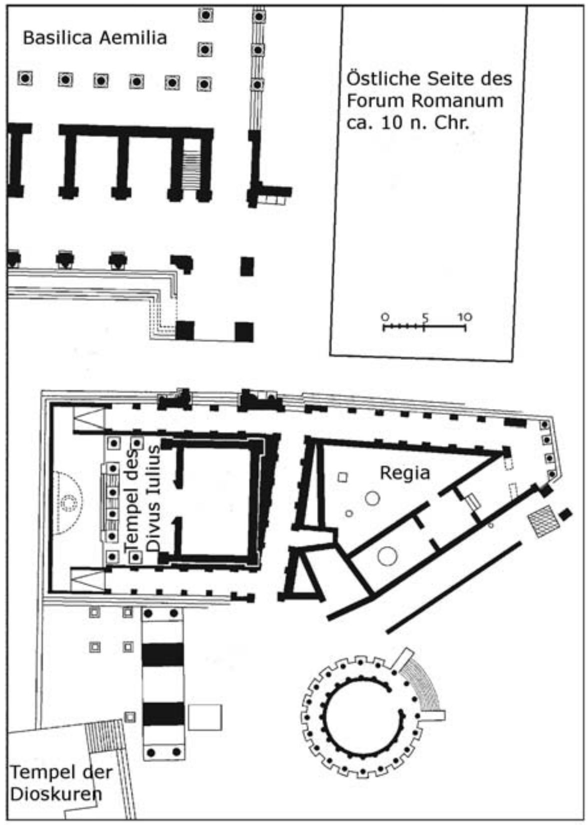


Abb. 5. Plan des östlichen Forum Romanum (Autor).

Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts sind nördlich des Dioskurentempels und südlich des Tempels des Divus Iulius drei Fundamentblöcke und Bauteile gefunden worden, die wohl zu einem dreitorigen Bogenmonument gehörten (*Abb. 4*). Zwei der Fundamentblöcke sind gleich groß, der dritte - in Richtung des Tempels des Divus Iulius - ist kleiner, sodass ein vierter Block zu erwarten ist, aber nicht mehr in situ gefunden wurde. Ein Bogen mit zwei Durchgängen auf zwei gleichen und einem kleineren Fundamentblock ruhend ist schwerlich vorstellbar. Zusammen mit der Angabe '…*neben dem Tempel des Divus Iulius*…'[30] in den Scholien zu Vergils *Aeneis* überliefern die Münzbilder einen dreitorigen Partherbogen. Somit sind die Fundamente südlich des Tempels des Divus Iulius (*Abb. 5*) als Partherbogen anzusprechen.

Insgesamt fanden an dieser Stelle vier Grabungen statt.[31] Nedergaards Nachbearbeitung der Architekturteile zwischen 1986 und 1992 erbrachte in diesem Bereich drei Kategorien von Bauelementen:[32]

a) dorisch-korinthische Kapitelle bescheidener Größe,

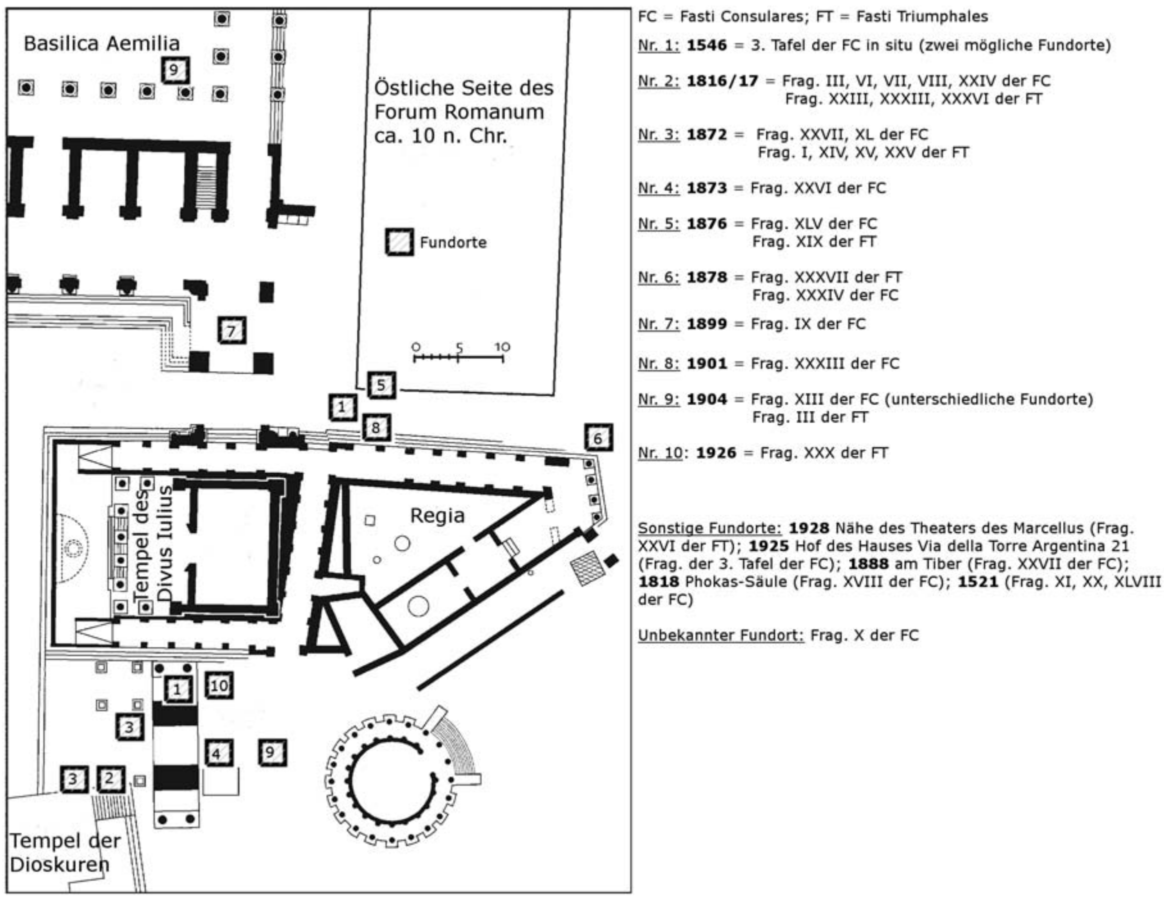


Abb. 6. Fundorte der Fasti-Fragmente (Autor).

b) Fragmente, deren Zugehörigkeit zu Gruppe a unsicher ist und
c) Fragmente, deren Zugehörigkeit zu Gruppe a ausgeschlossen ist.

Die Archäologin weist m. E. überzeugend nach, dass die Fragmente der Gruppe a nicht zu einem Gebäude zwischen der Basilica Aemilia und dem Tempel des Divus Iulius gehören können,[33] sondern zu einem Monument, das zwischen Dioskurentempel und dem Tempel des Divus Iulius stand: Sowohl Dimension als auch die Details variieren zu stark zwischen den dorischen Elementen des Partherbogens und den dorisch-toskanischen, die den Bauwerken zwischen Basilica Aemilia und Divus Iulius-Tempel zuzuordnen sind. Somit gehören die Fragmente zu einem Partherbogen südlich des Tempels des Divus Iulius. Darüber hinaus bilden die Fragmente aufgrund des identischen Bauschmuckes mit den Fasti Capitolini einen einheitlichen Baukörper.[34] Die Fundorte der Fasti selbst (*Abb. 6*) verweisen stark auf eine Errichtung bzw. Anbringung in der Nähe dieses Ortes.

Der Actiumbogen

Cassius Dio ('…*einen Bogen verziert mit Trophäen in Brundisium und einen anderen auf dem Forum Romanum.*')[35] berichtet, dass der Senat anlässlich des Sieges über Kleopatra und Marc Anton den Bau eines Triumphbogens für Augustus beschloss. Im Allgemeinen wird die Wiedergabe eines eintorigen Bogen auf Münzen[36] (*Abb. 7*) als Actiumbogen gedeutet.[37] Der Bogen scheint mit *imagines clipeatae* geschmückt gewesen zu sein, in den Bogenzwickeln sind Victorien angebracht. Auf der Attika sitzt eine Quadriga mit Augustus als Lenker auf. Jedoch ist gerade die Deutung des Revers dieser Emission als Actiumbogen umstritten und es wird vielmehr der Sieg von Naulochos als Stiftungsanlass für den abgebildeten Bogen vorgeschlagen.[38] Die Thematisierung des Bürgerkrieges im Bildprogramm eines Triumphbogens ist generell als problematisch zu erachten und wäre solitär in der römischen Welt.[40] Dies darf allerdings kein Ausschlusskriterium für die Existenz des Bogens

Abb. 7. Augusteische Münze mit eintorigem Bogen RIC^{2} *267 (Photo Numismatische Bilddatenbank Eichstätt).*

Abb. 8. Augusteische Münze mit eintorigem Bogen RIC^{2} *510 (Photo: Numismatische Bilddatenbank Eichstätt).*

sein, da gerade unter Augustus in der Repräsentation der Leistungen des Princeps und seiner Familie ein ausgeprägter Innovationswille bemerkbar wird, wie am Beispiel des Tempels des Divus Iulius mit seinen Rostra deutlich wird, der als politische Geste skandalös wirkte. Im Kontext seines Triplex-Triumphes im Jahr 29 v.Chr., noch dazu seines einzigen kurulischen Triumphes, muss die Projektierung eines Bogens jedoch als sicher gelten.[40]

Die Frage bleibt, wo nun der Actiumbogen zu suchen ist oder ob er wirklich ausgeführt wurde. Für die Existenz eines eintorigen Bogens im Areal südlich des Tempels des Divus Iulius fehlen die archäologischen Evidenzen ebenso wie für den Einsturz[41] oder Abriss[42] eines solchen Gebäudes. Freyberger verortet den Actiumbogen, den er als eintorigen Triumphbogen rekonstruiert, zwischen dem Tempel des Divus Iulius und jenem der Dioskuren.[43] Der archäologische Befund in diesem Bereich des Forum Romanum spricht jedoch gegen eine Rekonstruktion als eintoriger Bogen. Hier konnten nämlich drei Fundamentsockel nachgewiesen werden,[44] auf denen somit mindestens drei Pfeiler für mindestens zwei Bogendurchgänge aufsitzen mussten.

Als Beleg für einen eintoriger Bogen wird eine Münzserie aus Pergamon, geprägt 19-18 v.Chr. (*Abb. 8*), herangezogen. [45] Allerdings verweist die Beischrift auf die SIGNIS • RECEPTIS, die Pfeiler sind von *aquilae* geschmückt. Könnte es sich hierbei um eine Umwidmung des Actiumbogens - ausgeführt oder nur geplant - zum Partherbogen als Mittel zur Auslöschung der Erinnerung an den Bürgerkrieg handeln?[46] In diesem Kontext ist eine im 16. Jahrhundert gefundene und heute verlorene Inschrift[47] SENATUS • POPVLVSQVE • ROMANVS | IMP • CAESARI • DIVI • IVLI • F • COS • QVINCT • | COS • DESIGN • SEXT • IMP • SEPT | REPUBLICA • CONSERVATA zu nennen, die in die Attika des Actiumbogens eingelassen gewesen sein soll.[48] Inhaltlich wäre diese Inschrift ideal für einen Actiumbogen, allerdings macht die geringe Größe des Inschriftenblockes (ca. 266 cm lang, 88 cm hoch und 59 cm tief) eine Platzierung als Attikainschrift problematisch.[49] Eine Lösung dieses Widerspruchs wäre eine Miniaturisierung der originalen Inschrift.[50] Die Herstellung einer Miniatur wäre jedoch nur wahrscheinlich, wenn damit auch eine Umwidmung der Erinnerung an den Sieg von Actium stattgefunden hätte und damit eine Neukontextualisierung der Inschrift. Eine mögliche Annäherung an das Aussehen des Bogens, ergänzt um die verkleinerte Inschrift, liefert Charles Brian Rose (*Abb. 9*). Die Idee eines eintorigen, heute nicht mehr auffindbaren Bogens für den Sieg von Naulochos und einer Platzierung von zwei jeweils dreitorigen Bögen für den Actiumsieg und den Parthererfolg nördlich und südlich des Tempels des Divus Iulius,[51] scheitert schon am verfügbaren Raum, der ein solches Ensemble nicht zulässt.[52]

Zu einer möglichen Lösung dieses Dilemmas führt die Annahme, dass das Monument entweder umgebaut oder nur geplant, aber nicht ausgeführt wurde. Der Umbau des Actiumbogens zu einem anderen Bogenmonument wurde schon mehrfach diskutiert. C. Lange identifiziert die Fundamente des dreitorigen Bogens südlich des Tempels des Divus Iulius - also jene, die dem Partherbogen zugewiesen werden - mit dem Actiumbogen und unterstellt den Münzern Fehler in der Darstellung des Bogens.[53] Dadurch muss er die zugeordnete Inschrift aufgrund ihrer geringen Größe als zu einem der Seitenbögen gehörig interpretieren.[54]

Den dreitorigen Bogen südlich des Tempels des Divus Iulius nicht als Partherbogen sondern als Actiumbogen anzusprechen, der nur durch die Ergänzung von Bauschmuck den Parthersieg thematisiert, wird von J. Rich als Kompromiss zwischen Augustus ablehnender Haltung gegenüber

Abb. 9. Partherbogen (nach Rose 2005, Abb. 8) mit Ergänzung der verkleinerten Actiuminschrift (Autor).

Ehrungen und dem Senatus Consultum zur Errichtung eines Triumphbogens begriffen.[55] Die Verlagerung der Inschrift deutet er als Ergebnis der Baumaßnahmen.[56] Möglicherweise wurde in diesem Zusammenhang auch eine verkleinerte Version einer ehemals größeren Inschrift, die Bezug auf den Actium Sieg nimmt, geschaffen.

Für eine Annahme eines Umbaus spricht, dass Augustus den Sieg von Actium und den Partherfolg als seine größten außenpolitischen Leistungen propagiert. Dabei behielt Actium stets den Beigeschmack des Bürgerkrieges,[57] auch wenn Marc Anton als Besiegter immer weiter in den Hintergrund tritt und Actium zu einer Schlacht ohne Verlierer verklärt wird.[58] Die Ambivalenz des Actiumsieges wird in zwei Gesängen des Properz deutlich, die im Subtext deutliche Kritik an den Ereignissen üben:[59] '*Wenn alle sich wünschten, so zu leben wie ich, schwer betrunken da zu liegen, dann gäbe es kein grausames Eisen, kein Kriegsschiff, dann würden im Meer bei Actium nicht die Leichen von Römern schwimmen, und Rom, so oft ringsum von seinen eigenen Triumphen überwältigt müsste nicht immer wieder trauernd seine Locken lösen.*'[60] -'*Siehe den Feldherrn, der vor Kurzem im hilflosen Geheul, die actische Fluten mit den Soldaten, die er verdammte, gefüllt hat.*'[61]

Die Theorie eines umgewidmeten Bogens, der stets dreitorig war, besticht vor allem deshalb, da auf diese Weise die unterschiedlichen Münzbilder des Partherbogens erklärt werden können. Zusätzlich bekrönt beide Bögen eine Quadriga, gelenkt von Augustus. Außerdem waren keine baulichen Erweiterungen nötig. Die Schwäche dieser Argumentation liegt in den Münzdarstellungen des Actiumbogens als eintorige Architektur, was Rich als künstlerische Freiheit oder Unkenntnis des Stempelschneiders deutet.[62]

Für einen Bogen, der beide außenpolitische Ereignisse thematisiert, spricht ebenso die Darstellung auf einer Gemme (*Abb. 10*) in Genf.[63] Diese zeigt wiederum einen Bogen, der von einer Quadriga bekrönt wird. Links und rechts davon knien Barbaren, erkennbar an den konischen Kappen, die dem Lenker des Viergespanns Trophäen oder Ähnliches entgegen strecken. Dieses an die Münzbilder des Partherbogens erinnernde Motiv wird durch Schiffsschnäbel an diesem Bogen ergänzt, die direkt auf den Sieg bei Actium verweisen. Hier vereint das Bild also die Erinnerung an einen Seesieg mit der Darbringung von Feldzeichen durch Barbaren. Im historischen Kontext bleibt daher nur eine Verknüpfung des Actiumsieges mit der Rückgewinnung der römischen Feldzeichen von den Parthern als Grundlage dieser Darstellung.

Vieles spricht für eine Verknüpfung beider Ereignisse in einem Bau. Beide Ereignisse werden in Form eines Bogens zelebriert. Allen Darstellungen ist die bekrönende Quadriga des Mittelbogens gemein. Geht man nun von einer Umwidmung des Actiumbogens zu einem Monument für den Sieg über die Parther aus, gelänge es endlich, die Verortung beider Bögen mit den schriftlichen Quellen und jenen Baugliedern, die keinem anderen Gebäude in diesem Bereich zugewiesen werden konnten, in Einklang zu bringen. Erklärt wäre dadurch auch, warum so wenig über den Actiumbogen bekannt ist. Allerdings würde der Realitätsgehalt der Münzbilder durch diese Hypothese abgewertet, was jedoch insofern kein gravierendes Problem darstellt, da in einer Gesellschaft, deren Geschichtsbild stark kanonisiert wurde, die dezenten Anspielungen auf den Münzen und der Gemme ausreichten, um ganze Assoziationsfelder zu transportieren.[64] Die Botschaft war dem Empfängerkreis leicht verständlich. Somit kann zusammenfassend ein Umbau bzw. eine Umwidmung des Actiummonuments zu einem Partherbogen als sehr wahrscheinlich gelten.

Die Fasti Capitolini

Fragmente dieser Inschrift, die in Listenform die römischen Konsuln seit L. Iunius Brutus und L. Tarquinius Collatinus im Jahre 509 v.Chr. sowie die Triumphatoren seit Romulus nennt, sind an verschiedenen Orten im östlichen Teil des Forum Romanum gefunden worden (*Abb. 6*). Sicher ist, dass die Fasti direkt auf einem Gebäude und nicht an beweglichen Platten angebracht waren,[65] sodass eine Verlagerung von einem Monument zu einem anderen sehr unwahrscheinlich, wenn nicht unmöglich war. Die Zuweisung an einzelne Gebäude wird seit Langem kontrovers diskutiert.[66]

Johann Metellus, gen. Jean Matal, erwähnt im Cod. Vat. Lat. 6039.210,[67] dass ein Fragment der Fasti zusammen mit Trophäen, Dolchen, Schilden und Helmen aus Stein gefunden wurde. Zusätzlich berichtet auch der Architekt Pirro Ligorio von der Auffindung eines Gebäudes, an dem die Fasti

Abb. 10. Glasabdruck einer Gemme mit eintorigem Bogen und Umzeichnung des Motivs. Unterschiedlicher Maßstab. © Musée d'art et d'histoire, Ville de Genève, Inv. Nr. MF 2813 (Photo MAH Genève; Zeichnung Autor).

angebracht gewesen sein sollen: '…*perche sono state trovate dirimpetto al Tempio di Faustina vicino all'angolo del Palatino in un luogo, dove facevan capo piu strade si come mostravano le ruine stesse de gli edificij cavate, che quivi erano, guaste poi da i moderni: le quali erano d'un Iano (ò vogliam dire Aeano) di quattro fronti, ne i confini di tre Regioni, cio è del Foro Romano, del Palatino, et della Via sacra.*'[68] Darüber hinaus sind mehrere Zeichnungen überliefert, die dieses Gebäude darstellen sollen (*Abb. 11*). Fraglich ist jedoch die Interpretation des Textes von Ligorio: Das Gebäude, das er als Quadrifrons deutet, soll direkt gegenüber dem Tempel des Antoninus Pius und der Faustina gestanden haben. Mit diesen Angaben hatten schon Th. Mommsen und Chr. Hülsen 1893 Schwierigkeiten, weswegen sie die Beschreibung als Quadrifrons ignorierten und die Regia als Träger der Fasti benannten.[69] Unter Einbeziehung der Karten, die Ligorio von Rom angefertigt hat, seiner Beschreibungen anderer Plätze am Forum wird klar - wie Nedergaard und Anna Schreurs ausführlich zeigen[70] -, dass der Quadrifrons nur eine Rekonstruktion Ligorios sein kann.[71] Schon auf seinen Zeichnungen (*Abb. 11*) werden mehr Fasti-Platten angenommen als wirklich existiert haben, und seine Ortsangaben beruhen auf Identifikationen, die den Konventionen seiner Zeit geschuldet sind, heute jedoch als obsolet gelten können. Ligorios Freude an kreativen Ergänzungen werden auch in seiner Rekonstruktion des Vestatempels[72] und den Abbildungen von ihm erfundener antiker Münzen in seinem Buch über Medaillen und Münzen[73] sichtbar. Hinzu kommt, dass die Zeichnung Ligorios stark an den Gavierbogen in Verona erinnert[74] und dieser wahrscheinlich als Vorbild diente. Angesichts der Tatsache, dass ein Zeitgenosse Ligorios, Panvinio, die Fasti nicht für den Teil eines Quadrifrons hält, sondern für den Teil eines halbrunden Gebäudes, wird der spekulative Charakter noch offensichtlicher. Panvinio schreibt: '*Atque hac ratione Fastorum Capitolinorum Auctor, formaque aedificii, quae in Hemicycli speciem erat, non Iani pervii, ut quibusdam placet, et ego aliquando credidi.*'[75]

Auch die Lage des von Ligorio beschriebenen Gebäudes ist kritisch zu sehen. Ligorio nimmt die Via Sacra als Anhaltspunkt zur Lokalisierung des von ihm beschriebenen Gebäudes, sodass zunächst hinterfragt werden muss, wo er die Via Sacra verortet. Aufgrund der Verlegung der Straße schon in der Antike[76] darf ein verbindlicher Verlauf der Straße die gesamte Antike hindurch nicht angenommen werden, sodass Ligorios unkritischer Umgang mit dem Toponym als Hilfsmittel zur Verortung von Monumenten heutzutage hinterfragt werden muss. Der Bau des Tempels des Divus Iulius verengte den offenen Bereich vor der Regia zu einem Flaschenhals, wodurch wohl der Vicus Vestae entstand und der Verlauf der Via Sacra nicht mehr der traditionellen Route folgte.[77] Ligorios Karte von Rom '*Antiquae urbis Imago Accuratissime ex Vetusteis Monumentis Formata*' entstand ein Jahr bevor die Fasten gefunden wurden,[78] sodass er den vermeintlichen Quadrifrons nicht einzeichnete. Jedoch wird durch diese Karte klar, dass er die Via Sacra nicht in der Nähe des Tempels der Dioskuren oder des Divus Iulius verortet, sondern ihren Verlauf hinter der Basilica Iulia annimmt. Dieser Umstand lässt Ligorio als Beleg für eine Anbringung der Fasti an einen Quadrifrons bei der Basilica Aemilia, wie Freyberger es deutet,[79] problematisch erscheinen, da er einerseits von einer anderen Monumenttopographie ausging und andererseits zahlreiche phantastische Ergänzungen vorgenommen hat. Die Schriften Ligorios lassen ein derart großes Deutungsspektrum zu, dass Coarelli meint, Ligorio hätte die Via Sacra zwischen Basilica Aemilia und dem Tempel des Antoninus Pius und der Faustina lokalisiert,[80] was anhand von Ligorios Angaben leider nicht nachvollziehbar ist.[81]

Eine zwischen 1532 und 1537 entstandene Vedute[82] von M. van Heemskerck zeigt neben dem Tempel des Antoninus Pius und der Faustina aus der Erde aufragende Reste einer Bogenkonstruktion. Daraus ist jedoch kaum auf einen Quadrifrons zu schließen und noch viel weniger auf eine Architektur, die zwingend Träger der Fasti war. Trotz der widersprüchlichen Quellenlage kommt Freyberger, basierend auf dem Text Ligorios, den Zeichnungen und der Heemskerck-Vedute zu dem Schluss, dass ein Quadrifrons südlich der Basilica Aemilia, zwischen dieser und dem Tempel des Divus Iulius, Träger der Fasti war.[83]

Nedergaard hat von 1986 bis 1992 zwischen dem Tempel der Dioskuren und dem Tempel des Divus Iulius Grabungen durchgeführt und sämtliche Fragmente der Fasti Capitolini neu katalogisiert und vermessen.[84] Sie konnte zeigen, dass die Fasti-Fragmente dorische und korinthische Zierelemente aufweisen, daher also an einem Gebäude angebracht gewesen sein müssen, das beide Bauordnungen aufwies.

Die Triumphal- und Konsularsfasten sollen laut Tanja Itgenshorst getrennt ausgestellt worden sein. Dabei vermutet sie, dass die Konsularsfasten aufgrund der Rasur der Namen von 'M. Antonius' und dessen Großvater in jedem Fall älter sind. Die Zusammenführung beider Listen soll demnach erst im Zuge der Errichtung des

Partherbogens erfolgt sein, wobei auch die Namen getilgt wurden.[85] Angesichts des Umstandes, dass die Fasti Triumphales und Consulares nicht auf beweglichen Platten, sondern direkt an einem Gebäude aufgebracht waren, macht aber deutlich, dass die Listen nicht zu trennen sind.[86] Die Rasur der Namen des Antonius ist viel wahrscheinlicher mit der *oblivio nominis* seines Sohnes im Jahre 2 v.Chr. zu verbinden.[87]

Die Konsularsliste endet mit dem Tod des Augustus,[88] und ist damit direkt mit der Person des Princeps verknüpft. Dass Antonius' rasierter Name auf den Triumphlisten wiederhergestellt wurde, nicht aber auf den Konsularslisten, ist insoweit

Abb. 11. Quadrifrons mit Fasti nach Ligorio (Pirro Ligorio, Portico, o vero Iano summo Quadrifronte, Codex Taurinensis, Vol. 15 Fol. 122r, nach 1556) (Photo Archivio di Stato di Torino).

argumentativ stringent, da die Triumphe des Antonius direkt mit denen des Princeps selbst verbunden sind:[89] Die Rettung des Staates durch das zweite Triumvirat taucht als Triumph in der Liste auf.

Die Triumphlisten sollen insgesamt erst nach Augustus' Triplex-Triumphes im Jahre 29 v.Chr. angefertigt worden sein, um so eine Verbindung zu dem dreifachen Triumph des Romulus am Anfang der Triumphliste herzustellen.[90] Gegen ein solches frühes Entstehungsdatum spricht jedoch das Fehlen des Triumphes des Tiberius, des Stiefsohnes des Augustus, im Jahre 9 bzw. 7. Chr., während jedoch Triumphatoren zwischen 29 v. Chr. bis 19 v.Chr. sehr wohl aufgenommen wurden. Wieso sollte nachträglich dieses - in sich stimmige Konzept - durchbrochen worden sein, aber für einen Triumphator aus dem Hause des Augustus nicht fortgesetzt worden sein?[91] Balbus' Triumph 19 v.Chr. - der letzte in den Fasti verzeichnete - ist folglich ein *terminus post quem* für die Anfertigung der Listen.[92] Dieser letzte Triumph verdeutlicht, dass die Zeit der republikanischen Triumphe vorbei war,[93] was auch durch die Ablehnung weiterer Triumphe von Agrippa und Augustus bestätigt wird.[94]

Offizielle Listen dieser Art waren üblicherweise nur in '*templa*' aufgestellt.[95] Grundsätzlich kennt das Anbringen einer solchen Inschrift auf einem Ehrenbogen keinen Vorläufer und ist in soweit ungewöhnlich, da der Senat, der den Bau des Bogens veranlasste, in keinem anderen bekannten Fall das Anbringen einer Liste auf einem Monument anordnete. Die Fasti waren aus Sicht der Zeitgenossen 'steingewordene Gewissheit' über die römische Geschichtsschreibung seit der Frühzeit.[96] Doch funktionieren die Fasti Capitolini anders als andere Listen: die Intention war nicht eine Historiographie, sondern der Entwurf eines Geschichtsbildes verbunden mit dem Triplex-Triumph des Augustus. Obwohl Listen eponymer Konsuln vorhanden waren, stellt die Neulistung und ihre Aufstellung im politischen Zentrum Roms, noch dazu auf einem Triumphbogen des Augustus eine klare politische Botschaft dar. Wollte Augustus zwar stets den Schein des Republikaners wahren, so war der Metatext seiner Bauprogramme weniger subtil. So sieht Susanne Muth die Fasti als Teil der Inszenierung und Kanonisierung von Geschichte durch Augustus, die verdeutlichen sollte, dass die Vergangenheit nur in die Herrschaft des Augustus münden konnte.[97] Die Fasti Capitolini waren niemals als Kalender oder historische Aufzeichnung gedacht. Konsequenterweise kann ihr Träger weder die Regia noch ein Ianus[98] - die Gebäude, an denen sonst solche Listen zu finden waren - gewesen sein.

Wie am Augustusforum[99] steht bei den Fasti jede Erinnerung an große Persönlichkeiten oder Ereignisse der römischen Geschichte stets im Kontext einer augusteischen Gegenwart. Die potentatische Realität der Herrschaft des Augustus vollführt, wo immer es möglich war, ein Ausradieren von großen historischen Persönlichkeiten ohne Bezug auf den Princeps.[100]

Triumphbogen und Fasti als augusteische Propaganda

In der Summe ergibt sich nun folgendes Bild: Es ist von einem einzigen augusteischen Triumphbogen auszugehen, der die Schlacht von Actium und die Rückgewinnung der Feldzeichen thematisiert. Dieser muss zwischen dem Tempel des Divius Iulius und dem Dioskurentempel gestanden haben. Der Bogen selbst rekurriert somit nicht nur auf den Sieg gegen die Parther und über Antonius, sondern ist als allgemeines Siegesmonument zu sehen.[101] Es ist ein politisches Denkmal, mit dessen Hilfe der Herrscher den öffentlichen Raum besetzte und so den Anspruch auf Anerkennung, Ruhm und Gedächtnis durchsetzte.[102] Es ist das architektonische Sinnbild des neuen, durch Augustus eingeleiteten Zeitalters der Pax Romana, dessen Beginn die Ludi Saeculares[103] im Jahre 17 v.Chr. waren.[104] Dass später nur noch die Ludi Saeculares bis 88 n.Chr. als einzige Ereignisse weiter auf den Fasti vermerkt wurden, spricht umso stärker für eine Einweihung zu diesem Anlass 17 v.Chr.[105]

Der Dekorationsstil des Bauschmuckes, der dem dreitorigen Bogen zugewiesen werden kann, ist ebenso in mittelaugusteische Zeit zu datieren, da er stilistisch einerseits zwischen dem Umbau der Regia und des Tempels des Divus Iulius (42-29 v.Chr.) und andererseits dem Umbau des Dioskurentempels (6 n.Chr.) fällt.[106] Der Bogen selbst war stets dreitorig, weswegen ein Niederreißen oder eine Erweiterung der Fundamente nicht nachweisbar ist. Das Monument wurde lediglich ergänzt und adaptiert.

Mit dem Abschluss der Baumaßnahmen an dieser Seite des Forums war mit dem Triumphbogen, dem Tempel des Divus Iulius, dem die Rostra vorgelagert waren, und der Porticus des Gaius et Lucius ein Architekturensemble geschaffen worden, das die Familie des Augustus inszeniert.[107] Die Regia wird vom Forum abgeschnitten und vermittelt architektonisch, was Augustus bereits durch die Verlegung des Sitzes des Pontifex Maximus von der Regia auf den Palatin im

Jahre 12 v.Chr. in der politischen und sakralen Wirklichkeit Roms verankert hatte:[108] Der sakrale Mittelpunkt Roms ist der Palatin, das Wohnhaus des Princeps.

Die neuen Rostra als Teil des Caesartempels mit den Schiffsschnäbeln des Seesieges von Actium stehen der alten Rednerbühne vor der Curia programmatisch gegenüber, flankiert von zwei Siegesmonumenten: eines für Augustus und eines für die designierten Nachfolger Gaius und Lucius. Der Triumphbogen ist daher nicht nur als Teil dieses Ensembles bedeutungsvoll, sondern die Gestaltung des Bogens selbst vermittelt eine eigene Botschaft: Augustus' Siege stehen über Allem.

Wie jedoch passen die Fasti in dieses Ensemble? Als Träger der Fasti kommen nur wenige Orte in Frage, beispielsweise der Augustusbogen - dort als Teil des augusteischen Bauprogramms - oder die Regia wegen der dort aufbewahrten Kalender. Gegen die Regia spricht jedoch einerseits, dass die Fasti Triumphales sicherlich unter Augustus angefertigt wurden und der Princeps die Regia sowohl architektonisch als auch politisch abwertete. Andererseits sind die Fasti keine Kalender wie sonst übliche in Rom, sondern sie transportierten ein Geschichtsbild, und zwar das Geschichtsbild des Augustus. Es wäre völlig unverständlich, die Fasti, eine politisch stark aufgeladene Liste, an einem durch Augustus abgewerteten Gebäude anzubringen. Zwar postuliert Freyberger einen Quadrifrons als Träger der Fasti, da ein Triumphbogen nicht zwischen Basilica Aemilia und den Tempel des Divus Iulius gepasst hätte. Gefundene Architekturreste belegen jedoch, dass das Monument, das die Fasti trug, südlich des Tempels des Divus Iulius lag. Diese Architekturreste weisen eine einzigartige Stilmischung aus dorischen und korinthischen Elementen auf, die auf der östlichen Seiten des Forum Romanum sonst nicht zu finden ist. Nur an den Fragmenten der Fasti Capitolini kann das gleiche Architekturschema nachgewiesen werden. Daher ist die Anbringung dieser Listen an dem Triumphbogen selbst am wahrscheinlichsten, zudem entspricht die Verbindung von Triumphbogen und Fasti dem von Augustus evoziertem Geschichtsbild und der semantischen Logik dieser Platzseite des Forums.

Die Fasti Triumphales als schriftliches Zeugnis der militärischen Erfolge Roms rahmen die politische Macht, dargestellt durch die Fasti Consulares. Während jedoch die Fasti Triumphales im Jahre 19 v.Chr. mit der Pax Romana enden, besteht das politische Leben weiter. Daher werden die Fasti Consulares auch bis kurz vor dem Tod des Princeps weitergeführt. Es wird so demonstriert, dass Augustus und seine Familie das Weiterbestehen des politischen Lebens sichergestellt haben. Damit provoziert der Bogen mit Hilfe der Fasti die Erinnerung an die Erfolge des Augustus und damit einen - wie Susanne Muth es ausdrückt - kontrollierten Dialog mit der Vergangenheit, der stets als Vorspiel auf die glorreiche Gegenwart zu verstehen ist.[109] Der siegreiche Augustus wurde als Ziel- und Endpunkt der ganzen römischen Geschichte inszeniert.[110]

Zusammenfassung

Jene drei Monumente, die die östliche Seite des Forum Romanum abschließen, sind ein architektonischer Dreiklang, der die Machtposition der Iulier innerhalb des römischen Staates versinnbildlicht. Der Tempel des vergöttlichten Iulius Caesar wird auf der einen Seiten von einem Triumphbogen für Augustus und auf der anderen Seite von einer Porticus flankiert, die den Enkeln des Caesar geweiht ist. Standort, Aussehen und Anlass des Triumphbogens galten bisher als umstritten, da Münzbilder, Grabungsbefund, antike Schriftquellen und historischen Zeichnungen des Architekten Pirro Ligorio kein kohärentes Bild zuließen.

Unterzieht man allerdings die jeweiligen Quellen einer kritischen Prüfung in ihrem jeweiligen historischen Kontext und fügt sie erst nachher wieder zusammen, gelangt man zu dem Schluss, dass es nur einen dreitorigen Bogen gegeben haben kann. Fundamente eines solchen Bogens sind südlich des Divus Iulius Tempels gefunden worden, was die Angaben aus einem Scholion zu Vergil bestätigt: Der Partherbogen lag neben dem Tempel des Divus Iulius. Fehlender Raum nördlich des Tempels stützt das Argument zusätzlich. Die gefundenen Bauteile des Bogens bestätigen, dass es nur ein einziges Gebäude an dieser Seite des Forums gab. Hier war sowohl die dorische als auch die korinthische Bauordnung vertreten. Die Fasti Capitolini, von deren Fragmenten ein Teil ebenfalls in diesem Bereich gefunden wurde, weisen dieselbe stilistische Besonderheit auf. Daher ist es naheliegend, dass diese Listen Teil des Partherbogens waren und sehr wahrscheinlich die Durchgänge schmückten.

Lange Zeit sind die Listen aufgrund einer Zeichnung des Architekten Pirro Ligorio, der bei der Auffindung zugegen gewesen sein soll, mit einem Quadrifrons assoziiert worden. Die historische Kontextualisierung konnte jedoch zeigen, dass die Qualität der Überlieferung Ligorios sehr viel mehr vom damaligen Zeitgeist als von Objekti-

vität geprägt war, zumal die Ähnlichkeiten der Zeichnungen mit dem Gavierbogen in Verona frappierend sind.

Ein zweiter Triumphbogen für Augustus, gestiftet anlässlich seines Sieges in Actium, wird ebenfalls in diesem Bereich des Forums verortet. Die Münzbilder legen nahe, dass der Bogen nur eintorig war. Doch hierfür ist die Quellenlage wiederum widersprüchlich. Die Münzbilder beispielsweise zeigen deutlich eine große Ähnlichkeit zur Bekrönung des Partherbogens. Eine heute verschollene, dem Actiumbogen zugewiesene Weihinschrift, kann aufgrund ihrer geringen Größe nicht in der Attika eines Triumphbogens verbaut gewesen sein. Die ikonographische Kombination eines dreitorigen Bogens mit Quadriga über dem Mittelbogen, Barbarendarstellungen über den Seitenbögen und Rostra in der Sockelzone auf einer Gemme aus Genf lässt vermuten, dass mit dem Actiumbogen und dem Partherbogen ein und derselbe Bogen gemeint ist.

Es ist anzunehmen, dass eine große Attika-Inschrift die Rückgewinnung der Feldzeichen würdigte und eine kleine den Sieg bei Actium. In den Durchgängen des Bogens waren die Fasti Capitolini angebracht.

Die Semantik ist eindeutig: Als Monument für Augustus feiert der Bogen seine Siege gegen äußere und innere Feinde. So thematisieren die Fasti in Form der Triumphatorenlisten die kriegerischen Erfolge und die Listen der Beamten die politischen Erfolge des römischen Staates. Im Sinne des dynastischen Prinzips, das schon die Architektur zum Ausdruck bringt, enden die Listen mit dem Tod des Princeps.

Anmerkungen

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1 Die Retrospektiven auf die frühen Erfolge des Augustus in den *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* verdeutlichen die politische Ideologien und Verklärungsmechanismen, die zur Anwendung kamen (Cooley 2009, 2). Die Gewichtung dieser Erfolge in den Tatenberichten repetiert die kanonische Sicht auf die Ereignisse und ist vor allen Dinge eine Rückschau auf deren Inszenierung und Instrumentalisierung im Sinne des Princeps.

2 '*Qui parentem meum necaverunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie.*' *R. Gest. div. Aug* 2 (Übersetzung Autor).

3 '*Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum saepe gessi victorque omnibus veniam petentibus civibus peperci.*' *R. Gest. div. Aug* 3 (Übersetzung Autor)

4 Zu Ablauf und Hintergründen der Rückgewinnung siehe zusammenfassend: Rich 1998, 72-73.

5 '*Parthos trium exercitum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi.*' *R. Gest. div. Aug* 29 (Übersetzung Autor).

6 '…τήν τε κρηπῖδα τοῦ Ἰουλιείου ἡρῴου τοῖς τῶν αἰχμαλωτίδων νεῶν ἐμβόλοις κοσμηθῆναι …' Cass. Dio 51.19.2 (Übersetzung Veh 1986).

7 '*Ea autem signa in penetrali, quod est in templo Martis Ultoris, reposui.*' *R. Gest. div. Aug* 29. (Übersetzung Autor) Allgemein zur Darstellung der Parther innerhalb der augusteischen Propaganda: Rose 2005, 21-75.

8 Zanker 1988, 622-625; 2003.

9 Sehr anschaulich erläutern Börm und Havener das 'Phantom' von 'Potestates', die Augustus 27 v.Chr. in einem großen Staatsakt niedergelegt haben soll als Beispiel demonstrativen Verhaltens für Propagandazwecke und nachträgliche Legalisierung durch Verunklärung (Börm/Havener 2012, 212-213).

10 Freyberger et al. 2007, 520-521; Freyberger 2012, 62-70.

11 Zwar ist die Benennung eines Bogens als Triumphbogen stets kritisch zu sehen, doch die hier besprochenen Bögen verweisen konkret auf Siege des Princeps und gehören - wenigstens semantisch - in den Kontext des Triplex-Triumphes 29 v.Chr.

12 Die Schicksale des Cremutius Cordus und des Ovid zeigen dies deutlich.

13 Hölscher 2000, 258.

14 '…ἁψῖδι τροπαιοφόρῳ ἐτιμήθη.' Cass. Dio 54.8.3 (Übersetzung Veh 1986).

15 '*Huius facti notae representantur in arcu, qui est iuxta aedem divi Iulii.*' Scholien zu Verg. Aen. 7.606. (Übersetzung Autor) Hier wird der Edition von Rich gefolgt, der die gängige Lesung '*Nicae*' für '*notae*' ablehnt, da die Editio princeps die Fehlschreibung '*nitae*' aufweißt, und die Verwendung eines griechischen Begriffes durch den Scholiasten unwahrscheinlich ist (Rich 1998, 98 mit Anm. 91).

16 Freyberger 2012, Abb. 1.

17 *RIC*² 131-137; *RIC*² 359.

18 Künzls Deutung der Figuren auf der ersten Münzserie als weiblich ist aufgrund der undefinierten Körpersilhouetten weder abzulehnen noch zu folgen (Künzl 1988, 54).

19 Er hatte zu diesem Zeitpunkt das Konsulat neunmal und die tribunizische Gewalt sechsmal inne gehabt.

20 Nedergaard 1988, 225-226.

21 Nedergaard 1988, 225-226.

22 'ταῦτα μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις ὕστερον ἐπράχθη.' Cass. Dio 54.8.4 (Übersetzung Veh 1986).

23 In diesem Jahr ist Vinicius zum Triumvir monetalis bestellt worden (Hillebrand 2006, 132).

24 Jucker 1982, 92.

25 Zanker 1997, 179-181.

26 Künzl 1988, 54.

27 Prayon 1982, 325, 330; Fähndrich 2005, 13.

28 Fähndrich 2005, 11–12 mit Anm. 92.

29 Zu der Gefahr der falschen Rezeption schriftloser Propaganda siehe: Weber/Zimmermann 2003, 19-20.

30 '…*iuxta aedem divem iulium*.' Schol. Veron. Verg. *Aen*. 7.605 (Übersetzung Autor).

31 Erste Grabung: Richter 1888, 99-100. Die zweite Ausgrabung von Giacomo Boni von 1904 ist nie publiziert

worden, jedoch hat Nedergaard die Archivalien aufgearbeitet und wenigstens einen Plan publiziert: Nedergaard 1988, Abb. 120. Die dritte Grabung führte R. Gamberini Mongenet durch, jedoch publizierte B. Andreae diese: Andreae 1957, 149-177. Zum vierten Mal öffnete Elisabeth Nedergaard diesen Bereich: Nedergaard 1994-1995, 33-70.

[32] Nedergaard 1994-1995, 53.

[33] Nedergaard 1994-1995, 56.

[34] Nedergaard 2001, 116.

[35] '…ἁψῖδα τροπαιοφόρον ἔν τε τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καὶ ἑτέραν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ ἀγορᾷ.' Cass. Dio 51,19,1 (Übersetzung Veh 1986).

[36] *RIC*² 267.

[37] Nedergaard 1988, 224-225; Lebek 1991, 49; Boss 2011, 143-144.

[38] Coarelli 1985, 260-261; Gurval 1995, 39-41.

[39] Hinterhöller 2008, 5 mit Anm. 9.

[40] Rich 1998, 108.

[41] Andreae 1957, 149-154.

[42] Künzl 1988, 55; Nedergaard 2001, 113.

[43] Freyberger 2012, Abb. 1.

[44] Andreae 1957, 151.

[45] *RIC*² 510.

[46] Claus 1996; Scheithauer 2000, 29, 87; Fulinska 2009, 47-49.

[47] *CIL* VI 873.

[48] Rich 1998, 114; Lange 2009, 165-167.

[49] Gurval 1995, 42-44.

[50] Diese Möglichkeit lehnt Gurval ab: Gurval 1995, 43.

[51] Coarelli 1985, 258-268; Simon 1986, 86-88.

[52] Künzl 1988, 55.

[53] Lange 2009, 163-164.

[54] Lange 2009, 165-167.

[55] Rich 1998, 107-114.

[56] Rich 1998, 114. Schon früher vermutete dies Schneider. (Schneider 1986, 95).

[57] Schneider 1986, 94-97; Zanker 2003, 88–90. Die geschickte Nutzung abstrakter Siegessymbole, um den Bürgerkrieg zu einem Krieg gegen einen äußeren Feind aus dem Osten zu verklären, betont Zanker.

[58] Schmitzer 2008, 172.

[59] Die Andeutung eines *bellum iniustum* aus diesen Versen zu lesen wie Ivana Petrovic (Petrovic 2008, 192) greift wohl zu weit, aber die Kritik ist offensichtlich und geht weit über die Gattungsregeln der Liebeselegien hinaus. Obwohl Actium zentrales Thema einer anderen Elegie des Properz ist (4.6; dazu siehe weiterführend: Janan 2001, 102–105), lassen nur diese beiden Textstellen eine so offensichtliche kritische Lesung zu. Deshalb müssen sie als Ausdruck einer unterschwelligen Ambivalenz gelten, da die sonstige Literatur - auch Properz selbst - und Ikonographie dieser Zeit Actium keine negative Konnotation verleiht. Die beiden Properz-Stellen weichen also explizit von der offiziellen Sprachregelung ab, die den Bürgerkrieg als Konflikt mit Feinden aus dem Osten deutet (Meyer 1975, 292-293).

[60] '*Qualem si cuncti cuperent decurrere vitam | et pressi multo membra iacere mero,| non ferrum crudele neque esset bellica navis, | nec nostra Actiacum verteret ossa mare,| nec totiens propriis circum oppugnata triumphis | lassa foret crinis solere Roma suos.*' Prop. 2.15.41-47 (Übersetzung Petrovic 2008, 192).

[61] '*Cerne ducem, modo qui fremitu complevit inani | Actia damnatis aequora militibus.*' Prop. 2.16.37-38 (Übersetzung nach Gurval 1995, 183).

[62] Rich 1998, 110. Schon genauso: Künzl 1988, 54.

[63] Inv. Nr.: MF2813; Vollenweider 1979, Nr. 538. Für eine korrekte Beschreibung des Bildinhaltes siehe: Rich 1998, 111–112.

[64] Rüpke 2009, 127-128.

[65] Simpson 1993, 71; Nedergaard 2004, 84.

[66] *CIL* I², 2-5; Taylor/Holland 1952, 137-142; Simpson 1993, 62-63; Itgenshorst 2004, 438-439.

[67] Non vidi. Zitiert nach: Richter 1889, 152.

[68] Ligorio 1553, 60.

[68] *CIL* I², 2-5. Scott zieht die Regia als möglichen Träger der Fasti noch in Betracht (Scott 1999, 189).

[70] Nedergaard 1994-1995, 57-63; Schreurs 2000, 87-96.

[71] Für das Dach gesteht Freyberger dies auch selbst ein: Freyberger et al. 2007, 520.

[72] Scott 2000, 191.

[73] Schreurs 2000, 33-35.

[74] Mühlenbrock 2003, 146.

[75] Panvinio 1558, o.S. [S. 8].

[76] Andreae 1957, 153; Zanker 1972, 14.

[77] Ziółkowski 2004, 38.

[78] Bogen/Thürlemann 2009, 90.

[79] Freyberger et al. 2007, 520-521; Freyberger 2012, 64-68.

[80] Coarelli 1985, 291.

[81] Zu Coarellis Thesen die Via sacra betreffend äußert sich kritisch: Ziółkowski 2004.

[82] Berlin SMBPK, Kupferstichkabinett Inv. Nr.: 79D2 Blatt 9r. CensusID: 232784 (http://census.bbaw.de/index/TopFrameSet?eadb_frame=top&easydb=5k2hoido62jemoidqkrtbenvh4; Letzter Zugriff: 29.08.2013)

[83] Freyberger et al. 2007, 518-523. Freyberger 2012, 62-70.

[84] Nedergaard 1993, 80-85; 1994-1995, 33-70; 2001, 107-127; 2004, 83-100.

[85] Itgensghorst 2004, 438-439.

[86] Nedergaard 2001, 117.

[87] Taylor 1950, 94; Nedergaard 2001, 119-121.

[88] Nedergaard 2004, 93.

[89] Nedergaard 2004, 96.

[90] Spannagel 1999, 249.

[91] Ähnlich: Simpson 1993, 64-65.

[92] Rose 2005, 31.

[93] Wallace-Hadrill 1987, 223-224. Rich ist nicht zu folgen in seiner Interpretation, dass durch die Ablehnung weiterer Triumphe die vorherigen stark herausgestellt werden (Rich 1998, 72). Es galt vor allem weitere Triumphe zu verhindern.

[94] Östenberg 2009, 56-62, 66-68.

[95] Simpson 1993, 62-63.

[96] Walter 2006, 50.

[97] Muth 2012, 30-31.

[98] Generell ist der Zusammenhang zwischen Quadrifrons und Ianus kritisch zu sehen, da dieser Assoziation die Fehlinterpretation einer Stelle bei Servius Vergilkommentars zu Grunde liegt (Serv. *ad Aen.* 7.607). Siehe dazu ausführlich: Mühlenbrock 2003, 15-18.

[99] Zanker 1968; Ganzert/Kockel 1988, 149-162.

[100] Dazu mit Beispielen: Muth 2012, 18-39.

[101] Gurval 1995, 45-47.

[102] Hölscher 2000, 242.

[103] Zu den Spielen und deren Instrumentalisierung im Rahmen eines Gentilkultes siehe: Bernstein 1998, 135-142.

[104] Östenberg 2009, 56.

[105] *CIL* I², 29; McDonald/Price 2012, 569.

[106] Nedergaard 2001, 116.

[107] Zanker 1972, 12-17; Kolb 2006, 134.

[108] Simpson 1993, 69. Ähnlich: Boss 2011, 43.

[109] Muth 2012, 29-30.

[110] Hölscher 2000, 249.

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L'altare del vicus Sandaliarius agli Uffizi
Culto compitale e politiche dinastiche nel 2 a.C.

Francesco Marcattili

Abstract

*In this paper the reliefs that decorate the four sides of the altar from the vicus Sandaliarius, housed in the Uffizi and that may be dated to 2 BC, are described in detail. Although the more or less conventional images of the secondary reliefs recall the honours bestowed by the Senate on Octavianus in 27 BC (*clipeus virtutis, corona civica, laurei postes*) and the diffusion of the* Lares Augusti *cult in the urban* compita *(12 BC), the main side, which shows the* Princeps *as an augur in the centre, is of particular interest from the historical-religious point of view and finds precise confirmation in a passage by Cassius Dio (55, 18). Thanks to this text by the historian of Nicaea, it is possible to interpret exhaustively the figures of the altar's front relief, that represents the* auspicia *for two important events celebrated in 2 BC: the conferment of the title of* proconsul *on C. Caesar and his wedding to Livilla.*

Dal *vicus Apollinis Sandaliarii*,[1] ed in particolare dal suo *compitum*, proviene uno degli altari certamente più celebri e discussi del periodo augusteo, denominato comunemente altare dei Lari, dei Vicomagistri o, meno genericamente, altare del/dal vicus Sandaliarius.[2] Già nella collezione Valle - Capranica (*fig. 1*),[3] acquistato quindi da Ferdinando de Medici nel 1584 ed esposto nella villa medicea del Pincio, venne trasferito da Roma a Firenze nel 1783, e nel capoluogo toscano confluì nelle raccolte degli Uffizi, dove è tuttora custodito (*fig. 2*).[4] Realizzato in marmo di Luni, conservato da sempre in buono stato,[5] come conferma l'epigrafe di uno dei lati minori era dedicato *Laribus Augus[ti]s*. L'iscrizione del lato principale,[6] con l'indicazione del consolato, permette di datare puntualmente l'ara al 2 a.C. e di conoscere i nome dei *magistri vici* che la offrirono:

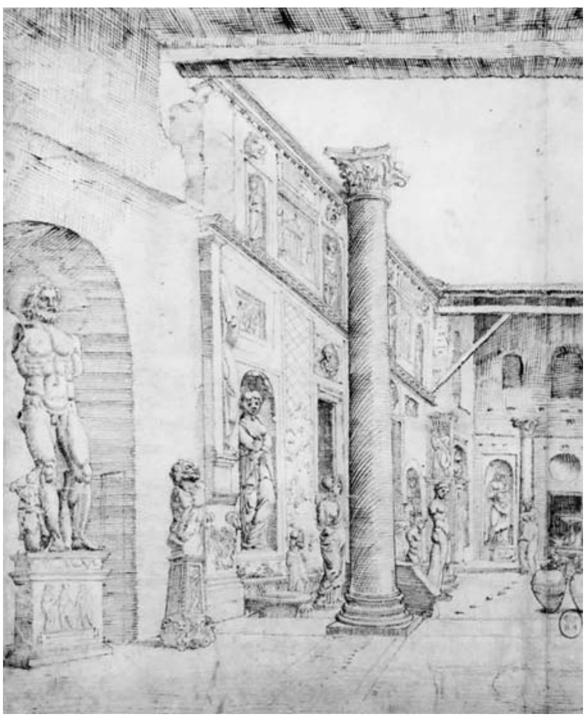

Fig. 1. Il cortile del Palazzo Della Valle in un disegno di Maarten van Heemskerck. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (da Nesselrath 1996, abb. 2).

> *[Imp. Caesare] Augusto X[III] M(arco) Plautio Silvan(o) co(n)s(ul) / [D(ecimus) Oppius] (Gaiae) l(ibertus) Iasò D(ecimus) Lucilius D(ecimi) l(ibertus) Salvius L(ucius). Brinnius (Gaiae) l(ibertus) Princeps L(ucius) Furius L(uci) l(ibertus) Salvius / mag(istri) vici Sandaliari.*

Siamo più precisamente nei primi mesi del 2 a.C., considerato che Plautius Silvanus venne sostituito nel consolato da Caninius Gallus prima della dedica del Foro di Augusto, avvenuta il 12 maggio.[7] Come è noto, si tratta di un anno particolarmente importante per la dinastia e le politiche del Principato: Augusto non solo inaugurò il nuovo foro con il tempio di Marte Ultore (votato ben quaranta anni prima) ma, venticinque anni dopo il conferimento da parte del Senato del titolo di *Augustus* e dieci anni dopo l'istituzione dei culto dei suoi *Lares* nei *compita*, otteneva anche il titolo di *pater patriae*. Nel contesto delle dinamiche più strettamente familiari, nel 2 a.C. si ricorda l'esilio di Giulia a Pandataria (Ventotene), il soggiorno-isolamento

Fig. 2. L'altare del Vicus Sandaliarius. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi (Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Firenze, Gabinetto Fotografico).

di Tiberio a Rodi e, al contrario, la forte ascesa nelle gerarchie dinastiche di C. Cesare e L. Cesare, nipoti e figli adottivi del *Princeps*.

Pur essendo un prodotto apparentemente lontano, per così dire, dalle committenze più autorevoli dell'*Urbs*,[8] l'altare degli Uffizi, nella sua prevalente essenza 'popolare', costituisce comunque un documento eccezionale per leggere e chiosare alcuni degli importanti eventi di quell'anno, come vedremo puntualmente riferiti anche dalle fonti storico-letterarie. Dedichiamoci dunque alla descrizione di dettaglio dell'ara, a partire dalle immagini - per lo più convenzionali - dei lati secondari e del retro, per arrivare quindi ai protagonisti del rilievo principale il quale, invece, risulta non solo di una certa eleganza ed originalità compositiva, ma appare senza dubbio il più significativo ed eloquente dal punto di vista della semantica storico-narrativa. Nella descrizione dei singoli rilievi, inquadrati da un *kymation* superiore e, in basso, da una fila di ovuli e da un secondo *kymation*, manterremo la denominazione alfabetica utilizzata nel 1958 da G.A. Mansuelli nel catalogo delle sculture della Galleria degli Uffizi.

Victoria *e* Clipeus Virtutis *(Lato B)*

Sopra un listello aggettante che funge da base per l'intera rappresentazione, è scolpita una Vittoria alata rappresentata in volo con i piedi sollevati dal suolo ed i panneggi delle vesti in leggero movimento (*fig. 3*). Il viso ed il corpo della Vittoria sono rivolti verso il vicino *clipeus virtutis*, sostenuto con la mano destra. Il braccio e la mano sinistra appaiono invece ripiegati all'indietro ed accostati al torace subito al di sotto del seno. Parzialmente coperto dal *clipeus virtutis* è un trofeo militare, scolpito sulla parte sinistra del rilievo, costituito da un tronco nodoso adornato al vertice da un elmo partico,[9] quindi da una corazza di tipo ellenistico e,

Fig. 3. L'altare del Vicus Sandaliarius, Lato B. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi (Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Firenze, Gabinetto Fotografico).

lateralmente, da due *scuta*: lo scudo di destra appare perfettamente circolare e di piccole dimensioni, mentre lo scudo di sinistra, che copre parzialmente due lance, risulta esagonale e con umbone a borchia circolare, secondo una tipologia in uso presso popolazioni nordiche[10] ma che, in età augustea, ricorre anche nei trofei che celebrano la vittoria di Azio ed il recupero delle insegne partiche.[11] Va segnalata in particolare un'antefissa con la rappresentazione della Vittoria su globo tra capricorni che sostiene un *tropaeum* con *scuta* analoghi[12] e, come confronto per la foggia generale del trofeo, una sardonica del 30-20 a.C. conservata a Vienna con Ottaviano Augusto ritratto con gli attributi di Iuppiter.[13] Lo schema iconografico della Vittoria in volo che sorregge il *clipeus virtutis* non è certo raro nei primi anni dell'Impero,[14] ed appare anche nell'altare del Belvedere,[15] in un frammento d'ara da Potentia nelle Marche,[16] nelle lucerne e nella monetazione.[17]

Nel bassorilievo laterale dell'altare del vicus Sandaliarius, dunque, veniva ricordata ancora nel 2 a.C. la concessione ad Augusto da parte del Senato e del popolo di Roma del *clipeus virtutis* e venivano indirettamente celebrate le imprese e le facoltà implicate in una tale onorificenza:[18] come ricordava l'iscrizione incisa sullo scudo - puntualmente replicata negli esemplari di Arles e Potentia -, e come lo stesso Augusto propagandava nelle sue *Res Gestae*, il *clipeus* fu concesso al *Princeps* per *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, *pietas erga deos patriamque*.[19] Prerogative legate prima di tutto all'evoluzione positiva ed al successo nelle campagne militari (egiziana, partica, iberica),[20] e che nel corso dell'età imperiale saranno non a caso rappresentate più volte, ed in forme quasi standardizzate, nei cicli scultorei degli archi e delle colonne onorarie. Il contesto monumentale reale evocato dal rilievo degli Uffizi sembra dunque essere la Curia Iulia,[21] inaugurata pochi giorni dopo il triplice trionfo del 29 a.C., dove il *clipeus aureus* era stato esposto e dove vennero dedicate a Vittoria un'ara ed una celebre statua proveniente da Taranto;[22] un simulacro certamente venerando che a Roma, secondo Cassio Dione, «…era stato adornato con le spoglie egiziane».[23] Nel 2 a.C., in una città sempre più ricca che nel nuovo foro celebrava *exempla virtutis et exempla pietatis* del passato e del presente, il messaggio del *clipeus* dovette apparire al Senato riunito all'interno della rinnovata Curia quanto mai attuale. Ed il *Princeps* già *Augustus*, che con le sue azioni e le suo opere aveva pienamente dimostrato *pietas erga deos* e *pietas erga patriam*, ne ottenne anche il titolo di *pater patriae*: «Mentre esercitavo il XIII consolato, il Senato, l'ordine equestre e tutto il popolo romano mi proclamarono *pater patriae* e decretarono che tale titolo dovesse essere iscritto nel vestibolo della mia dimora, nella Curia Iulia e nel Foro di Augusto sotto la quadriga che fu dedicata in mio onore per decreto del Senato».[24]

Corona Civica *e* Laurei Postes *(Lato C)*

Agli onori conferiti dal Senato ad Ottaviano nel 27 a.C. rinviano anche le rappresentazioni scolpite a bassorilievo sul lato maggiore opposto al principale (*fig. 4*): «…con decreto del Senato ricevetti il nome di Augusto, e per ordine dello Stato gli stipiti della mia dimora furono decorati con allori, e una *corona civica* venne affissa sopra la mia porta e nella Curia Iulia esposto il *clipeus virtutis*...».[25] Se, come abbiamo descritto, il lato B aveva esaltato il conferimento al *Princeps* del *clipeus virtutis*, questo secondo rilievo dell'ara degli Uffizi promuoveva dunque gli altri onori ricevuti, mostrando infatti al centro un'elegante *corona civica* con *vittae* e, disposti simmetricamente ai lati di questa, i *laurei postes*.[26] La composizione, realizzata con ordine e proporzione nel campo figurativo, era conclusa da una *patera* e dall'*urceus*, strumenti sacrificali scolpiti in basso ai lati dei tronchi dei due alberelli d'alloro.

Fig. 4. L'altare del Vicus Sandaliarius, Lato C. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi (Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Firenze, Gabinetto Fotografico).

Fig. 5. L'altare del Vicus Sandaliarius, Lato D. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi (Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Firenze, Gabinetto Fotografico).

Come il *clipeus virtutis*, anche la *corona civica* ed i valori cui alludeva dovevano risultare particolarmente attuali nel 2 a.C.: altissimo onore concesso *ob cives servatos*[27] e destinato a chi avesse operato per il bene e la salvezza della patria, ovvero per la *restitutio rei publicae*,[28] contribuiva certamente a legittimare la concessione ad Augusto del nuovo titolo di *pater patriae*. Del resto, come è evidente soprattutto nelle immagini delle monete, ma anche in un rilievo frontonale da Ostia,[29] la *corona civica* veniva normalmente affiancata o poteva addirittura circondare il *clipeus*, rivelando il profondo legame e la coerenza semantica ed ideologica di questi due simboli.

LARES AUGUSTI *(LATO D)*

Come nella rappresentazione della Vittoria con *clipeus* e *tropaeum*, anche in questo caso le immagini del lato D sono scolpite al di sopra di un listello in aggetto (*fig. 5*). Vi sono rappresentate le due divinità titolari dell'altare del vicus Sandaliarius, i Lari di Augusto, riconoscibili grazie all'inconfondibile iconografia ma anche in virtù dell'iscrizione di dedica ancora visibile proprio su questo lato dell'ara: *Laribus Augus[ti]s*. I *Lares* sono dunque rappresentati nel loro aspetto canonico:[30] figure giovanili poste simmetricamente l'una di fronte all'altra, sollevano in alto il *rhyton*, vestono tuniche in leggero movimento aperte a ventaglio verso il basso, calzano gli *embades* ai piedi. Il *Lar* di sinistra alza con la mano sinistra una patera umbilicata, mentre il *Lar* di destra sorregge nella destra abbassata una situla.

Anche la religione dei *Lares Augusti*, diffusa nei *compita* dei *vici* urbani a partire dal 12 a.C. ed affiancata dal culto del *Genius* imperiale nel 7 a.C.,[31] costituiva un altro dei presupposti che portarono il *Princeps* a ricevere il titolo di *pater patriae*. Questo culto appariva infatti, nitidamente, come una testimonianza (ulteriore) del governo di matrice paternalistica di Augusto, che con tali misure religiose «intendeva assimilare l'intera collettività dei *cives romani* liberi ad un grande *familia*, della quale egli si atteggiava a *pater* e i cittadini avevano il luogo dei *filii* e dei *clientes* sottoposti alla di lui *manus*».[32] Anche il lato D dell'altare agli Uffizi, che più degli altri si rivela collegato all'originario contesto di dedica ed alle prassi religiose del santuario compitale del vicus Sandaliarius, sembra comunque includere un riferimento al grande onore concesso al *Princeps* il 5 febbraio del 2 a.C.[33]

Fig. 6. L'altare del Vicus Sandaliarius, Dettaglio del Lato A. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi (Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Firenze, Gabinetto Fotografico).

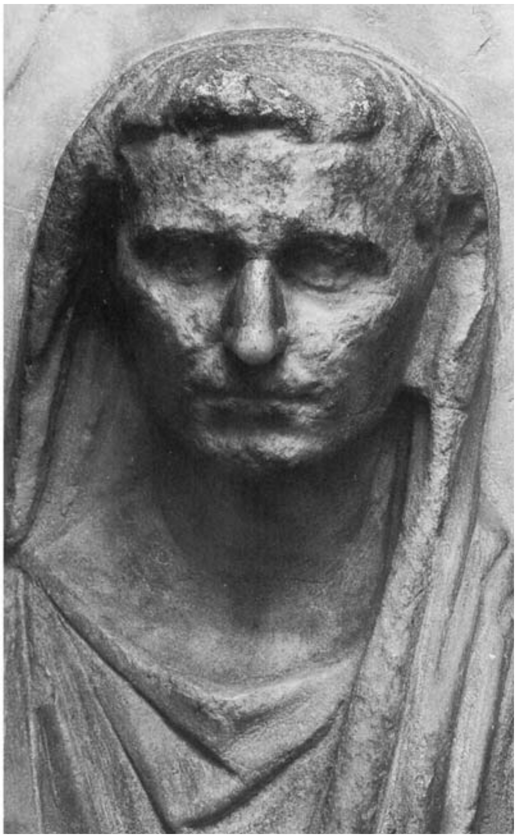

Fig. 7. L'altare del Vicus Sandaliarius, ritratto di Augusto. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi (da Boschung 1993, taf. 67.4).

Fig. 8. L'altare del Vicus Sandaliarius, ritratto di C. Cesare. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi (da Pollini 1987, pl. 14.3).

Auspicia *(Lato A)*

Anche i tre personaggi del lato principale dell'altare (*fig. 6*), rappresentati subito sopra l'iscrizione in *tabula ansata* con l'indicazione dei *magistri vici*, sono scolpiti in corrispondenza di un listello in aggetto, ma in questo caso ognuno di essi presenta una base autonoma, apparendo quindi concepiti come singoli *signa*. Cercheremo più avanti una possibile spiegazione religiosa per questo peculiare accorgimento plastico, ma non prima di avere descritto le tre figure e ricordato le varie identificazioni proposte per queste nella storia degli studi. Come si deduce immediatamente dal ritratto (*fig. 7*), al centro del rilievo compare in piena frontalità Augusto togato, *capite velato* e con il lituo nella mano destra sollevata, rappresentato dunque nelle sue funzioni di augure. La ponderazione del corpo, con la gamba destra portante e la sinistra ripiegata all'indietro, il carattere dei panneggi e la forma dell'*umbo*, sono sostanzialmente gli stessi che rileviamo nella statua-ritratto del *Princeps* portata alla luce nella Basilica Iulia di Corinto (Corinth 134),[34] scultura che potrebbe aver conservato l'immagine di un tipo statuario creato proprio nel 2 a.C. in occasione della concessione del titolo di *pater patriae* ad Augusto.[35] Va del resto ricordato che nello stesso 2 a.C., nella cosiddetta aula del Colosso del nuovo Foro, il *Genius* dell'Imperatore (o secondo un'altra ipotesi Augusto stesso), veniva ugualmente rappresentato togato, *capite velato* e, probabilmente, con il lituo nella mano destra alzata.[36] Significativa, nella figura dell'altare degli Uffizi, è anche la resa della *lacinia*, che scende verticalmente tra le gambe fino a terra e si conclude a punta, dettaglio che ritroviamo simile nei rilievi dell'*Ara Pacis*,[37] dove alcuni esponenti della famiglia imperiale ed i sacerdoti ritratti in processione sfilano infatti con la *lacinia* triangolare tra le caviglie. Nell'altare del vicus Sandaliarius, soprattutto grazie all'impostazione frontale del corpo ed alla fissità dello sguardo, il *Princeps* è ritratto in una dimensione quasi trascendente, nel momento in cui sta traendo auspici molto particolari. Come è stato visto da tempo, il rituale che sta officiando è quello del *tripudium*: vicino alla gamba destra dell'imperatore, infatti,

è rappresentato un *pullus* impegnato a beccare a terra, ed è proprio dall'osservazione dell'uccello e del cibo di cui il volatile si sta nutrendo che Augusto è chiamato ad interpretare la volontà degli dei.[38]

Come cercheremo di dimostrare tra breve, credo che tali *auspicia* siano celebrati per i due personaggi scolpiti ai lati del *Princeps*. Sulla destra di Augusto compare un giovane di profilo (*fig. 8*), vestito di toga e con il capo velato, rivolto verso l'imperatore e in attesa di conoscere il responso della consultazione stringendo un *rotulus* nella mano sinistra. Questo secondo protagonista del rilievo è stato interpretato in passato come Tiberio, C. Cesare o L. Cesare, ma non è mancato chi, anche in anni recenti, abbia pensato di identificare questi con lo stesso Augusto, riconoscendo invece C. Cesare nell'augure. L'ipotesi di L. Polacco,[39] accolta da Mansuelli,[40] che scorgeva in questo giovane i tratti fisionomici di Tiberio, è certamente da respingere per considerazioni storiche: come abbiamo anticipato, Tiberio nel 2 a.C. era lontano da Roma, e soggiornava a Rodi in una condizione di sostanziale marginalità dalle principali dinamiche politiche e dinastiche di quell'anno. Consequenziale e storicamente plausibile, invece, appare l'identificazione del giovane con uno dei due *principes iuventutis*, che riscuotevano particolare successo a corte grazie all'affetto ed al favore del loro padre adottivo: nel 2 a.C., infatti, L. Cesare assunse la *toga virilis*, divenne console designato, *princeps iuventutis* ed augure egli stesso, mentre C. Cesare nonostante la giovane età fu scelto per un'urgente missione in Oriente necessaria per risolvere, con la diplomazia e con la armi, la complessa questione armena.[41]

In una posizione simmetrica rispetto al giovane togato appena descritto, ma alla sinistra di Augusto, il rilievo mostra una figura femminile. Rivolta anch'essa verso il *Princeps*, dal quale attende forse un responso favorevole, è rappresentata velata e con diadema sul capo, *patera* nella destra, *acerra* nella sinistra, *torques* al collo e bracciale al polso. Anche per questa terza protagonista, scolpita comunque con tratti generici ed idealizzati e con misure in altezza leggermente inferiori rispetto alle due figure maschili, le ipotesi di identificazione sono state numerose: per ricordare solo le principali, è stato proposto di riconoscervi Livia, Giulia, la dea Venere, Iuventas, una sacerdotessa di Cibele. Anche in questo caso motivi di opportunità politica portano ad escludere entrambe le donne della famiglia imperiale: ricordiamo che nel 2 a.C. Giulia venne esiliata a Ventotene per la sua condotta giudicata non consona alla figlia di un *pater patriae*, mentre Livia rappresentava quella corrente della corte imperiale non legata certo ai due giovani *Caesares*, bensì al figlio Tiberio, e che riprenderà favore solo dopo l'imprevista e ravvicinata morte dei due eredi designati.

Ora, credo che un aiuto decisivo per interpretare il rilievo principale dell'altare degli Uffizi e per identificarne i protagonisti possa venire da un passo di Cassio Dione relativo al 2 a.C. che, a quanto mi risulta, non è mai stato direttamente collegato alle immagini che abbiamo appena descritto. Ecco il testo dello storico di Nicea, impegnato ad esporre le scelte sostanzialmente obbligate del *Princeps* proprio sulla questione armena:

> τῶν 'Αρμενίων δὲ νεωτερισάντων καὶ τῶν Πάρθων αὐτοῖς συνεργούντων ἀλγῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Αὔγουστος ἠπόρει τί ἂν πράξῃ· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς στρατεῦσαι οἷός τε ἦν διὰ γῆρας, ὅ τε Τιβέριος, ὡς εἴρηται, μετέστη ἤδη, ἄλλον δέ τινα πέμψαι τῶν δυνατῶν οὐκ ἐτόλμα, ὁ Γάιος δὲ καὶ ὁ Λούκιος νέοι καὶ πραγμάτων ἐτύγχανον ἄπειροι. ἀνάγκης δ' ἐπικειμένης τὸν Γάιον εἵλετο, καὶ τήν τε ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀνθύπατον καὶ γυναῖκα ἔδωκεν, ἵνα κἀκ τούτου τι προσλάβῃ ἀξίωμα, καὶ συμβούλους προσέταξε.[42]

> «Poiché gli Armeni avevano iniziato una ribellione e i Parti li appoggiavano, Augusto, turbato per questi avvenimenti, non sapeva che fare; dato che egli non era in condizione di combattere per via dell'età ormai avanzata, e poiché Tiberio, come si è detto, se n'era già andato, egli non osava inviare qualche altro uomo di potere, visto che Gaio e Lucio erano giovani ed inesperti. Tuttavia, nell'incombenza della necessità scelse Gaio, gli conferì l'*imperium proconsulare* e lo fece sposare, affinché dalla condizione di uomo sposato ricavasse un rango sociale di rispetto, e trasse gli auspici.»[43]

Grazie al racconto di Cassio Dione, siamo quindi in grado di interpretare esaurientemente le immagini ed il contesto storico del rilievo anteriore dell'ara del vicus Sandaliarius, che rappresenta dunque la presa degli auspici da parte di Augusto per due importanti e correlati eventi celebrati nel 2 a.C.: il conferimento a C. Cesare del titolo di proconsole[44] e le sue nozze. Con C. Cesare va dunque identificato senza incertezza il giovane sulla sinistra del rilievo, mentre nella donna sulla destra va verosimilmente ricono-

sciuta la giovane moglie di Gaio, Livia (detta Livilla), figlia di Druso Maggiore e sorella di Germanico e del futuro imperatore Claudio, andata in sposa al maggiore dei due principi per diretta volontà di Augusto. Nel tentativo di confermare questa ricostruzione, suggerita dalle chiare parole di Cassio Dione, torneremo più avanti e in dettaglio sui caratteri iconografici della protagonista femminile del rilievo, ma merita subito qualche riflessione l'ambiguo ruolo che Augusto fu chiamato ad assumere nel corso di questi avvenimenti; ruolo che appare perfettamente propagandato nel piccolo fregio: egli, infatti, partecipò alle cerimonie non solo come massima carica istituzionale e nelle vesti sacerdotali di augure, dunque nel pieno delle sue funzioni pubbliche e religiose, ma anche come padre adottivo del proconsole neosposo il quale, come avente potestà, era chiamato a promuovere le nozze e ad esprimere il proprio formale consenso al *matrimonium*. In questo 'conflitto', per così dire, tra sfera istituzionale e dimensione familiare troviamo anche la spiegazione delle scelte del Principe sulla vita di C. Cesare e, in particolare, la necessità / obbligo per il giovane rampollo di sposarsi in occasione del conferimento dei poteri proconsolari. Circostanze che lo stesso Cassio Dione tenta di spiegare con l'espressione «…lo fece sposare, affinché dalla condizione di uomo sposato ricavasse un rango sociale di rispetto». Sono noti i diversi provvedimenti legislativi promulgati da Augusto sul matrimonio, tra i quali spicca la *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinis* del 18 a.C., che nel tentativo di favorire le nozze e la procreazione, miravano a scoraggiare il celibato e le unioni senza figli, offrendo di riflesso particolari privilegi ai coniugati con prole.[45] Ebbene, questi privilegi riguardavano non solo la dimensione privata (ovvero eredità e legati), ma anche gli incarichi pubblici ed il *cursus honorum*, ed arrivarono a condizionare l'assunzione degli stessi *fasces consulares*, per i quali al criterio di anzianità vennero preferiti il possesso dello *status* di *maritus*, ovvero dei *iura maritorum*, ed il numero dei figli. Norme che vincolarono anche la scelta dei governatori delle province senatorie e che, qualche anno dopo, porteranno Tacito a denunciare la sconsiderata prassi della *simulata adoptio*,[46] attuata per ambizione politica nell'imminenza dell'elezione dei magistrati e della *sortitio provinciarum*. Dunque, tutto ciò premesso, sarebbe risultato assai sconveniente per il *Princeps* conferire i poteri proconsolari a C. Cesare senza che costui avesse contratto almeno il matrimonio.

Negli eventi ricordati da Cassio Dione e nelle immagini che stiamo descrivendo, anche il ruolo sacerdotale di Augusto sembra esercitato in una duplice veste. Ed infatti il rilievo principale dell'altare degli Uffizi combina e lega con efficacia due livelli narrativi: l'attribuzione a C. Cesare dei poteri proconsolari è sottoposta, mediante auspicio, alla volontà degli dei per il nuovo ruolo istituzionale dell'erede designato, ma contemporaneamente la scena dell'ara evocava nell'osservatore anche gli *auspicia* per le *nuptiae* dei due giovani. Una prassi molto antica prevedeva infatti che il giorno del matrimonio, molto probabilmente all'alba e comunque prima della *deductio in domum*, si richiedessero gli auspici, e tra gli invitati alle nozze potevano comparire *auspices nuptiarum*.[47] Una pratica perfettamente comprensibile destinata anche in questo caso ad accertare il favore divino sulla nuova unione, e che prevedeva appunto l'osservazione degli uccelli. In un tale contesto, allora, è significativo ricordare il favorevole auspicio legato alle nozze dello stesso Augusto con Livia, rivelato da un'aquila che depose sul grembo della futura imperatrice una gallina bianca con un ramoscello d'alloro nel becco; vicenda che, come è noto, ebbe luogo in una villa ubicata nel territorio di Veio, poi soprannominata da tale prodigioso episodio «*ad Gallinas albas*».[48]

La stessa, ricercata duplicità semantica e narrativa riscontriamo anche nell'iconografia di Livilla, nel 2 a.C. probabilmente dodicenne:[49] la *patera* e l'*acerra* che trattiene nelle due mani sono i segni concreti dei rituali della libagione e dell'offerta di incenso, celebrati sia nel nuovo *status* di matrona per assicurare il buon esito alla futura missione del marito e proconsole C. Cesare, sia - soprattutto - nelle vesti di *nova nupta* in occasione di nozze auspicate liete e feconde.[50] Già nei rituali domestici previsti per il fidanzamento (*sponsalia*) era contemplata una libagione agli dei,[51] tanto che una delle etimologie citate da Verrio Flacco per spiegare il termine *sponsus* ne legava l'origine proprio al greco σπονδή (*libatio*).[52] Ma il rito compiuto dalla novella sposa di C. Cesare nell'altare degli Uffizi appare più articolato e solenne, e trova una descrizione assolutamente coerente in un passo dell'*Octavia* - tragedia in passato erroneamente attribuita a Seneca - che riferisce i rituali di ufficiali nozze imperiali celebrate *spectante populo* e dinanzi al Senato. Le parole che trascrivo sono rivolte dalla nutrice a Poppea, da poco andata in sposa all'imperatore:

Certe petitus precibus et votis dies
nostris refulsit: Caesari iuncta es tuo
taeda iugali, quem tuus cepit decor
et culta sancte tradidit vinctum tibi

genetrix Amoris, maximum numen, Venus.
O qualis altos quanta pressisti toros
residens in aula! Vidit attonitus tuam
formam senatus, tura cum superis dares
sacrasque grato spargeres aras mero,
velata summum flammeo tenui caput;
et ipse lateri iunctus atque haerens tuo
sublimis inter civium laeta omina
incessit habitu atque ore laetitiam gerens
princeps superbo: talis emersam freto
spumante Peleus coniugem accepit Thetin,
quorum toros celebrasse caelestes ferunt
pelagique numen omne consensu pari.[53]

«Risplende finalmente il giorno invocato dalle nostre preghiere e dai nostri voti: ti sei unita con la fiaccola nuziale al tuo Cesare, che la tua bellezza ha conquistato e che la madre di Amore, la potentissima dea Venere, da te pienamente venerata, ha consegnato legato dalla passione. Oh, come eri bella e come eri grande quando ti sdraiasti sul letto del triclinio, insediandoti nel palazzo! Il Senato contemplò attonito la tua bellezza quando offrivi incenso agli dei e cospargevi di vino, in segno di gratitudine, i sacri altari, con la cima del capo velata da un leggero flammeo; ed egli, il principe, standoti accanto, stretto avanzò a testa alta fra i lieti presagi dei cittadini, con aspetto superbo, manifestando la sua gioia sul volto: con lo stesso atteggiamento Peleo accolse la sposa Teti, emersa dalle onde spumeggianti, le cui nozze si dice che celebrarono gli dei celesti e tutte le divinità marine con uguale consenso.»[54]

Nel passo, quindi, la novella sposa Poppea celebra con il capo velato una libagione di vino e un'offerta di incenso, proprio come la donna nel rilievo degli Uffizi. Interessante anche il riferimento dell'anonimo poeta dell'*Octavia* ai *laeta omina*, dunque ai lieti presagi che accompagnano l'evento, e che nell'altare del vicus Sandaliarius trovano concretezza nell'immagine centrale, quasi soprannaturale, di Augusto auspicante. Osservando questa mistica effigie del Principe ed il *pullus* beccante nei pressi della sua figura, tornano subito alle mente le parole di Svetonio sulla concessione ad Ottaviano del titolo di *Augustus*, e che uniscono concettualmente anche questo lato dell'altare agli onori ricevuti nel 27 a.C.:

«In seguito assunse il cognome di Gaio Cesare e poi quello di Augusto, il primo per effetto del testamento del prozio materno, il secondo su proposta di Munazio Planco: infatti, mentre certuni erano del parere che lo si dovesse chiamare Romolo, sostenendo che anche lui era fondatore della città, aveva avuto la meglio la proposta di chiamarlo, piuttosto, Augusto, con un cognome che era non soltanto nuovo, ma anche più onorevole, dato che pure i luoghi sacri agli dei e quelli nei quali si consacra qualcosa dopo aver preso gli auguri sono detti augusti, da *auctus* o da *avium gestus* o da *gustus*, come anche Ennio insegna quando scrive: «Dopo che l'illustre Roma fu fondata con augusto augurio».[55]

Se è dunque corretta l'ipotesi di riconoscere la coniuge di C. Cesare nella figura femminile scolpita nell'ara, diventa più chiaro anche perché il rilievo mostri in maniera particolarmente evidente gli ornamenti indossati dalla sposa, costituiti da un diadema sul capo, da un *torques* al collo e da un bracciale al polso destro. Questi gioielli possono verosimilmente costituire doni sponsali o nuziali, oppure una parte della *dos* (dote) che, secondo un costume assai risalente (ed efficacemente attestato dalle statue votive con *parures* da Lavinio),[56] la fanciulla destinata alle nozze era chiamata ad esibire.[57] Tra i preziosi indossati da colei che abbiamo riconosciuto come Livilla, uno appare senz'altro di particolare interesse per confermare la nostra ipotesi: mi riferisco al *torques*, collana di tradizione orientale significativamente indossata anche dai piccoli Gaio e Lucio nei rilievi dell'*Ara Pacis*, riferimento al loro rango/costume di giovani troiani, ovvero allusione alla celebrazione del *lusus Troiae*.[58] Il dettaglio del *torques*, quindi, non solo sembra confermare l'appartenenza della fanciulla alla dinastia che legava le sue origini alla città di Troia ed alla stirpe di Enea, ma potrebbe anzi rivelare (e confermare) la specialissima relazione di costei proprio con C. Cesare. Del pari, il *rotulus* o *volumen* stretto nella mano sinistra da C. Cesare costituisce a sua volta una scrittura dotale o matrimoniale, ovvero l'*instrumentum dotale*, secondo un'iconografia che ricorre normalmente nelle scene di *dextrarum iunctio*, dove lo sposo esibisce infatti un rotolo sempre nella mano sinistra.[59] Scrive riassumendo le fasi del rito nuziale C. Fayer, con parole davvero didascaliche anche per il rilievo degli Uffizi: «Alla presa degli auspici con *omina* favorevoli, seguivano diverse cerimonie, quali la redazione del contratto matrimoniale, le cosiddette *tabulae dotales* o *nuptiales*, relative alla costituzione di dote, la *dextrarum iunctio*, ritenuto il momento culminante del rituale nuziale, il sacrificio nuziale».[60]

Un'ulteriore conferma alla nostra ricostruzione viene da una constatazione ovvia ma che a questo punto è opportuno ribadire, perché legittima pienamente la scelta di inserire un tale soggetto tra le immagini dell'altare: come abbiamo più volte affermato, l'ara degli Uffizi ubicata in origine nel *compitum* del vicus Sandaliarius di Roma era dedicata ai *Lares Augusti*. Ebbene, è verosimile che almeno una parte delle offerte celebrate da C. Cesare e Livilla in occasione delle loro nozze fosse diretta proprio a queste divinità. Come confermano diverse fonti letterarie, i *Lares Familiares* ed i *Lares Compitales* non solo erano i destinatari dei vari *dona* che il promesso sposo e la *nubenda* offrivano alla vigilia del matrimonio prima di lasciare la casa paterna e la *familia* d'origine, ma ad essi erano indirizzate anche le dediche compiute dalla *nova nupta* al momento dell'ingresso nella *domus* del marito e nel nuovo nucleo familiare. Si pensi al tradizionale (e discusso) rito che prevedeva il pagamento simbolico di tre assi, rispettivamente destinati al marito, ai *Lares* della famiglia di acquisizione ed ai *Lares* del nuovo *vicus*.[61] E, nel caso di Livilla, erano proprio i *Lares Augusti* le divinità da omaggiare, nel rispetto delle norme di un'arcaica, *domestica religio*[62] che aveva perduto la sua ristretta dimensione privata, e che veniva ormai collettivamente celebrata in tutti i *compita* di Roma (vicus Sandaliarius compreso).

Anche la devozione verso la famiglia imperiale dei *magistri* del vicus Sandaliarius (ma non solo) era di certo disciplinata da precise norme. Un aspetto importante di questa regolamentazione è indirettamente rivelato, ad esempio, da un'iscrizione databile al 45 d.C. e rinvenuta a Pompei in una delle più notevoli aree sacre destinate al culto imperiale.[63] Mi riferisco al tempio della Fortuna Augusta, probabilmente dedicato nel 2 a.C. e che, attraverso una statua ed un'epigrafe, rendeva omaggio al *Princeps* proprio nelle nuove vesti di *pater patriae*.[64] Ora, dal testo dell'iscrizione del 45 d.C., si evince come i ministri di questo santuario, di estrazione libertina o servile come i *magistri vici*, fossero chiamati abitualmente a dedicare nel tempio i *signa* di imperatori e/o membri della dinastia: *pro signo quod e lege Fortunae Augustae ministrorum ponere debebat*. Nel caso ricordato dall'iscrizione, in luogo del *signum* normalmente previsto, vennero in via eccezionale dedicate due basi di marmo: *referente Q. Pompeio Amethysto quaestore basis duas marmorias decrever[u]nt pro signo poniret*. Ora, le interessanti disposizioni che emergono da questa *lex sacra* pompeiana possono forse aiutarci a spiegare perché, nell'altare del vicus Sandaliarius, i tre personaggi del rilievo principale siano caratterizzati dal punto di vista plastico come statue/*signa* singoli provvisti di relative basi:[65] potrebbe trattarsi, dunque, dell'esito di norme religiose che richiedevano anche ai *magistri* del *vicus* romano di votare, in determinate occasioni, sculture che ritraevano i membri della famiglia imperiale. Se l'ipotesi è corretta, avremmo l'ulteriore conferma dell'appartenenza della figura femminile scolpita a destra del *Princeps* alla *domus Augusta*.

Prima di concludere queste riflessioni, basate prima di tutto sulla felice rispondenza di contenuto tra il testo di Cassio Dione ed il rilievo degli Uffizi, non possiamo fare a meno di ricordare come, negli stessi anni in cui veniva dedicato l'altare del vicus Sandaliarius, l'inizio della missione orientale del giovane proconsole C. Cesare veniva cantato con toni aulici anche nel primo libro dell'*Ars Amatoria* di Ovidio. Un testo che rivela la forza politica della fazione favorevole al figlio di Giulia[66] e che contiene spunti molto interessanti per quanto abbiamo scritto nelle pagine precedenti. Nei passi ovidiani vanno rilevati non solo il continuo riferimento alla giovane età del prescelto, ma anche la ripetuta allusione agli *omina* ed agli auspici del *Princeps*, i cenni al culto di Marte Ultore del nuovo foro, infine il richiamo ai titoli di *princeps iuventutis* e di *pater patriae*. Ecco i versi per noi conclusivi dell'*Ars*, assai indicativi per comprendere le atmosfere urbane di quegli anni, che non lasciavano certo presagire l'infausta, prematura fine del giovane Gaio. Morto nel 4 d.C. a Limyra in conseguenza delle ferite riportate durante l'assedio alla fortezza armena di Artagira, non sarebbe mai più tornato a riabbracciare la sua Livilla.[67]

Ecce, parat Caesar domito quod defuit orbi
Addere: nunc, oriens ultime, noster eris.
Parthe, dabis poenas: Crassi gaudete sepulti,
Signaque barbaricas non bene passa manus.
Ultor adest, primisque ducem profitetur in annis,
Bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer.[68]

«Ecco, l'imperatore si appresta ad aggiungere quel che mancava al completo dominio del mondo: ora, o lontanissimo Oriente, sarai nostro. O Parti, pagherete il fio; rallegratevi, Crassi sepolti e voi, o vessilli, che avete ingloriosamente subito la potenza dei barbari. Il vendicatore c'è e si rivela condottiero nella sua prima giovinezza e adolescente conduce guerre che non sono da combattere da adolescenti.»

Auspiciis annisque patris, puer, arma movebis,
Et vinces annis auspiciisque patris:
Tale rudimentum tanto sub nomine debes,

Nunc iuvenum princeps, deinde future senum;
Cum tibi sint fratres, fratres ulciscere laesos:
Cumque pater tibi sit, iura tuere patris.
Induit arma tibi genitor patriaeque tuusque:
Hostis ab invito regna parente rapit.[69]

«Tu, o giovinetto, brandirai le armi con gli stessi auspici e la stessa età del padre, con gli stessi auspici e la stessa età del padre vincerai. Devi fare il tirocinio sotto un nome così grande, ora primo fra i giovani, destinato ad essere poi primo fra gli anziani. Poiché hai fratelli, vendica i fratelli offesi, poiché hai un padre, difendi i diritti di tuo padre. Il padre della patria e tuo ti mette indosso le armi; il nemico tenta di sottrarre un regno a tuo padre contro la sua volontà.»

Marsque pater Caesarque pater, date numen eunti:
Nam deus e vobis alter es, alter eris.
Auguror, en, vinces; votivaque carmina reddam,
Et magno nobis ore sonandus eris…
Parthe, malum iam nunc Mars tuus omen habet[70]

«Tu, o padre Marte e tu, o padre Cesare, date il vostro consenso alla sua partenza: infatti di voi due, l'uno sei già un dio, l'altro lo sarai. Ecco, faccio un presagio, tu vincerai e io ti offrirò un carme che ora ti prometto e dovrai essere celebrato da me con lingua solenne…O Parto, fin d'ora la tua sorte di guerra ha un presagio funesto.»

Note

1 Richardson 1992, 427; Palombi 1997, 55-57; Coarelli 2000; Marroni 2010, 61-64.

2 Tra i molti altri, Polacco 1955, 74-91; Ryberg 1955, 60-61; Mansuelli 1958, 203-206; Gross 1962, 76-81; Zanker 1969, 209-211; Ghedini 1984, 31-32; Hano 1986, 2338-2339; Simon 1986, 70-72, 102-103; Pollini 1987, 30-35; Goette 1990, 114; Boschung 1993, 125-126; Reeder 1997, 101-103; Galinsky 1996, 300-307; Rose 1997, 104-107; Bartman 1999, 84-86; Boschung 2002, 33-34, 195; Bert Lott 2004, 125-126, 144-146, 192-193; Rose 2005, 45-50; Foti 2011, 104-107; Pollini 2012, 137-145; Koortbojian 2013, 73-77; Santangelo 2013, 263-266.

3 L'altare, reimpiegato come base per una statua di Nettuno, compare in una nicchia laterale della corte del Palazzo Della Valle in un disegno degli anni 1532-1536 attribuito a Maarten van Heemskerck (*fig. 1*) e in un'incisione del 1553 di H. Cock (Michaelis 1891; Hülsen/Egger 1913-1916, 56-66; Nesselrath 1996, 252-263). Riproduzioni grafiche dell'ara sono presenti anche nel *Codex Pighianus* (fol. 042 r), nel *Codex Coburgensis* (n. 101) e nell'album di G.A. Dosio (Casamassima/Rubinstein 1993, 19-20, 173).

4 Inv. n. 972 - Misure: alt. m 1.60, largh. m 0.90, prof. m 0.60.

5 I pochi interventi di restauro sono individuati e descritti in Mansuelli 1958, 203-205.

6 *CIL*, VI, 448 = *ILS*, 3614.

7 Come è ricordato in Simpson 1977 ed in Rose 2005, 49, sulla base di Vell., 2.100.2.

8 Si vedano, comunque, alcuni dettagli decorativi dell'altare - in particolare i motivi del coronamento - che richiamano gli ornamenti e gli stilemi dei grandi monumenti ufficiali.

9 Così Rose 2005, 47 *contra* Picard 1957, 268.

10 Polito 1998, 43. Proprio con E. Polito, che molto ringrazio, ho proficuamente discusso delle armi affisse al trofeo scolpito nell'altare degli Uffizi.

11 Picard 1957, 253-285.

12 La Rocca et al. 2013, 148 (S. Tortorella).

13 La Rocca et al. 2013, 151 (E. Laurenzi).

14 Per una rassegna recente, vedi Geremia Nucci 2013, 169-183, con bibliografia.

15 Zanker 1969; Fraschetti 1980; Cappelli 1984-1985; La Rocca et al. 2013, 318 (G. Spinola).

16 Antolini 2004.

17 Sul *clipeus virtutis*, Seston 1954; Hölscher 1967, 106-108; Gros 1987; Zanker 1989, 97-105; von Hesberg/Panciera 1994, 113-118; Antolini 2004; La Rocca et al. 2013, 308-309 (D. Roger); Abbondanza et al. 2014, 358-359 (E. Carnabuci). Più in generale sulle virtù imperiali, Wallace-Hadrill 1981a; Classen 1991.

18 Per una diversa interpretazione delle immagini di questo lato dell'altare, Pollini 1987, 34 e Rose 2005, 47.

19 *R. Gest. div. Aug.*, 34.2. Sulla concessione del *clipeus virtutis* nelle *Res Gestae*, Ramage 1987, 74-100.

20 Cfr. Hölscher 1967, 106-108.

21 Tortorici 1993.

22 Hölscher 1967, 6-17; Pohlsander 1969; Tortorici 1999.

23 Cass. Dio, 51.22.

24 *R. Gest. div. Aug.*, 35.1. Per Augusto *pater patriae* nelle *Res Gestae*, cfr. Ramage 1987, 100-110.

25 *R. Gest. div. Aug.*, 34.2.

26 Tra gli altri, su questi onori, Hölscher 1967, 108-110; Alföldi 1973; Zanker 1989, 97-105.

27 Ov., *Tr.*, 3.1.47-48; V. Max., 2.8.7; Sen., *Cl.*, 3.24.5; Cass. Dio, 53.16; App., *bell. civ.*, 2.441.

28 Degrassi 1963, 112-113.

29 Floriani Squarciapino 1982; Geremia Nucci 2013, 162-169, con altri confronti. Da ultimo sul tempio, Polito 2014.

30 Tran Tam Tinh 1992.

31 La bibliografia sul culto dei *Lares* e del *Genius Augusti* è molto ampia: segnalo almeno, con impostazioni e finalità diverse, i contributi di Fischwick 1969; Hano 1986; Hänlein-Schäfer 1996; Van Andringa 2000; Letta 2003; Bert Lott 2004; Bassani 2008; Giacobello 2008; Stek 2008; Anniboletti 2010; Laforge 2011; La Rocca 2011; Torelli 2011.

32 Torelli 2012, 192.

33 Ov., *Fast.*, 5.127.

34 Johnson 1931, 71-72. Bibliografia più recente esaurientemente raccolta in Boschung 1993, 157-158.

35 La Rocca et al. 2013, 176 (M. Cadario).

36 Ungaro 2008a; Ungaro 2008b.

37 Per la bibliografia generale sull'*ara Pacis* rinvio al saggio di C. Parisi Presicce in La Rocca et al. 2013, 230-241.

38 Sugli *auspicia pullaria* o *ex tripudiis*, Montero Herrero 2006; Foti 2011.

39 Polacco 1955, 74-91.

40 Mansuelli 1958, 204-205.

41 Su questa campagna orientale, Pani 1972, 44-55; Hurlet 1997, 127-141. Per una sintesi biografica recente su Gaio e Lucio Cesari, Segenni 2011, 25-38, con fonti e bibliografia precedente.

42 Cass. Dio, 55.18.

43 Traduzione di A. Stroppa.

[44] Così interpretano già il rilievo, come premessa per l'avvio della missione armena, J. Pollini e C.B. Rose. Sulla datazione al 2 a.C. della partenza di C. Cesare per l'Oriente si è discusso e si discute (termini del dibattito in Swan 2004, 116 e in Rose 2005, 45, nota 132): alcuni studiosi, sulla base di una serie di elementi ed indizi (Romer 1978; Bowersock 1984, 171-173), non ultimi gli onori concessi al giovane *princeps iuventutis* (e *Neos Ares*) in occasione del suo passaggio ad Atene (Baldassarri 1998, 35-37), preferiscono attribuire la *profectio* al 2 a.C. (Pollini 1987, 33-34; Rose 2005, 45-47); altri invece (Herz 1980; Hurlet 1997, 127-132) collocano la partenza nell'anno successivo (1 a.C.). In ogni caso, per l'attribuzione a C. Cesare dell'*imperium proconsulare* e per le sue nozze, Cassio Dione e l'altare degli Uffizi confermano una cronologia al 2 a.C.

[45] Sulla legislazione matrimoniale di Augusto la bibliografia è vastissima: si vedano tra i molti altri Csillág 1976; Frank 1975; Raditsa 1980; Galinsky 1981; Wallace-Hadrill 1981b; Fayer 2005, 563-598; Spagnuolo Vigorita 2010.

[46] Tac., *Ann.*, 15.19.3.

[47] Fayer 2005, 501-506; Hersch 2010, 115-119, con relative fonti.

[48] Flory 1988-1989; Reeder 1997; Messineo 2001; Reeder 2001; Montero Herrero 2006, 102-107.

[49] Non è noto con precisione l'anno di nascita della figlia di Druso Maggiore e di Antonia Minore, da porre comunque tra 14 e 11 a.C., dopo la nascita del primogenito Germanico (15 a.C.). Anche per tale questione la datazione puntuale dell'altare del vicus Sandaliarius può offrire un'indicazione: Livilla, infatti, nel momento di andare in sposa, aveva verosimilmente 12 anni, età in cui si ritenevano le fanciulle *viripotentes* ed ormai idonee per contrarre *iustae nuptiae*. Sulla questione, Fayer 2005, 428-454.

[50] Sulle offerte sacrificali in occasione delle nozze, Hersch 2010, 119-122.

[51] Sugli *sponsalia* in generale Fayer 2005, 15-184.

[52] Fest., p. 440 L. Per questo atto religioso, cfr. Torelli 1984, 120; Fayer 2005, 19-20.

[53] [Sen.], *Oct.*, 693-709.

[54] Traduzione di G. Giardina.

[55] Suet., *Aug.*, 7.2. Traduzione di I. Lana.

[56] Contestualizzate in Torelli 1984.

[57] Fayer 2005, 66-73, 102-140 (*anulus pronubus*, donazioni tra fidanzati, *arrae sponsaliciae*); 618-625 (donazioni nuziali); 673-750 (dote).

[58] Torelli 1982, 49-51 e nota 72; Zanker 1989, 230-232 *contra* Pollini 1987, 27; Rose 1990; Rose 2005, 36-44.

[59] Sull'iconografia della *dextrarum iunctio*, ancora attuali le pagine di Reekmans 1951.

[60] Fayer 2005, 505.

[61] Torelli 1984, 95-99; Fayer 2005, 543-553, 556. Più recentemente, Johansson 2010.

[62] Cfr. Suet., *Cl.*, 12.1.

[63] *CIL*, X, 825 = *ILS*, 3614. Cfr. Castrén 1975, 76-77; Cooley 2012, 69-70.

[64] *CIL*, X, 823. In generale sull'*aedes* della Fortuna Augusta, Van Andringa et al. 2010; Van Andringa et al. 2011; Van Andringa 2012; per la dedica del tempio al 2 a.C., si veda Torelli 2012, 203, 209 sulla scia di Th. Mommsen (*CIL*, X, p. 100).

[65] Il dettaglio è stato puntualmente sottolineato da G.A. Mansuelli: «Le figure del lato A sono pensate, nonostante il particolare episodico del *pullus*, come statue, perché ognuna di esse ha una base autonoma, ottenuta mediante una sporgenza del listello che protegge la lunga cartella con l'iscrizione recante i nomi dei dedicanti» (Mansuelli 1958, 204).

[66] Braccesi 2006, 213-217.

[67] Non è molto chiaro il carattere delle sanzioni emanate dal Senato dopo il coinvolgimento di Livilla nel complotto di Seiano (cfr. Varner 2004, 93-95). Queste sanzioni, comunque, non avrebbero interessato certo l'immagine generica di una Livilla rappresentata come giovane sposa di C. Cesare. Va d'altre parte ricordato che è ignoto il luogo/contesto di rinvenimento dell'altare che, per l'ottimo stato di conservazione, potrebbe essere stato rimosso e forse occultato già in antico.

[68] Ov., *Ars*, 1.177-182.

[69] Ov., *Ars*, 1.191-198.

[70] Ov., *Ars*, 1.203-206, 212. Traduzione di A. Della Casa.

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Una dedica ad Augusto e le porte di Alife

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Abstract

Two limestone blocks from a Roman monument, one of which characterized by an Ionic architrave with two fasciae, were found as reused pieces in an early medieval burial recently excavated near the city of Allifae. *Two other similar fragments of architraves, housed in the Museo Civico of Piedimonte Matese (CE), on which is inscribed a dedication to Augustus, are ascribable to the same complex, and may be associated with other architectural elements including two voussoirs and a fragment of a frieze, datable to the first triumviral age, engraved with trophies and weapons. It seems plausible to assign all those items to the façade of the triumviral colony city gates; the dedication to Augustus was added later above the gate overlooking Rome, that was monumentalized after the construction of a paved road from Venafro (and Rome) to Alife given by the* princeps.*

Un recente sondaggio archeologico nell'area circostante l'anfiteatro di Alife, nel suburbio sud orientale della città, ha portato in luce due sepolture altomedioevali una delle quali realizzata con vari blocchi lapidei di spoglio (*figg. 1-3*).[1] I pezzi provengono in parte dal vicino anfiteatro ormai in abbandono, ma anche dalla circostante necropoli romana; due elementi di incerta attribuzione, evidentemente parte di un medesimo complesso per le consimili caratteristiche, si distinguono per la particolare morfologia:

- Blocco parallelepipedo in calcare (cm 111,5 x 43,5 x 31-27) integro, fronte articolata in un architrave a due fasce sormontata da cornice a gola rovescia e listello, superficie liscia con leggera gradina; parte retrostante lasciata grezza, fianchi con *anathyrosis* a lieve sottosquadro e superfici di contatto (verso la fronte e la faccia superiore) rifinite a fine gradinatura, piano di posa e piano di attesa lisci con lavorazione a gradina. Sul piano di attesa si individuano un filo scalpellato (in corrispondenza del sottostante attacco della cornice) per il corretto posizionamento arretrato del blocco sovrastante, e due incassi per ingrappature laterali (*figg. 2-3*, 13.1, 14.1, 16).
- Blocco parallelepipedo in calcare (cm 111,5 x 45 x 34) integro, fronte liscia con leggera gradina; parte retrostante lasciata grezza, fianchi con *anathyrosis* a lieve sottosquadro e superfici di contatto (verso la fronte e la faccia superiore) rifinite a fine gradinatura, piano di posa e piano di attesa lisci con lavorazione a gradina. Nella faccia superiore sono due incassi per ingrappature laterali (*figg. 4-5*, 14.2).

Al primo dei due blocchi, per dimensioni, decorazione frontale e caratteristiche della lavorazione, sembrano avvicinabili due pezzi consimili frammentari conservati al Museo Civico di Piedimonte Matese, che presentano un'iscrizione sulle due fasce, più volte editi (*figg. 6-12*, 13.2-3, 15, 17):[2]

- Blocco parallelepipedo in calcare (cm 82+ x 46 x 38) mutilo del lato sinistro, fronte articolata in un architrave a due fasce sormontata da cornice a gola rovescia e listello; sulle fasce iscrizione: [---] SARI. DIVI[---] / [---]TRIBVNIC[---], lett. cm 14, 12; superficie liscia con leggera gradina; parte retrostante lasciata grezza, fianco residuo con *anathyrosis* a lieve sottosquadro e superfici di contatto (verso la fronte e la faccia superiore) rifinite a fine gradinatura, piano di posa e piano di attesa lisci con lavorazione a gradina. Sul piano di attesa si individuano un filo scalpellato (in corrispondenza del sottostante attacco della cornice) per il corretto posizionamento arretrato del blocco sovrastante, e un incasso per ingrappatura laterale sull'estremità superstite (*figg. 6-7*, 11, 13.2, 15.1, 17.1).
- Blocco consimile al precedente (cm 59+ x 46 x 35) mutilo del lato sinistro, sulle fasce iscrizione: [---] TO. PON[---] / [---]XIII. PAT[---], lett. cm 14, 12 (*figg. 8-10*, 11, 13.3, 15.2, 17.2).

I due frammenti iscritti vengono attribuiti ad una medesima epigrafe monumentale di dedica ad Augusto databile tra gli anni 1 a.C. e 1 d.C.:[3] *[Imp(eratori) Cae]sari div[i f(ilio) Augus]to pon[tif(ici) max(imo)] / [co(n)s(uli) XIII] tribunic(ia) [potest(ate) X]XIII pat[ri patriae]*.

Tutti e due i blocchi conservano il margine destro (il sinistro è mancante) e, considerando il testo, dovevano essere posti in opera contigui; accet-

tando per il secondo una lunghezza di cinque piedi (m 1,48), nella ricostruzione grafica dell'iscrizione si può disporre il testo della prima riga con una corretta *ordinatio* e si evidenzia la presenza di una maggiore quantità di spazio nella seconda riga, tale da giustificare l'integrazione *potestat(e)* (*fig. 12*).[4] Nella ricostruzione proposta il testo occupa l'architrave per un'ampiezza di circa m 3,90 (13 piedi).

In considerazione delle caratteristiche morfologiche si deve escludere l'attribuzione di tali elementi a complessi colonnati, risultando evidente l'appartenenza ad un edificio con struttura a facciata piena di blocchi squadrati (applicati verosimilmente ad un nucleo cementizio); l'assenza di qualsiasi evidente difformità visibile nella lavorazione delle facce inferiori sembrerebbe indicare un aggetto minimo della cornice rispetto al resto della facciata.

L'architrave appare costruito secondo un disegno teorico basato sulla misura romana del *digitus* (1/16 di piede); dal basso le fasce dovrebbero corrispondere a 10 e 9 *digiti* (teorici 18,5 e 16,65 cm) e la cornice a 5 *digiti* (teorico 9,25 cm) per un totale di 24 *digiti* (un *pes* più un *semipes*).

Seguendo l'enunciato vitruviano,[5] un architrave di 1,5 piedi presuppone una colonna completa alta piedi 19,5 (più presumibilmente, per arrotondamento, 20).[6] Inoltre, dal confronto con i rapporti dimensionali documentati in alcuni edifici templari di epoca romana con ordine corinzio,[7] si potrebbe ipotizzare un'altezza totale per la trabeazione, completa della cimasa, di 4,5 piedi.[8] Ovviamente tali osservazioni devono considerarsi del tutto indicative, derivando da confronti con edifici di tipologia del tutto differente; purtuttavia non sembra improbabile che l'architrave potesse essere posto in opera ad un'altezza prossima ai sei metri (20 piedi) considerando che, a titolo esemplificativo, nei casi degli architravi del sacello del *Genius* e dei *Lares Augusti* di Capena (inizi I secolo d.C.),[9] del sacello (del *Genius*?) e dei *Lares Augusti* di Cori (inizi I secolo d.C.)[10] del sacello di *Histonium*[11] e dell'augusteo di *Falerii Novi* (giulio-claudio),[12] tali edifici colonnati, con architravi alti circa la metà di quello in esame,[13] presentano anche iscrizioni con lettere di dimensioni proporzionalmente ridotte, che dovevano teoricamente risultare leggibili ad altezze (calcolate per le colonne complete) di poco più di 15 piedi. Facendo invece riferimento ad alcuni archi trionfali di età augustea, si riscontra che ad altezze da terra superiori (anche doppie rispetto a quelle ipotizzate per il monumento in studio),[14] l'altezza delle lettere in alcuni casi aumenta in proporzione, in altri di poco o affatto (*tabella*); se ne desume che l'iscrizione alifana, con lettere di 14 e 12 cm, dovesse presentare almeno teoricamente dimensioni tali da essere considerata leggibile ad un'altezza anche superiore ai 20 piedi.

Nelle murature di epoca medioevale della porta Volturno (o porta Fiume) del recinto urbano è visibile un blocco calcareo parallelepipedo reimpiegato (spessore cm 33, ampiezza cm 66, altezza non rilevabile) di cui si vede la sola faccia superiore con due incassi laterali per grappe - *fig. 19*), molto simile per dimensioni e caratteristiche al blocco liscio reimpiegato nella sepoltura presso l'anfiteatro, mentre nel rifacimento medioevale della torre di sinistra della stessa porta è murato un frammento di fregio in calcare con armi e trofei che sembra accostabile a tale gruppo di elementi (*fig. 18*):

- Blocco parallelepipedo in calcare (cm 80+; 43,5; 27) fratto sul lato sinistro e privo di parte del listello superiore e dell'estremità destra del campo figurato residuo, fronte articolata in due listelli aggettanti (superiore h cm 3, inferiore

Tabella. Confronto tra altezza da terra delle iscrizioni ed altezza delle lettere.

Monumenti	**Altezza iscrizione da terra (in piedi)**	**Altezza lettere**	
		Centimetri	***digiti***
Arco di Rimini	50-56	35; 20	18 *digiti*; *palmus maior* (12 *digiti*)
Arco aziaco	42-45	22	*palmus maior* (12 *digiti*)
Arco di Susa	40-45	23; 14	*palmus maior* (12 *digiti*) *semipes* (8)
Arco di Fano	35-40	30; 24	*pes* (16 *digiti*); 13 *digiti*
Arco di Pola	34-36,5	15 10?	*semipes* (8 *digiti*)
Arco di Alife	20-21,5	14; 12	*semipes* (8 *digiti*); 7 *digiti*
Sacello di Capena	15-16,5	9; 7,5; 6,5	5 *digiti*; *palmus* (4 *digiti*); 3 *digiti*
Sacello di Histonium	15-16,5	7,5; 4,5	*palmus* (4); 3 *digiti*
Sacello di Cori	15-16,5	9,5; 5,5; 5,5	5 *digiti*; 3 *digiti*
Augusteo di Falerii Novi	15-16,5	6	3 *digiti*

h cm 4,5) che racchiudono un fregio a rilievo con trofei di armi, superficie liscia con leggera gradina; fianco integro e piani di posa e di attesa non visibili, retro irregolare.[15]

Il fregio, che presenta stessa altezza e lavorazione dei blocchi con cornice a fasce,[16] mostra caratteristiche iconografiche che si distaccano dal repertorio normalmente riscontrabile negli edifici privati (sepolcri) e che risultano maggiormente coerenti con un edificio pubblico.[17]

Nell'ambito dell'architettura romana di età repubblicana ed augustea, nell'ordine ionico, e nel corinzio che ne riprende le forme della trabeazione, il tipo dell'epistilio a due fasce costituisce una diffusa variante del più noto tipo a tre fasce, codificato negli scritti di Vitruvio;[18] il canone vitruviano sembra imporsi, almeno nell'architettura pubblica, solo in età augustea avanzata; è in tale periodo infatti che si generalizza l'uso dell'architrave a tre fasce con coronamento a gola rovescia sormontato da listello.[19]

Di contro il tipo dell'architrave a due fasce, che nasce e si sviluppa dal quarto al primo secolo a.C. nell'area di cultura ellenistica (Macedonia, Asia Minore, area siro-palestinese, Nabatea, Cipro, Egitto, Sicilia, Italia meridionale),[20] risulta particolarmente attestato in area italica, sia nei monumenti pubblici che nei sepolcri, in età medio - tardo repubblicana e augustea, rimanendo più sporadicamente in uso, soprattutto nell'architettura sepolcrale, per buona parte del primo secolo fino almeno in età tardo neroniano - protoflavia, per poi tornare in auge anche nell'architettura pubblica in età adrianea.[21]

Per le proporzioni interne tra i vari elementi della trabeazione con architrave a due fasce non sono pervenute notizie in merito all'eventuale redazione di un canone, che però doveva sussistere, secondo logica per confronto con il canone vitruviano e giudicando dalla casistica nota: in seguito all'esame di un campione abbastanza ampio di epistili pertinenti ad edifici pubblici e a monumenti privati (case e sepolcri), si può evincere da un lato la ricezione modulare del modello teorizzato per la trabeazione canonica vitruviana con architrave a tre fasce, dall'altro la diffusa tendenza all'equivalenza tra le altezze di architrave e fregio; ambedue le soluzioni presentano interessanti collegamenti con il mondo ellenistico, portando così a presupporre la formazione di due canoni paralleli fedelmente seguiti dagli architetti romani.[22]

Traendo quindi le dovute conclusioni, pur con tutte le cautele del caso, non sembra fuori luogo l'attribuzione del frammento di fregio descritto al complesso in esame. Si deve però rilevare che il fregio, per le caratteristiche iconografiche, non è coevo all'iscrizione, ma risulterebbe di alcuni decenni più antico; pertanto qualora si accettasse l'attribuzione ad un medesimo monumento, ne deriverebbe o un notevole attardamento culturale dei lapicidi locali, oppure si dovrebbe concludere che su un monumento pubblico eretto in età triumvirale, all'atto della fondazione della colonia o poco dopo, sarebbe stata successivamente apposta una dedica ad Augusto negli anni tra l'1 a.C. e l'1 d.C (sull'argomento si tornerà oltre).

Infine sembra plausibile associare, sia pure in via di ipotesi, all'insieme illustrato due conci d'arco di epoca romana reimpiegati nel rifacimento medioevale della porta orientale del circuito murario urbano (porta Napoli; *figg. 20-22*):[23]

- Concio d'arco in calcare (altezza ghiera cm 84+, larghezze agli estremi 58 e 37; spessore 74) scheggiato e mutilo del lato curvo interno, fronte decorata con tre fasce sormontate da cornice a gola rovescia e listello; superficie liscia con gradina molto leggera; altre facce non visibili (*figg. 20-21*).
- Concio d'arco in calcare come il precedente (cm 88, larghezze agli estremi 58 e 37; spessore 74) molto scheggiato e mutilo della faccia frontale (*fig. 22*).

Tali elementi sono relativi ad un arco originario con luce di circa metri 3,4-3,6 (12 piedi romani), composto da quindici conci uguali[24] dell'ampiezza di cm 88 (3 piedi), ciascuno con un settore d'arco di 12°, per il quale in base a confronti con edifici consimili (archi onorari e porte urbiche) sembra plausibile una datazione in età augustea o comunque primo imperiale; la misura della luce corrisponde a quella delle porte del circuito murario romano di Alife e appare quindi logico supporre che nelle fasi edilizie medioevali nelle ghiere possano essere stati reimpiegati i conci delle porte più antiche; a tali complessi sembra di poter attribuire anche gli epistili ed il fregio già trattati.

La decorazione a tre fasce e cornice risulta quasi canonica nelle ghiere degli archi trionfali, ma la scarsa luce dell'arco sconsiglia l'attribuzione dei pezzi in esame a tale classe di monumenti; di contro tale decorazione appare elemento meno comune ma non raro nelle ghiere d'arco delle porte urbiche.[25] Si deve comunque rilevare che appare anomala la diversa decorazione a tre fasce rispetto a quella a due fasce dell'architrave iscritta, in quanto nella maggior parte dei casi sia nelle porte urbiche ornate che negli archi trionfali queste due partizioni architettoniche presentano un

identico apparato decorativo,[26] anche se sono comunque documentati casi con differenti soluzioni nelle due parti.[27]

Sembra comunque opportuno considerare che la particolare decorazione del fregio presenta scarsi confronti con le porte monumentalizzate: per esempio nel caso di *Ariminum* si è notato come il riferimento del monumento al programma urbanistico civile e non ad un fatto militare o trionfale avesse comportato l'attenuazione, quasi la scomparsa, del repertorio iconografico di tipo tropaico, relegato nei lacunari del cassettonato[28] e che anche nei casi in cui tale repertorio appare maggiormente enfatizzato, come nella porta di *Saepinum*,[29] questo si presenta in tono ridotto. Solo nella porta urbica di Langres, databile ai primi decenni del I secolo d.C. (sia pure con dubbi), compare sull'architrave a tre fasce un fregio con scudi ed armi offensive.[30]

Purtroppo in tutte e quattro le porte del recinto murario di Alife la soprastruttura originale è del tutto scomparsa.[31] Nella ricostruzione medievale di Porta Napoli i conci dell'arco romano sono stati riposizionati all'altezza di m 1,52 dal piano di campagna attuale (*figg. 23-24*), ma ciò che resta delle mura romane non raggiunge tale quota; infatti, nel settore apparentemente meglio conservato, il piedritto sinistro, la muratura, costituita in facciata da blocchi antichi legati con malta e nella parte retrostante da una cortina disordinata di piccoli scapoli di calcare e spezzoni di tegole, è chiaramente relativa ad un intervento postclassico; solo il primo filare in basso, che emerge per 55 cm dal piano di campagna moderno, risulta attribuibile alla fase originaria del complesso. Il piano di spiccato della controporta, rilevato in un sondaggio effettuato all'interno delle mura, si trova a m -1,70/1,78 dal piano stradale attuale,[32] e pertanto lo stipite della porta risulta conservato per almeno m 2,25-2,33; nella porta occidentale (porta Roma), ove l'interro è minore e le murature originali sono totalmente in luce fino al piano di spiccato sul lato sinistro (*fig. 26*), escludendo l'ultimo filare di blocchetti di minori dimensioni legati con malta,[33] si evidenzia un'altezza di almeno m 2,30.

La porta è ampia 12 piedi (m 3,55), e sembra plausibile un'altezza al colmo della luce dell'arco di 18 piedi (m 5,32) con un rapporto di 2:3; gli stipiti avrebbero così un'altezza di 12 piedi e la costruzione geometrica sarebbe rappresentata da un quadrato con un triangolo isoscele sovrapposto con base pari al lato del quadrato ed altezza pari a metà. La ghiera dell'arco misura 3 piedi (m 0,88) e immediatamente sopra questa, come da molteplici confronti, doveva correre l'eventuale trabeazione, ad un'altezza di 21 piedi (m 6,21); è possibile peraltro una riduzione nell'altezza degli stipiti a 11 piedi (m 5,02), e di conseguenza della luce della porta al colmo a 11 piedi (m 3,25), in consonanza con l'altezza teorica dell'architrave a 20 piedi da terra (m 5,91) (*figg. 25, 27*).

Conseguentemente a quanto esposto in precedenza, sia pure a livello di ipotesi, si potrebbe ricostruire almeno parzialmente lo schema progettuale delle quattro porte dell'originario circuito murario di Alife; inserite tra due torri a pianta rettangolare distanti tra loro 30 piedi, tra due tratti murari ampi fino agli stipiti 9 piedi e con luce ampia 12 piedi, presentavano un'altezza al colmo della luce di 17-18 piedi; a 20-21 piedi di altezza era una cornice ionica con architrave a due fasce e fregio ornato con armi e trofei.

A questo punto, tornando all'iscrizione, sembra possibile che questa sia stata apposta solo in un secondo momento su una delle porte e pertanto sarebbe relativa ad uno specifico evento verificatosi negli anni 1 a.C.-1 d.C. L'epigrafia alifana offre per tale periodo un solo indizio derivante dal cippo miliare conservato a Masseria Cegna (Ailano - CE) tra i ruderi dell'abbazia di S. Maria in Cingla: *imp(erator) Caesar divi f(ilius) Aug(ustus) / pontif(ex) maxum(us), co(n)s(ul) XIII, / tribunic(ia) potest(as) / (milia passuum) XII.*[34] Il testo corrisponde a quello di altri cippi miliari distribuiti sulla viabilità che dalla via Latina transitava per Venafro ed Isernia.[35]

Nei miliari la *tribunicia potestas* non è mai specificata, con i dati a disposizione la cronologia si inquadra tra il XIII consolato del 2 a.C. e la morte di Augusto nel 14 d.C.; la corrispondenza degli elementi dei due testi potrebbe suggerirne l'attribuzione ad un medesimo evento, che nel caso potrebbe essere individuato con la sistemazione del raccordo stradale per Alife da Venafro e quindi dalla regolarizzazione dei collegamenti con Roma.

L'intervento augusteo dovette poi ampliarsi negli anni successivi oltre Isernia, come risulta dai testi di altri due miliari sulla via *Sulmo-Aequum Tuticum* datati agli anni 3-4 e 9-10 d.C.[36]

Il fatto che la distanza del miliario di Masseria Cegna sia relativa ad un collegamento breve, mentre negli altri miliari è data la distanza da Roma,[37] individua una strada locale, verosimilmente '*a Venafro Allifas*';[38] su tale percorso l'area di Masseria Cegna dista da Venafro circa 18 chilometri corrispondenti alle XII miglia del miliario.[39]

Seguendo tale ipotesi sembra possibile che una delle porte della città, presumibilmente l'occidentale verso Venafro (od. Porta Roma), sia stata dedicata ad Augusto come ringraziamento della comunità

per l'atto di evergetismo, come una sorta di arco trionfale, anche se nel testo ricostruito non compare alcun riferimento alla motivazione della dedica come invece nell'arco di Rimini relativo alla sistemazione della via Flaminia;[40] qualora tale costruzione risultasse corretta nella parte finale dell'iscrizione in esame potrebbe anche trovare posto una formula dedicatoria finale abbreviata.[41]

Tale ipotesi ricostruttiva, pur fondata esclusivamente su ipotesi e indizi, giustifica il fatto che un'iscrizione dedicatoria di tale importanza sia stata iscritta sulle fasce dell'architrave e non sul fregio o in un'apposita tabella in posizione più autorevole; in nessun arco onorario noto appare un'iscrizione dedicatoria originaria sulle fasce dell'architrave[42] e lo stesso si riscontra anche nelle porte urbiche; sull'architrave sono relegate di solito le iscrizioni accessorie o quelle posteriori come nella Porta Esquilina a Roma, nella porta di Fano o nell'arco di Bara.[43]

Lo stesso si riscontra nella maggior parte degli edifici augustei e posteriori[44] e in età repubblicana, nel santuario di Palestrina;[45] a *Falerii Novi* un edificio (portico?) presenta la fronte dell'architrave unificata in un'unica tabella scorniciata iscritta.[46]

Solo pochi monumenti si distaccano da tale regola; il tempio circolare di Tivoli, ove le fasce sono certamente unificate nel campo epigrafico e il fregio è riccamente scolpito,[47] e un architrave al museo di Amelia, con una probabile dedica a Livia Augusta, relativo ad un sacello circolare verosimilmente con fregio ornato.[48] In tali monumenti, edifici sacri a pianta circolare, l'area del fregio era occupata (in un caso dubitativamente) dalla ricca decorazione e l'iscrizione era apposta sull'architrave.[49]

A sostegno di una tale ipotesi è un ulteriore mosaico da una *domus* alifana,[50] oggetto di un recente studio, nel quale sono raffigurate alcune porte urbiche che presentano la peculiare particolarità iconografica di un timpano monumentale tra il secondo piano a galleria ed il coronamento merlato (*fig. 28*), lasciando ipotizzare che il mosaicista possa essere stato ispirato dalla realtà monumentale delle porte della colonia.[51]

In particolare tale iconografia porta a riconsiderare la possibilità della presenza di un frontone ornamentale sul coronamento di tale tipologia architettonica; il timpano triangolare, rappresentato nei disegni rinascimentali delle porte di Spello e Ravenna,[52] era stato rigettato, almeno nel primo caso, come supposta integrazione degli artisti.[53] Il mosaico alifano testimonia inequivocabilmente la presenza del timpano anteposto al coronamento merlato; lo stesso elemento compare nei mosaici di Pola e Avenches.[54]

La presenza di un frontone terminale nelle porte risulta elemento comune in ambiente ellenistico, soprattutto per ingressi santuariali,[55] e il modello viene evidentemente mutuato da tale originaria localizzazione ad alcuni casi di porte urbiche ellenistiche che potrebbero aver costituito un modello per le consimili strutture di epoca romana.

Ma nel caso alifano sembra possibile una diversa origine del tipo architettonico, proponendo di riconoscere nella porta occidentale (Porta Roma) un rifacimento databile tra l'1 a.C. e l'1 d.C. con una monumentalizzazione della struttura che viene dedicata ad Augusto con una fusione tra il tema della porta urbica e quello dell'*arcus triumphalis*, come nel caso dell'Arco di Rimini. Nell'ambito di tale intervento la saracinesca viene arretrata, presumibilmente per l'esigenza di ricavare nella fronte della porta una o più nicchie per l'inserimento di statue dell'imperatore e di altri personaggi;[56] sembra logico che in tale progetto potesse essere inclusa la realizzazione di un coronamento a frontone per completare il prospetto con una valenza di tipo sacrale; la merlatura della prima fase sarebbe rimasta dietro al frontone, come per l'appunto appare nelle vedute del mosaico.[57]

Certo è che l'edificio, o il complesso, cui appartenevano gli elementi architettonici in esame doveva essere ormai privo di funzione in età longobarda, allorquando venne spoliato degli elementi lapidei che furono riutilizzati sia nell'edilizia pubblica che per fini privati; i due pezzi del Museo di Piedimonte provengono infatti dalla chiesa di S. Salvatore,[58] ove erano stati reimpiegati in età longobarda (770-774 d.C.)[59] assieme ad una grande quantità di altri elementi lapidei iscritti provenienti dalla vicina *Allifae*,[60] mentre i due pezzi di recente rinvenimento, come già esposto, erano stati messi in opera in una sepoltura altomedioevale presso l'anfiteatro romano; inoltre i conci d'arco sono stati reimpiegati a Porta Napoli. Tutto ciò considerato non appare improbabile supporre che i pezzi in esame potessero provenire dalle porte della città, i conci d'arco e gli elementi nella tomba presso l'anfiteatro dalla porta orientale (Porta Napoli) il fregio forse dalla stessa porta (ove sono reimpiegati anche pezzi del mausoleo c.d. degli *Acilii Glabriones* fuori Porta Napoli) o dalla porta meridionale (porta Fiume) gli altri pezzi, iscritti, presumibilmente dalla porta occidentale (Porta Roma). Tale costruzione spiegherebbe anche il differente profilo delle modanature che caratterizza l'architrave rinvenuto presso l'anfiteatro, che presenta fasce superior-

mente rastremate con fronte obliqua, rispetto agli altri due elementi iscritti[61] nei quali le fasce sono a piombo; lievi differenze di dimensioni e profilo si riscontrano anche nella cornice (*fig. 11*), tali da suggerire la presenza di diverse strutture con consimile aspetto.

Note

* Fotografie e disegni, quando non diversamente specificato, dell'autore. Un ringraziamento è dovuto al prof. Giuseppe Camodeca per le critiche, i consigli e i suggerimenti con i quali ha seguito il lavoro.

1 Le due sepolture sono state presentate da L. Rendina, L. Di Cosmo, Nuove sepolture altomedievali dall'area dell'anfiteatro di Alife, in *Esperienze di ricerche in Campania* (Atti del I seminario di archeologia postclassica Santa Maria Capua Vetere 23-24 marzo 2011), in corso di stampa.

2 *CIL* IX, 2330; Mancini 1968, 86-87; Buonocore 1998, 46-50; *AE* 1998, 00401; Mancini 1997, 148-151; 2005, 109, n. 12; Isabella 2007, 125-127.

3 Cfr. bibliografia alla nota precedente.

4 Con una più stretta consonanza con i testi dei miliari augustei, cfr. *infra*. Si deve però ricordare che il blocco di architrave anepigrafe, completo, presenta una lunghezza di cm 111,5, forse con un'ampiezza teorica di 4 piedi (cm 118) meno lo sfrido, e che pertanto tale ricostruzione deve considerarsi del tutto congetturale.

5 Vitr. *De arch*. 3.5.8-11.

6 Considerando infatti un architrave di 1,5 piedi, l'unico caso in cui la misura teorica della colonna ricadrebbe nei gruppi dimensionali nel diagramma vitruviano (Vitr. *De arch*. 3.5.8) è quello di 19,5, per il gruppo di 15-20 piedi. Un architrave da 1,5 piedi nel sistema da 20 a 25 e da 25 a 30 risulterebbe di dimensioni troppo esigue. Tale rapporto viene rispettato, ad esempio, nell'arco di Susa (De Maria 1988, n. 110).

7 Gros 2001b, 497-498.

8 Con un rapporto h colonna / h trabeazione di 4,33; ipotizzando una trabeazione completa di 4 piedi il rapporto dimensionale passa a 4,84, molto al di fuori dello standard che sembra attestarsi al di sotto di 4,5 (Gros 2001b, 497-498) mentre in età repubblicana il rapporto appare molto superiore (Schenk 1997, 67). Invece, secondo il canone vitruviano, il modulo è dato dall'imoscapo della colonna e l'architrave non è mai superiore a 1,68 del modulo, con un rapporto tra l'altezza della colonna e l'altezza di tutta la trabeazione (cimasa inclusa) di 5,95 (Vitr. *De arch*. 3.5.8-11; Gros 2001b, 498). In alcuni archi trionfali di età augustea e primo imperiale il rapporto appare coerente: Rimini 5,12; Susa 4,68; Pola 3,8; Orange 4,6 (misure approssimate sulla base dei rilievi editi). Diversa la situazione negli edifici di età repubblicana, con rapporti di 1,76 (tempio rotondo di Tivoli) e 1,73 (tempio rotondo del Tevere) ancora maggiore per gli edifici con ordine corinzio ed architrave dorico (Schenk 1997, 67), mentre in area greca e microasiatica il rapporto si aggira attorno a 2 (Schenk 1997, 67).

9 Papi 1994, 150 e figg. 2, 6; *AE* 1994, 624; blocco unico per architrave e fregio, iscrizione sull'architrave e sul fregio, h. 45, fregio 22, fascia inf. 7, fascia sup. 10, cornice 6.

10 Brandizzi Vitucci 1968, 97 e 98 fig. 196; *CIL*, X 6516; blocco unico per architrave e fregio, iscrizione sull'architrave e sul fregio, h. 36?, fregio 14,5?, fascia inf. 8,5?, fascia sup. 9?, cornice 5?

11 Buoncore 1983, 162, n. 2; blocco unico per architrave e fregio, h. 44, fregio 21?, fascia inf. 7,5?, fascia sup. 7,5?, cornice 8?

12 Di Stefano Manzella 1981, 146-148; *CIL*, XI 3183; blocco unico per architrave e fregio, iscrizione sull'architrave, h. 45?, fregio 24?, fascia inf. 7,5?, fascia sup. 8?, cornice 5?

13 Le misure sono espresse in piedi, il punto di domanda indica le ricostruzioni teoriche; i diversi monumenti, forse tutti legati al culto del *Genius Augusti* o di Augusto stesso, corrispondono indiscutibilmente ad una progetto dimensionale standardizzato, i rapporti corrispondono a quanto previsto da Vitruvio nel caso del tempio picnostilo.

monumenti	HA	HC	HCA	DBC
sacello di Capena	¾	15?	1,5	1,5
sacello di Histonium	¾	15?	1,5?	1,5?
sacello di Cori	¾	15?	1,5?	1,5?
augusteo di Falerii Novi	¾	15?	1,5?	1,5?

HA: altezza architrave; HC: colonna; HCA: altezza capitello; DBC: diametro base colonna

14 L'altezza della colonna in tale classe di monumenti risulta ininfluente in quanto in tutti i casi presi in esame l'ordine spicca da un alto podio che aumenta sensibilmente l'altezza da terra dell'iscrizione.

15 Merolla 1964, 42; Villucci 1990, 156; Caiazza 1995, fig. 100; Caiazza 2001, 154, fig. 50.

16 Le altezze dell'architrave e del fregio descritto oltre risultano in linea con quelle degli archi di Orange, Rimini, Susa (di poco superiori), e corrispondono a quelle dell'arco di Pola e dell'arco aziaco del foro romano (ricostruzione Gatti).

17 Anticipo in quest'ambito parte delle conclusioni di uno studio in corso di prossima pubblicazione, da parte di Stefania Tuccinardi che ringrazio ancora per la cortesia, per i proficui scambi di opinioni e per i consigli datimi nel corso del presente studio, oltre che per l'accurato studio del fregio alifano, materia troppo distante dalla mia personale formazione specialistica.

18 Vitr. *De arch*. 3.5.10.

19 Gros 2001a, 161.

20 Grobel Miller 1973, 202-207; von Sydow 1977, 284; Pensabene 1993, 87; von Sydow 1984, 322-324. Molti degli esempi di epistili a due fasce menzionati nella bibliografia (tomba macedone da Lefkadia, *Leonidaion* ad Olimpia, Tempio L di Epidauro, sepolcri lici e carii, *propyla* di *Labraunda*, altare del tempio di Atena a Priene, stoà del santuario di Atena *Poliàs* a Pergamo, edificio di *Laodike* a Mileto, casa 'dell'Ermete' a Delo, cornici dal Quartiere Reale e sepolcro ipogeo da Alessandria, sepolcro di Butera, rilievo da Taranto, ipogeo dei Cristallini di Napoli) sono relativi a trabeazioni prive del fregio: sugli architravi in quasi tutti i casi si impostano direttamente i dentelli.

21 A prescindere dalle attestazioni di età precedente (in particolare i templi di Atena al Sounion e di Apollo a *Bassae*. Grobel Miller 1973, 202-207; von Sydow 1977, 284; von Sydow 1984, 324; Pensabene 1993, 87), vedi P. Pensabene in Calza et alii 1977, 328, n. 420, nota 1; von Sydow 1977, 284; Pensabene 1993, 88; von Sydow 1984, 322-324; Montanari 2009, 48.

22 L'argomento verrà trattato più dettagliatamente in altra sede; si presentano in quest'ambito le conclusioni che possono interessare il caso in esame.

23 In età medioevale sembra possibile che l'intero arco fosse stato realizzato reimpiegando conci di un monumento romano; a seguito di eventi traumatici di tale intervento sono rimasti in opera solo i due conci di base mentre la parte superiore della porta attualmente visibile è relativa ad un rifacimento di età postmedievale.

24 15 conci si riscontrano anche nella porta Gemina di Ascoli, dell'arco di *Carsulae*, dell'arco centrale della porta Pretoria di Aosta; il numero dei conci negli archi monumentali (porte ed archi trionfali) tende a variare presumibilmente in relazione con la qualità della pietra impiegata e con la luce dell'apertura. Dai 31 dell'arco di Augusto ad Aosta, 29 nell'arco centrale della Porta Pretoria di Aosta, 25 dell'arco di Rimini, 23 nell'arco centrale della porta di Fano, 21 dell'arco centrale della porta Consolare di Spello e di porta Benevento di Sepino, 19 dell'arco centrale dell'arco di Orange, 17 di porta Tammaro e di porta Boiano di Sepino, dell'arco centrale della porta di Augusto di Nîmes e dell'arco di Fano, della porta di Tarragona, dell'arco di Bara 13 della porta di di Saint–André ad Autun, nell'arco centrale della porta di Colonia, nella porta dei Leoni di Verona, nella porta di Carmona o nell''Arco di Druso' sull'Appia, degli archi laterali dell'arco di Orange, nell'arco di Saintes, 11 dell'Arco dei Gavi a Verona, dell'arco centrale di porta Venere e dell'arco laterale di porta Consolare di Spello, ai 9 negli archi laterali di porta Venere di Spello della porta di Augusto a Nîmes, 7 negli archi laterali della porta di Fano (osservazioni dirette autore; Matteini Chiari 1982; Rebecchi 1987; De Maria 1988, nn. 3, 11, 21, 91, 113; Gros 2001a, figg. 21, 37, 39, 55, 60, 64).

25 Trento porta *Veronensis*, Aosta porta Pretoria, Verona porte Leoni e Borsari, Autun porta di Saint–André, Rimini arco di Augusto (due fasce e cornice) e Colonia (Mangani, Rebecchi, Strazzulla 1993, 185; Rebecchi 1987, 149, fig. 25; Lugli 1957, tav. LXXVI, 2-3; tav LXXV, 2; Rebecchi 1987, 130 fig. 1 e 149 fig. 26; De Maria 1988, n. 48; Gros 2001a, 42 fig. 21).

26 Per esempio, nei casi dell'arco di Rimini e della Porta Esquilina di Roma (c.d. arco di Gallieno) ad un architrave a due fasce corrisponde una decorazione a due fasce nei conci d'arco; nei casi degli archi di Susa, Pola e a Roma del c.d. arco di Druso e dell'arco aziaco sia l'architrave che l'arco presentano cornice a tre fasce; nell'arco di Bara cornice e arco presentano un'unica fascia (De Maria 1988, nn. 33, 48, 56, 91, 93, 110; Gros 2001a, fig. 55).

27 Nell'arco di Saintes la cornice degli archi presenta una soluzione differente rispetto a quella dell'architrave; nell'arco Partico a Roma (ricostruzione Gamberini Mongenet) l'architrave è a tre fasce e la cornice dell'arco a due, mentre nell'arco di Augusto ad Aosta l'architrave presenta un fregio dorico, i piedritti una cornice ionica a due fasce e l'arco un'anomala partizione che sembra riproporre la curvatura di una trabeazione ionica con architrave a due fasce, cornice, fregio e cornicione; nella porta di Fano l'architrave presenta tre fasce, l'arco una sola e i piedritti due; nella porta di Saint-André ad Autun archi ed architrave del primo livello presentano cornici a tre fasce, nel secondo livello a due fasce (Gros 2001a, figg. 39-40; 48-49, 64; De Maria 1988, nn. 3, 21, 59).

28 Gualandi 1979, 112.

29 Gualandi 1979, 115.

30 Polito 1998, 154-155.

31 Sulle porte romane di Alife, Miele 2007, 192-194 con bibliografia precedente.

32 Miele 2001, 36-39.

33 Che peraltro nell'archivolto interno interrompono le ampie scanalature per la chiusura a saracinesca.

34 Mancini 1998, 148, n. 182; Mancini 2002.

35 Donati 1974, nn. 37-38; Caiazza 2010, 77-83. *IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. AUG. / PONTIF. MAXIM. COS. XIII / TRIBUNIC. POTEST[at] / [CX]* (Donati 37); *IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. AUG. / PONTIF. MAXIM. COS. XIII / TRIBUNIC. POTESTAT.* (Donati 38); *[i]MP. CAESAR DI[vi f. Aug.] / COS. XI TR. POTESTA[te] / EX S. C.* (Caiazza 2010); *IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. AUG. / PONTIF. MAX. C[os]. XIII / TR[ibunic. P]OTE[stat]* (Caiazza 2010).

36 Donati 1974, nn. 41-42; G. De Benedittis, *La Provincia Samnii e la viabilità romana* (Quaderni dell'Associazione 4), Isernia 2010, 41-56. *IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. AUG. / [PONTIF.] MAXIM. COS. XIII / TRIB. POTESTAT. XXVI / CXX* (Donati 41); *[IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. AUG.] / PONTIFEX [MAXIM.] / TRIB. POTESTAT. XXXII COS. [XIII] / CXXI* (Donati 1974, n. 42). Al grupppo sembra affine un miliario sulla via Esernia Boviano di problematica lettura: *[---]HR[---]SV / AUG. PONT. MAX. / CXVIIII* (Donati 1974, n. 40) (forse [I]MP. [CAE]SAR [DIVI F.] / AUG ecc.).

37 Miglia [CX], CXX, CXXI, CXVIIII, Donati 1974, nn. 37-38, 40-42.

38 E forse oltre, per *Telesia* e *Beneventum*.

39 Seguendo il percorso della linea ferroviaria fino all'altezza di Mastrati, quindi valicando il Volturno e costeggiando le pendici meridionali di Monte Cappella fino al Lete e a Masseria Cegna (cfr. Caiazza 2010, 84-86).

40 De Maria 1988, 260-262, n. 48; *CIL*, XI 365.

41 Del tipo *s(enatus) p(opulus)q(ue) A(llifanus)* o *ex s(enatus) c(onsulto)* o consimile. In tal caso si dovrebbe ipotizzare anche una diversa formula al posto del troppo esteso *pat[ri patriae]*, forse *pat[(ri) patr(iae)…*

42 Eccetto forse che nell'arco di Filippi (De Maria 1979, 76 e fig. 29), tra i più antichi dell'epoca augustea e comunque ancora attribuibile ad una fase fluida di formazione del tipo architettonico, che presenta l'iscrizione, in lettere applicate, sull'architrave a tre fasce opportunamente lasciato liscio nell'area del campo epigrafico.

43 De Maria 1988, nn. 21, 93; Gros 2001a, 72 e fig. 55.

44 Capena, sacello del *Genius* e dei *Lares Augusti* (inizi I secolo d.C.) (Papi 1994, 150 e figg. 2, 6; *AE* 1994, 624). Amelia, museo, dal teatro (augusteo?) (Matteini Chiari, Stopponi 1996, 55, n. 17; Tarchi 2000, tav. CCXXVIII; *CIL* XI 4383). Appia, Casale di Roma vecchia (augusteo) (*CIL*, VI, 883*; Imagines, Roma 2*, 3422). *Histonium*, sacello (culto imperiale?) (prima età imperiale) (Buonocore 1983, 162, n. 2). Cori, sacello (del *Genius*?) e dei *Lares Augusti* (inizi I secolo d.C.) (Brandizzi Vitucci 1968, 97 e 98 fig. 196; *CIL*, X 6516). Saturnia, augusteo (15/16 d.C.) (Carandini/Cambi 2002, 194, fig. 85; *CIL*, XI 2647). Aquileia, museo (augusteo, giulio-claudio) (Lettich 2003, 309, n. 444). Falerii Novi, augusteo (giulio-claudio) (Di Stefano Manzella 1981, 146-148; *CIL*, XI 3183) (come negli altri augustei sulle fasce sono i nomi dei dedicanti, al centro del fregio, in un'area risparmiata, doveva essere la dedica primaria). Roma, Musei Capitolini, sacello dei *Lares Augusti* (100 d.C.) (*Imagines, Roma* 1, 2174; *CIL*, VI 451; *ILS* 3619).

45 Palestrina, santuario, area sacra (ultimo quarto II secolo a.C.) (Fasolo/Gullini 1953, 40, 272 n. 7 e figg. 58, 362, gruppo

3). Ibid. terrazza emicicli (ultimo quarto II secolo a.C.) (Fasolo/Gullini 1953, 133, 267-268 n. 2 e figg. 199, 352-353, tav. XVIII, 3). Ibid. terrazza della cortina, testata aggettante fronte fornici (ultimo quarto II secolo a.C.) (Fasolo/Gullini 1953, 173, 176-177, 267, 270-271, 282 e figg. 262, 269, 350-351, 357 nn. 1, 5).

46 *Falerii Novi*, edificio colonnato non identificato (dopo il 6 d.C.) (Di Stefano Manzella 1981, 138-139, n. 15; *CIL*, XI 3150 + 3105 + 3148b; 3148a) blocchi distinti per architrave e fregio, resta il solo architrave con iscrizione entro tabella corniciata, h. 27.

47 Fine II secolo a.C. Delbrueck 1979, II, 16-22 e tav. XIII.

48 Dopo il 29 d.C.? Matteini Chiari/Stopponi 1996, 48, n. 5; *[---Liv]iae imp(eratoris) [Caesaris Augusti ---] / [---]ens IIII vir [---] CIL*, XI 7833.

49 Forse anche per influsso degli edifici con architrave dorico, ove la zona del fregio, per la caratteristica specificità di rapresentazione dell'apparato strutturale dell'edificio, non può essere occupata dall'iscrizione.

50 Il mosaico è edito in *Alife romana*, 33-39; Miele 2007, 201; Miele 2009, 420-421.

51 Stanco 2014

52 Cfr. Bacchielli 1984, 82-83; Kahler 1935, 172-224.

53 Cfr. nota precedente.

54 Pola, villa urbana sul lato sud-orientale del Foro (Roscino 2001, n. 34, Buzov 2005, 686). Avenches (Roscino 2001, n. 48). Nel caso del pavimento da Cremona, Domus di via Cadolini (Roscino 2001, n. 22; Arslan Pitcher 2013, 13-20) il timpano risulta racchiuso nella volumetria della facciata dell'edificio e deve pertanto intendersi come mero elemento ornamentale in rilievo, come riscontrabile nei monumenti delle Porta Borsari e Porta Leoni a Verona, della porta Aurea a Ravenna, dell'arco di Augusto a Rimini (Rosada 1990, 382-391; Kähler 1935, 172-224; De Maria 1988, n. 48, 260-262), dell'*arcus in Sacra Via summa* nel rilievo degli *Haterii*, forse rifacimento della *Porta Mugonia* (Coarelli 1983, 34, nota 23; De Maria 1988, tav. 72, 2; *LTUR* I, 97, 110; III, 157, 160; IV, 224, 227). Nel caso di Calvatone (*Domus* del Labirinto: Roscino 2001, n. 21, Bursich/Nava 2013, 51-60) l'eventuale presenza dell'elemento risulta dubbia; la terminazione triangolare della sovrastruttura della porta potrebbe anche essere interpretabile come una copertura a falda o a padiglione della torre, come nei mosaici da Cormerod e Conimbriga (Roscino 2001, nn. 42 e 43, San Nicolás Pedraz 2004, 842).

55 Per esempio la porta di *Zeus* ed *Hera* a *Thasos*, o la porta riprodotta nella "terracotta S. Angelo", cfr. Bacchielli 1984, 84-86 con ulteriori confronti. Porte monumentalizzate con l'aggiunta di un timpano risultano comuni in ambiente ellenistico, soprattutto come ingressi santuariali.

56 Solo nella porta Roma si riscontra la presenza nei piedritti della doppia rotaia per la saracinesca; la prima rotaia, più esterna, posta a due piedi romani, dallo spigolo esterno (cm 60 cca) corrisponde perfettamente a quelle delle altre porte; la seconda risulta ulteriormente arretrata di altri due piedi romani (cm 120 circa dallo spigolo esterno); le rotaie sono larghe cm 16-18.

57 Una consimile situazione, con una fusione tra il tema della porta urbica e quello dell'*arcus triumphalis*, si potrebbe ipotizzare anche negli altri casi di porte sormontate da frontone.

58 *CIL* IX, 2330; Mancini 1968, 86-87.

59 Il monastero femminile di S. Salvatore venne fondato nel 770 o poco prima del 774 da Arechi II, duca e principe di Benevento; cfr. Trutta 1776, 397, Gambella 2007, 20.

60 Trutta 1776, 397; *CIL*, IX 2318-2319, 2327, 2329, 2337, 2338, 2342, 2357, 2382, 2383, 2421, 2436a.

61 Secondo la ricostruzione proposta i due frammenti dovrebbero distare tra loro circa 75-80 cm; i due pezzi presentano una sezione lievemente differente, ma tali esigue difformità sembrano riconducibili nell'ambito delle irregolarità della lavorazione artigianale a mano.

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Figure

Fig. 1. Alife, anfiteatro, tomba altomedioevale ricomposta.

Fig. 2. Alife, anfiteatro, tomba altomedioevale ricomposta, cornice reimpiegata.

Fig. 4. Alife, anfiteatro, tomba altomedioevale ricomposta, blocco reimpiegato, fianco con anathyrosis.

Fig. 3. Alife, anfiteatro, tomba altomedioevale ricomposta, blocco reimpiegato.

Fig. 5. Alife, anfiteatro, tomba altomedioevale ricomposta, blocco reimpiegato, piano di attesa.

Fig. 6. Piedimonte, Museo Civico, cornice iscritta, primo frammento.

Fig. 7. Piedimonte, Museo Civico, cornice iscritta, primo frammento, fianco con anathyrosis.

Fig. 8. Piedimonte, Museo Civico, cornice iscritta, secondo frammento.

Fig. 9. Piedimonte, Museo Civico, cornice iscritta, secondo frammento, fianco con anathyrosis.

Fig. 10. Piedimonte, Museo Civico, cornice iscritta, secondo frammento, piano di attesa.

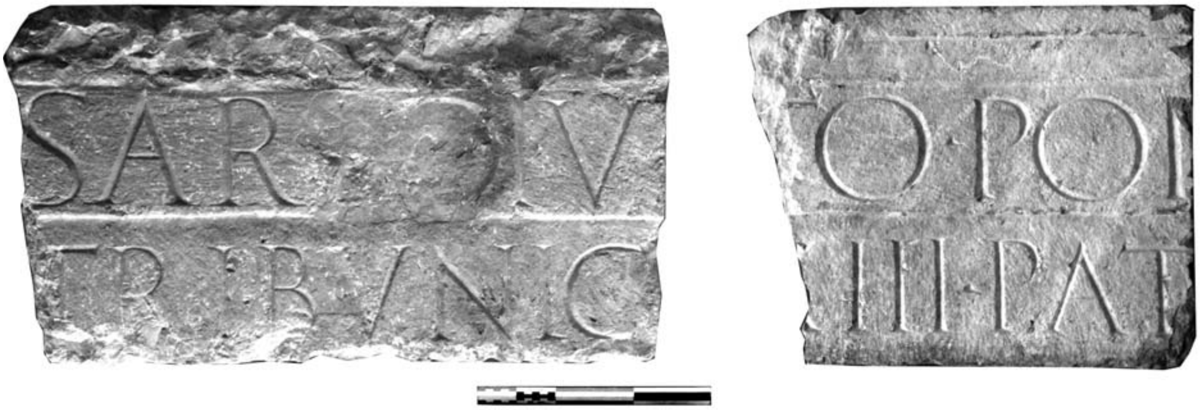

Fig. 11. Piedimonte, Museo Civico, cornice iscritta, i due frammenti dell'iscrizione accostati.

Fig. 12. Piedimonte, Museo Civico, cornice iscritta, ricostruzione dell'iscrizione (da calco a carta carbone con tonalità invertite).

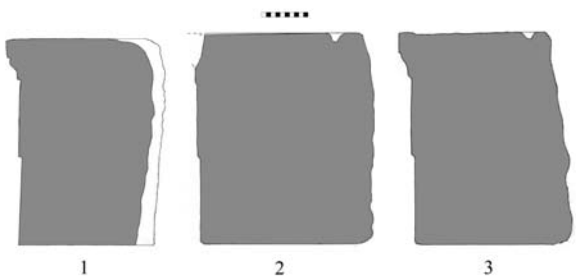

Fig. 13. Alife, anfiteatro e Piedimonte, Museo Civico, sezioni degli architravi.

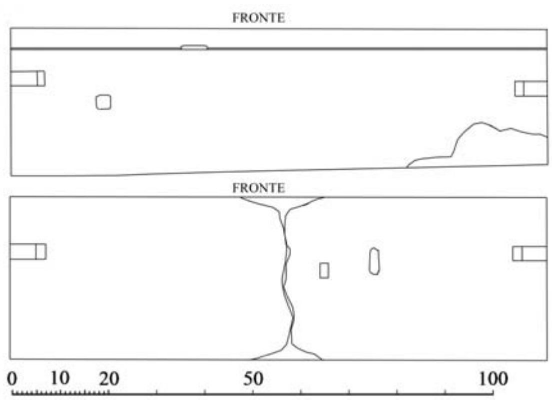

Fig. 14. Alife, anfiteatro, tomba altomedioevale ricomposta, cornice e blocco reimpiegati, piani di attesa.

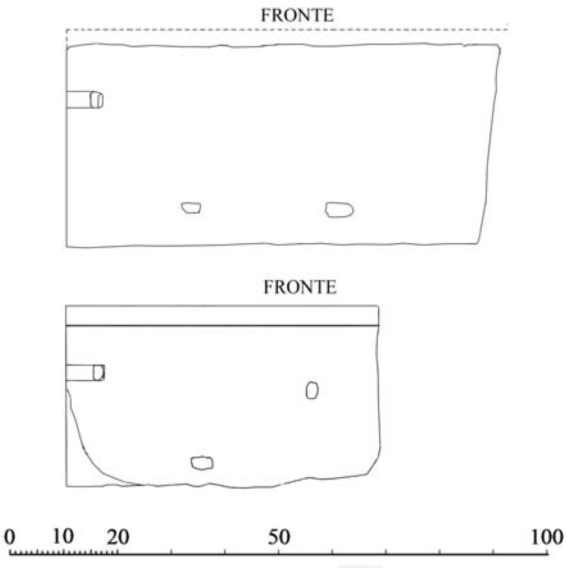

Fig. 15. Piedimonte, Museo Civico, cornice iscritta, piani di attesa dei due frammenti.

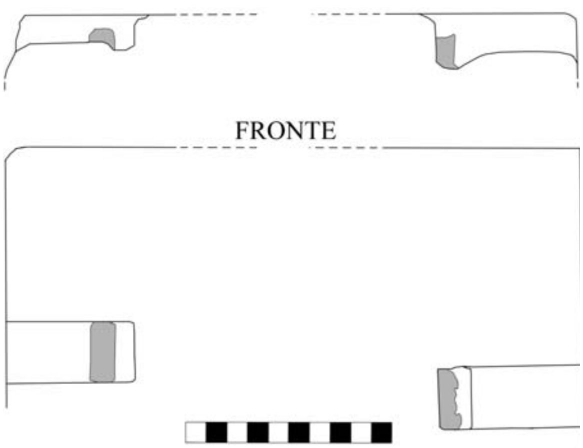

Fig. 16. Alife, anfiteatro, tomba altomedioevale ricomposta, cornice e blocco reimpiegati, particolare degli incassi per grappe; in grigio i residui di piombo.

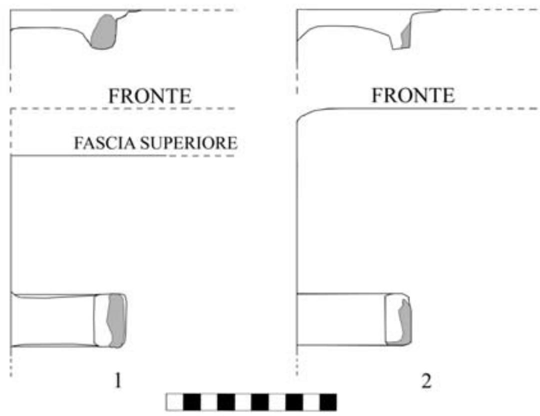

Fig. 17. Piedimonte, Museo Civico, cornice iscritta, particolare degli incassi per grappe; in grigio i residui di piombo.

Fig. 18. Alife, Porta Fiume, torre sinistra, fregio reimpiegato, ripresa dal basso (più contrastata) e da fronte (meno contrastata).

Fig. 19. Alife, Porta Fiume, fianco destro, blocco reimpiegato.

Fig. 22. Alife, Porta Napoli, stipite destro, concio d'arco reimpiegato; la freccia indica la modanatura residua.

Fig. 20. Alife, Porta Napoli, stipite sinistro, concio d'arco reimpiegato.

Fig. 23. Alife, Porta Napoli, veduta; le frecce indicano i due conci d'arco.

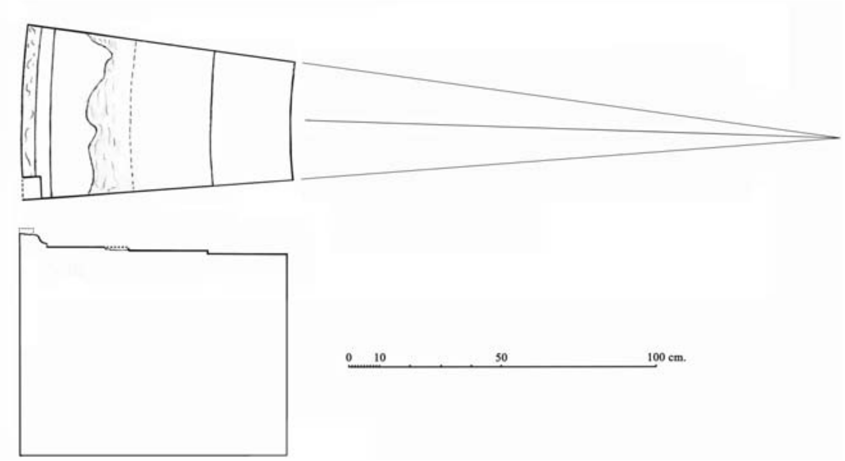

Fig. 21. Alife, Porta Napoli, stipite sinistro, concio d'arco reimpiegato.

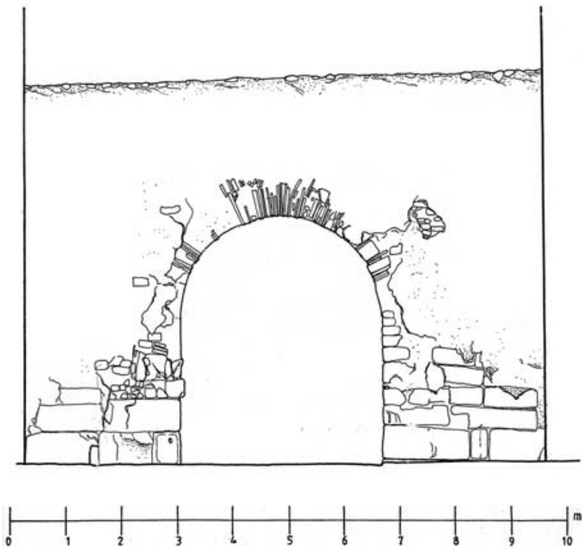

Fig. 24. Alife, Porta Napoli, rilievo situazione esistente (Archivio Disegni Soprintendenza Napoli n. RA/rot. 136, n. 1937).

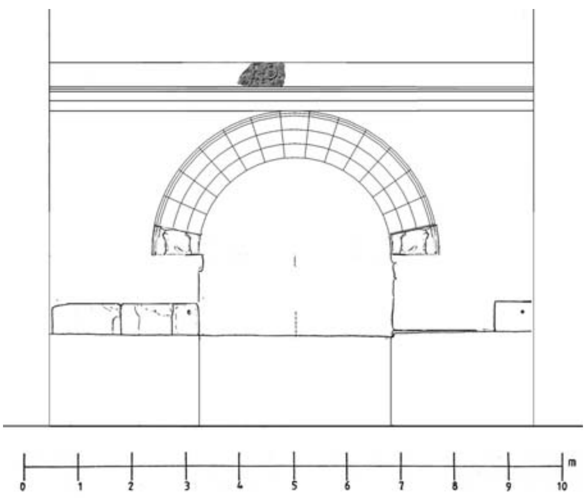

Fig. 25. Alife, Porta Napoli, ricostruzione ipotetica.

Fig. 26. Alife, Porta Roma, veduta.

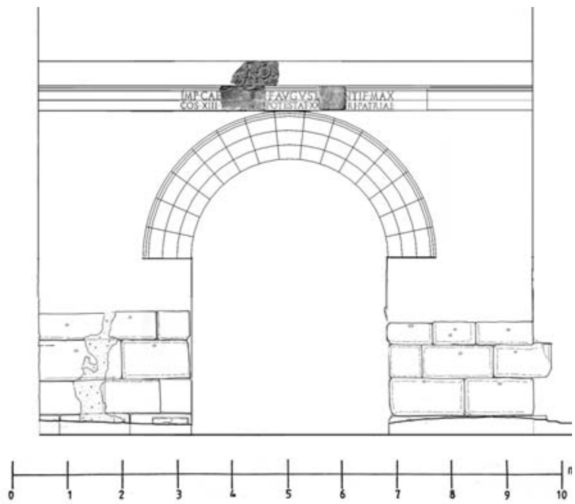

Fig. 27. Alife, Porta Roma, ricostruzione ipotetica (Archivio Disegni Soprintendenza Napoli n. RA/rot. 475, n. 69, rielaborato).

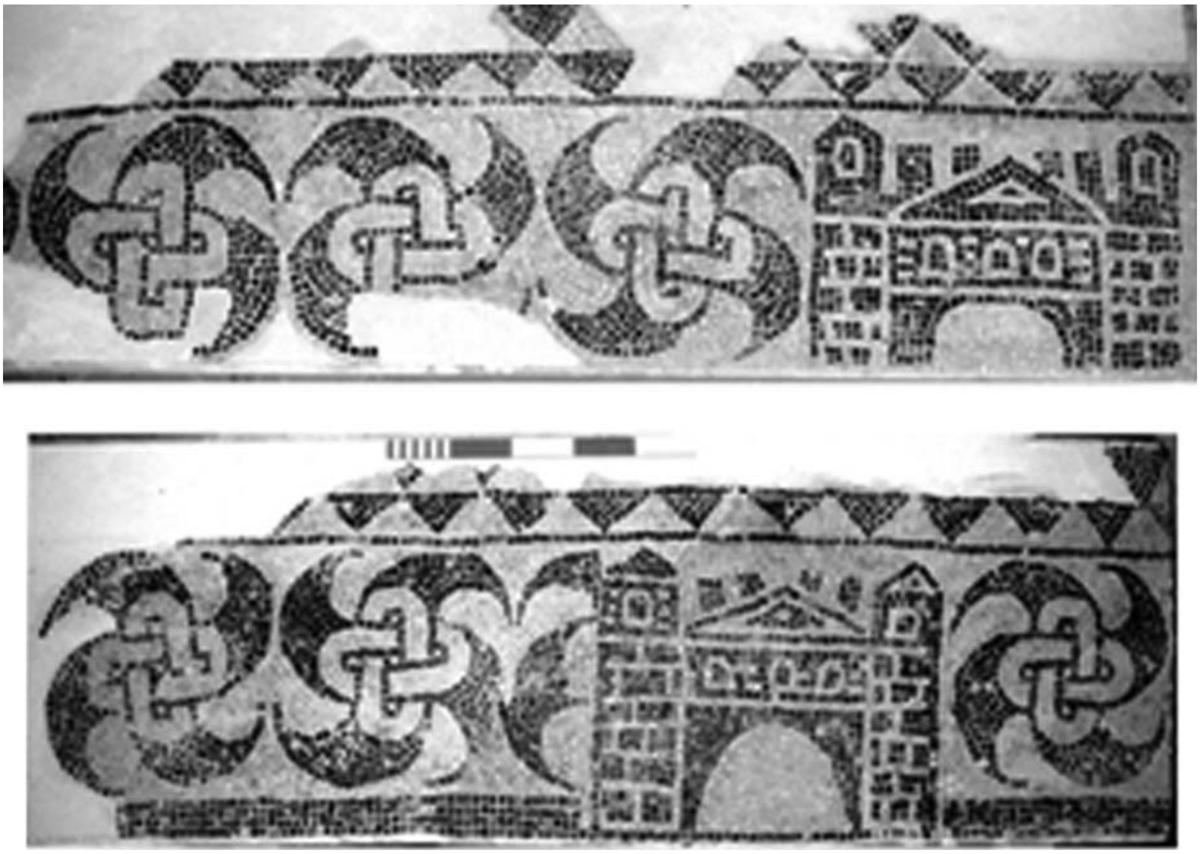

Fig. 28. Alife, mosaico dalla domus di via Roma, sezioni con rappresentazione di porte urbiche.

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A Cantharus from ancient Betar near Jerusalem (the so-called Warren Cup) and Roman Silver Plate

Dyfri Williams

Abstract

*This article examines in detail a Roman silver cantharus, said to be from ancient Betar, near Jerusalem (Palestine), and attempts to set it in its wider material, social and historical contexts. After consideration of the construction and condition, the scenes are discussed and attention drawn to the Greek elements in the iconography of the scenes of homosexual intercourse, especially the hair, which also provides a guide to the age and status of the figures. The possible impact of the iconography on the users of the cantharus, the status of its purchaser, and its final archaeological context are all touched on. Connections between small-scale vessels in various materials are also noted, especially Arretine pottery. Finally, questions are raised about individual craftsmen and workshops, signing and copying, and even chronology.**

Introduction

The silver cantharus said to be from ancient Betar (19th and early 20th centuries Bittir; modern Battir) in Palestine, commonly known as the Warren Cup, has at last quit its earlier, socially required obscurity and entered both the academic and the public worlds, however mutable reactions to its scenes of homosexual intercourse remain (*figs 1-2*). It is first recorded on the antiquities market in 1909 and was purchased by the great collector Edward Perry Warren in 1911. It was first illustrated in 1921 by G. Vorberg but without comment, briefly discussed by C. Vermeule in 1963 and included by D. Strong in his magisterial handbook on Greek and Roman gold and silver plate of 1966.[1]

Fig. 1. Silver cantharus, said to be from Betar (Palestine): side A. London, British Museum GR 1999,0426.1 (photo British Museum).

Fig. 2. Silver cantharus, said to be from Betar (Palestine): side B. London, British Museum GR 1999,0426.1 (photo British Museum).

The acquisition of the cantharus by the American scholar and connoisseur Ariel Herrmann in 1966 eventually brought about its public acceptance. She first placed it on loan in the Basel Antikenmuseum in 1972, although it was not exhibited.[2] The inclusion of an image of a copy of the vessel by Catherine Johns in her *Sex or Symbol* of 1982 signalled a wider interest and growing acceptance of the scenes depicted on it.[3] So, in 1988, when E. Berger suggested it might be put on display in Basel, Herrmann agreed to it being slipped into the new arrangement following the reopening of the Antikenmuseum und Ludwig Sammlung in May of that year.[4] It was, however, its transfer on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1991, urged by the Curator-in-Charge of the Greek and Roman Department, C. Picòn, and its subsequent exhibition in 1992,[5] together with its first full publication in a dedicated article by J.R. Clarke, that caused it to attract real public and scholarly interest.[6] By the late 1990s Clarke had included it in his 1998 book, *Looking at Lovemaking*, and this was followed by a long article from J. Pollini, by which time the vessel itself had left New York and was in a private collection in Oxfordshire, that of Claude Hankes-Drielsma.[7] The vessel's journey finally reached a different level of exposure in May 1999 when it was acquired for the British Museum and immediately placed on permanent public display.[8]

A spectacular example of Roman silver plate, it is one of those very rare antiquities that might be said to challenge us directly, and at all levels, across the centuries. Its scenes not only set problems of interpretation and reception but also invite us to attempt to understand the sexual *mores* of another, much older culture, while at the same time leading us to reassess our own personal attitude to sexual behaviour, conditioned as it is by our own time and society. The controversy continues for, despite successful special exhibitions in London, York and Nottingham, its planned loan to Bolton in 2008 was cancelled on the grounds that 'the subject matter had caused concern among various groups in Bolton, including the Chief Executive of the Council'.[9] Furthermore, it has recently been suggested by two scholars, largely on the basis of their reaction to the iconography and against the scientific and technical evidence, that the vessel is really a forgery (see Appendix). It is, thus, a truly testing object.

In this article, I wish to look at the cantharus again, re-visiting some of the issues raised in my 2006 book for the British Museum, adding new information and more detail, making corrections or adjustments, and engaging with aspects that could not be properly or easily included within the small scale of what was essentially a popular introduction.[10] I also now prefer to refer to it as the Betar cantharus, rather than the 'Warren Cup', since we know something of its ancient, as opposed to modern, context, while proper respect should be paid to its original shape.[11]

Construction and Condition

Before examining the two figured scenes that dominate the object and all discussions of it, it is necessary to say something about its construction, subsidiary ornament and condition. This section has benefitted immensely from the reports of Marilyn Hockey and Susan La Niece, of the Department of Conservation and Scientific Research at the British Museum, and from discussions with both on several occasions. The vessel was originally constructed from five separate parts - decorated casing, inner plain liner, foot and two handles (now lost). The diameter of the liner, including its rim, is 11.0 cm, the diameter of the casing ca 9.6-10.0 cm and the diameter of the foot-plate 4.8 cm; the height is now 11 cm. Scientific analysis carried out by the British Museum has revealed that it is made from 94.5 silver (± 1%), 3.8% copper (±0.4%), 0.8% gold (± 0.2%) and 0.8% lead (± 0.2%), an alloy which is perfectly consistent with ancient Roman silver plate and, indeed, Matthew Ponting of Liverpool University has suggested to me that it might have been made from Republican coinage, which still had wide circulation in the 1st century AD.[12] The granular nature of the silver, visible along the edges of all the breaks in the walls of the outer casing and the inner liner, as well as on the rim of the casing, is symptomatic of inter-crystalline corrosion formed within the metal itself over a long period of burial; the stratification of the chlorides on the liner similarly suggests a slow build up over a very lengthy period, while there are also small deposits of silver chloride on the outside of the casing (despite the heavy cleaning in 1931-1932, see below). All the material indications, therefore, are that the three remaining elements of the vessel - decorated casing, plain inner liner and foot - are ancient.

The thin-walled casing is decorated with high relief scenes raised by hammering from inside (*repoussé*) (*fig. 3*), and given further definition and detail by careful chasing from outside - there is only one apparent use of a graver and that is for the strings of the elaborate lyre (*fig. 1*).[13] On the back of

Fig. 3. Silver cantharus, said to be from Betar (Palestine): inside of casing, side A. London, British Museum GR 1999,0426.1 (photo British Museum).

the cantharus, a deep, deformed crack runs down from the rim to the back of the head of the boy and then divides, one branch following the line of his back, the other crossing his neck and continuing to his hand (*fig. 2*); there has been some minor loss of metal, especially at the back of the boy's neck. This damage seems to have originated in a blow just below the edge of the casing. A slighter blow to the area behind the head of the youth on the front of the cantharus has creased the background and pushed in part of the back of the head and neck of the youth (*fig. 1*); there is a subsequent very slight tear at the rim above. The surface of the casing has been heavily cleaned down to bright silver, probably with the use of abrasive materials and chemicals; it is pitted where the corrosion has been leached out by the chemical cleaning, but in many areas there are still small remnants of the original silver chloride corrosion products.

The hammered plain liner is half as thin as the outer casing (ca 0.5 mm as against ca 1 mm) and has a solid projecting rim that seems to have been hammered out in one piece with the liner (x-ray examination revealed no joint) (*figs 4-5*). There are two broken areas in the body of the liner with some deformation around the cracks and three areas of silver have been lost: these areas of damage are ca 3 cm apart. There is also a slight indentation at one end of the largest crack: the blow that caused it might have been the source of the damage. On the exterior of the liner the planishing marks are clearly visible, except near the moulding of the rim: the silversmith has not taken the trouble to polish them out since this surface would have been hidden once the cantharus was assembled. The interior surface of the liner seems never to have been cleaned in modern times and has an unbroken layer of fine silver chloride corrosion. Beneath this corrosion, however, Marilyn Hockey has been able to distinguish horizontal scratches that indicate either the stirring of wine, presumably for an admixture of spices or the like, or its scouring in antiquity.

The solid foot was cast in one piece. Its stem has been given an upper ring disc and a lower bulging baluster (*fig. 6*). The footplate has a flat upper plane with a convex moulding above the resting ring; it is accented with three relief rings, at the joint with the stem, at the upper edge footplate and at the joint with the resting edge, but

Fig. 4. Silver cantharus, said to be from Betar (Palestine): liner. London, British Museum GR 1999,0426.1 (photo British Museum).

Fig. 5. Silver cantharus, said to be from Betar (Palestine): inside of liner. London, British Museum GR 1999,0426.1 (photo British Museum).

Fig. 6. Silver cantharus, said to be from Betar (Palestine): foot. London, British Museum GR 1999,0426.1 (photo British Museum).

there is no other decoration. The underneath of the foot has a raised ring towards the centre and in the very centre a raised 'pillar' the top of which is sunk, probably to help locate it on the lathe for turning and polishing (*fig. 7*). The top of the stem echoes the modelling of the footplate but without the raised rings; the top surface is slightly dished to facilitate the attachment to the casing (as revealed by a radiograph). Under the foot there are some scratches beneath the silver chloride corrosion that appear to be deliberate and might be the remains of some sort of graffito.

The final element, a pair of vertical handles, is now lost: these would, like the foot, have been cast. Their original position between the two figured scenes can be clearly made out from the deformations to the wall caused by the wrenching off of the handles at some point in its history probably prior to burial (*figs 8-9*). Furthermore, the oval-shaped areas where the handles were attached retain a

Fig. 7. Silver cantharus, said to be from Betar (Palestine): underneath of foot. London, British Museum GR 1999,0426.1 (photo British Museum).

scraped surface perhaps partly the result of a keying of the surface for the fixing of the handles with solder and partly the removal of those remains in the heavy cleaning of ca 1931-1932 (see below). The positioning and form of these oval areas indicate that the lost handles were of the ear-like variety rather than the ring type and were no doubt similar to those found, for example, on the two pairs of canthari from the Boscoreale Treasure, the larger decorated with storks, the smaller with cranes.[14] They would have been attached to the rim of the liner with the aid of lateral extensions, which might have been simply decorated, but again all traces of solder have been cleaned away (but see below). In terms of the final assembly of the cantharus, the handles served double duty, for they firmly fixed the outer wall to the inner liner - no solder seems ever to have been used to secure the top of the bowl to the overhanging rim.

The size and subsidiary decoration of such canthari varied. In the case of the Betar cantharus the foot has no additional decoration, beyond its turned form, while the size of the marks for attaching the handles (and the space available) suggests that they were similarly plain and probably only provided with small decorative palmettes. The attachment of the handles at the rim was also most probably very simple, since there is no decorative band of subsidiary decoration at the joint of rim and wall. Such a band of decoration, usually in the form of beading (and part of the rim of the liner, not of the casing), is found on the slightly

Fig. 8. Silver cantharus, said to be from Betar (Palestine): handle area (B/A). London, British Museum GR 1999,0426.1 (photo British Museum).

larger canthari, such as the Boscoreale pair with storks or the pair with banqueting centaurs from the 'Casa dell'Argenteria' in Pompeii, rather than on the small ones, like the Betar cantharus.[15] It is clear, therefore, that the Betar cantharus was of particularly restrained design in terms of subsidiary ornament and has a particularly good parallel in the plainer, smaller pair of the Boscoreale canthari that depict cranes.[16]

As for the foot of the Betar cantharus, the centaur cantharus said to be from Buner (Pakistan) (*fig. 10*) and the pair of canthari from Moregine provide very close parallels.[17] For a similarly plain vessel with slightly different mouldings of the stem one might also compare the two pairs of canthari found at Vize (Byzia, near Istanbul) and the cantharus in Boston found in the rubble beside the pyramid at Meroë in the Sudan, while a pair of ring-handled canthari in America have very similar mouldings of the stem, but decorated foot plates.[18]

Fig. 9. Silver cantharus, said to be from Betar (Palestine): side B and handle area (A/B). London, British Museum GR 1999,0426.1 (photo British Museum).

Fig. 10. Silver cantharus, said to be from Buner (Pakistan): side B. New York market, 2010 (photo Christie's New York).

Fig. 11. Silver cantharus, said to be from Asia Minor. Toledo, Museum of Art 1961.9 (photo Toledo Museum of Art).

The only subsidiary ornament that the cantharus displays is a floral calyx that rises up from the stem. It is made up of six sepals of the white lotus (*nymphaea nelumbo*), three to each side, the joins between the two groups of three coming where the scenes of the vase divide and the handles were once placed; in one place the drapery below the boy passes over it. This decorative scheme, which turns the vessel into a lotus flower, is of Hellenistic origin.[19] Among Roman pieces it is rare, but is to be found on a cantharus of the same shape in Toledo (said to be from Asia Minor), where the four leaf elements are given light horizontal ribbing (*fig. 11*).[20] On the larger pair of ring-handled canthari from Boscoreale there are ten such lotus leaves with the regular vertical ribbing seen on the Hellenistic versions.[21] On the pair of shallow bowls with over-reaching handles from Hildesheim the base has five such elements, without additional decoration.[22] Other canthari, however, both of the same shape as that from Betar and those with ring-handles have no such calyx-base and are simply plain below the ground line of the figured zone, like the squatter scyphi.[23] There is, however, one odd exception, a cantharus that was on the New York market in 1992 and again in 2013.[24] It has a single lotus leaf in the zone below the figured scene, well-constructed but solitary - perhaps the craftsman had no time to finish the full scheme.

The possible find context of the Betar cantharus and its early modern history since its appearance in the hands of the Munich dealer, Jacob Hirsch, in 1909 are discussed in more detail below. Here, however, we have to set out what can be discovered of its early conservation history. Although, in the absence of the 'single very poor photograph' mentioned by Hirsch in his letter of August 12th

Fig. 12. Silver cantharus, said to be from Betar (Palestine): side B, after early cleaning (photo Hirsch, Robert Zahn Nachlass, Berlin Museums).

Fig. 13. Silver cantharus, said to be from Betar (Palestine): side B, before any cleaning (after Vorberg 1921, pl. 1).

1909, one would naturally assume that the pair of early photographs held by R. Zahn in Berlin show the earliest state of the cantharus, this does not seem to be the case. A close comparison, however, between the Berlin photographs (*fig. 12*) and those published in Vorberg in 1921 (*fig. 13*) reveals that the latter are in fact the earlier. By the time of the Berlin images there has clearly been some careful removal of corrosion and even perhaps earth, the results of which are most easily understood from the revealing of the crack above and behind the boy's head on the back of the vessel. Although the three photographs used by Vorberg in his Munich publication might have been sent to him by Warren after its purchase in 1911, it seems more likely that they originated with the Munich-based Hirsch and reveal the actual state of the cantharus before it was given a light clean. Importantly, the Vorberg images reveal that the foot was in place and it looks very much as if the liner had also not been removed but was held in place by corrosion (it is differently set in the Berlin photographs). The surface was heavily encrusted, though not so as to obscure the subject and many details. Hirsch might then have had the vessel gently cleaned, the liner loosened and the foot removed (at which point it was partially re-photographed) and sent or gave these to Zahn, perhaps in a further attempt to engage his interest. An alternate and perhaps less likely scenario would have Warren give the piece a light clean after its purchase and then send photographs of the cleaned casing without the foot to Zahn for information.

What is clear, however, is that the vessel only received its heavy cleaning after Warren's death (d. 1928) and that this happened between 1929 and 1931 in Würzburg, as two photographs discovered by Herrmann in the German Archaeological Institute in Rome reveal - one taken before cleaning is dated 1929, the other after cleaning is dated 1931; both are labelled Würzburg.[25] It must have been immediately after this that the cantharus was moulded and copies produced, for Gertrude Platz found an additional set of Zahn's four images in the Photoarchiv of the Pergamonmuseum marked in pencil in Zahn's hand, '1932 bei Hofjuwelier Zinser, Stuttgart' (*fig. 14*).[26] One of these copies was given to J.D. Beazley, a close friend of Warren from 1909,[27] but what happened to any others remains unknown.[28]

Since the damage to the base of the casing, which gives it now an unfortunate tilt, is not visible in the 1921 and 1929 photographs, but is in the 1932 images, it was presumably the result of the moulder re-attaching the foot after his work was finished and slightly overheating the thin and corroded base, as Marilyn Hockey has suggested.[29] The cleaning was no doubt intended to improve its saleability and was most probably advocated and facilitated

by Harold Parsons, who had written to Harold Asa Thomas, Warren's legatee, to advise that the vessel was not included in the property put up for sale at Lewes in October 1929.[30] The moulding was presumably done for purely personal reasons and Parsons no doubt kept a copy for himself. He was the last of Warren's young companions, having joined the Lewes House 'set' in 1905, and supported himself by dealing, mostly in pictures.[31]

No traces of gilding have yet been observed on the Betar cantharus, either optically or chemically.[32] This is presumably the result of use in antiquity and the heavy cleaning of the figured zone in 1931-1932, for one would have expected details to have been picked out with gilding, as on many other examples. Such loss of gilding is to be observed on a number of other pieces, such as the pair of small crane canthari from the Boscoreale Treasure and similar canthari in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.[33] Indeed, it is clear that leaf gilding was frequently used instead of the more robust mercury gilding.

The connection between casing, foot and the liner cannot perhaps now be proved beyond all possible doubt.[34] In the context of a hoard it would always be possible for parts of various vessels to be included.[35] All that can be said is that the report of the finding of the Betar cantharus does not record the presence of any other silver vessels or parts of vessels (see below). Furthermore, the earliest images, those published in 1921 (*fig. 13*), suggest that the liner had not yet been disturbed (there seem to be areas of corrosion on the casing that match up with corrosion on the lip of the liner immediately above - for example, over the *cithara* and over the head of the boy). In addition, Marilyn Hockey noticed areas of caked silt on the outside of the liner and some light silt deposits inside the casing itself, which suggest that they were at least found together. Finally, there are two areas on the rim of the liner, diametrically opposite each other, that are very probably where the handles were attached - there is evidence of scraping and loss of silver from an abrasive tool. If the liner is now placed in the casing with these patches above the oval patches for the handles on the casing, there is, on one side, clear damage to the bottom edge of the projecting rim of the liner that links with damage to the edge of the casing - together they seem to be a prising mark made when the liner was forced out of the casing. It may be of significance that, in this position, the two areas of damage to the liner are located behind the damage to the boy on the back of the casing, and at the same level. As for the casing and the foot, the earliest preserved images, as we

Fig. 14. Silver cantharus, said to be from Betar (Palestine): views after heavy cleaning and moulding (photos Zinser 1932, Robert Zahn Nachlass, Berlin Museums).

have seen, suggest that the cantharus was acquired with the foot still in place. Furthermore, there are, around the feet of the figures on the casing and on the upper part of the stem of the foot, traces of iron corrosion and staining from the soil and, possibly, objects lying adjacent to the vessel in its archaeological context.

In conclusion, it seems, on balance, most likely that foot, casing and liner were all found together, the foot still attached to the casing and the liner in place (but not in its original position). In other words, all three elements seem to belong to one and the same cantharus, even if this cannot yet be definitely proved.

Figured Scenes

After these considerations of shape, subsidiary ornament and condition, it is time to turn to the cantharus' two figured scenes. They are rich in detail and allusion, and require careful examination and decoding. On either side, in low relief, two males are shown in a sexual act or *symplegma*. The front, it would seem, is defined by the senior, bearded figure and the presence to the right of a half open door through which a boy cautiously looks; on the other side the elder figure is still a youth, while his partner is a boy. We are led to think of the action as taking place within a private space, behind a door, presumably in a *cubiculum*, rather than in the dining room where the eating and drinking would have taken place, since there are no signs of tables and drinking vessels, with only perhaps the musical instruments and the myrtle wreaths worn by the bearded man and by the youth on the other side to hint at any such earlier occasion.[36]

On both sides a large textile is hung over a pole that seems to be suspended from the ceiling or the top of the wall by means of hooks or rings (*figs 8-9*). The cords at either end are angled upwards (and thus in tension), beyond the level of the textiles and of the top of the door frame (the end of the pole is not shown here - compare *fig. 15*). The zone between these details and the top edge of the casing is left vague, as is the way with others of the preserved silver canthari and scyphi.[37] The textiles themselves have been given very slight and subtle curving lines to indicate the way they sag and to give them a sense of volume.

On either side there is also a large chest, its lid open. One is shown frontally and propped up against its open lid stands a complex eleven-stringed *cithara* or *lyra* (*fig. 1*); the other is more ambitiously (and not completely convincingly - see below) set in three-quarter view with textiles, sheets or blankets, spilling out, but caught in two bunches, one seemingly at the back corner, the other at the top right corner of the open lid (*fig. 9*). A pair of *auloi* or *tibiae* is hung over the right-hand end of the textile above the boy: it had probably been taken out of the chest on the other side of the room that also contained the complex *cithara*.

The two pairs of lovers recline on matresses and lean against plain, folded cushions with richly fringed seams. Their couches are not shown - the focus is all on the figures.[38] Their ages and actions are carefully and deliberately delineated. On the front, a youth sits in the bearded man's lap. The youth has eased himself into a riding position with the aid of a strap that seems to be attached to the pole carrying the drape. The older man's genitals are clearly depicted as he enters the youth.[39] A plain *chlamys* envelops the youth's left arm, passes over his right thigh and is shaped above by his right knee (his left knee and both lower legs are obscured), to cascade eventually onto the man's knees and right shin. The man's right hand disappears under the cloak. It is perhaps to be thought of as holding the youth's right hip as he guides his entry and encourages further movement; the youth gently rests his right hand on the man's wrist, increasing the intimacy of the action.

On the other side a youth cradles a boy as he carefully enters him: his genitals are shown, as on the other side of the vessel. The youth's upper torso is frontal, but his head is turned down to the left, his chin below his shoulder, in careful concentration as he organises the boy's legs and his own entry. His right hand and forearm support the boy's right leg as he lifts it up to make room for his own right leg and to enable entry. Some folds of drapery are shown here, around his wrist, and must be from the youth's cloak: they can be seen crossing between his legs at the bottom of his calves, while another group are further forward under the boy's hips - here some even fall vertically to cross over the lotus leaf below. The youth is essentially in a kneeling position, both his feet visible to the far left, toes downward - the big toe of his right foot is pushed forward from the rest of his toes, suggesting his gentle movement to the right (*fig. 9*). Lying flat on top of his head may be seen a carefully rendered braid or plait of hair.

The young boy, whose hair has several long locks of hair hanging loosely over his neck, lies on his side, his right leg trapped between the youth's legs. He rests his right elbow on the cushion in front of him. A *chlamys* is shown on the left shoulder of the youth; it is surely the same garment that passes

over the boy's left shoulder and falls over the cushion, thus echoing the image of the other side - lovers hidden by one cloak. Two small, looping tucks of this garment are caught between the boy's chest and his forearm. His right hand is clasped and we see a left thumb from a second hand and the fingers along the lower contour of the right hand (*fig. 18*). If this were his own left hand, one might interpret it as a hint of his pain or discomfort, but it seems that this second thumb is larger than the other. This allows us to read it as the youth's, and so understand the pose better. He is carefully cradling the boy, reassuring him with the intimate gesture of his left hand (a gesture that echoes the touching of the hands on the other side), while looking back and down to ensure a gentle entry.

The boy is looking upwards, perhaps at his pipes, but the riding youth on the front of the cantharus seems to be looking in the direction of the opening door. One side of this two-leaved door has opened inwards as a boy grips its edge and looks round into the room (*fig. 15*). His mouth is perhaps slightly open (the line between the lips seems wider and deeper than on the other figures): he may be thought of as saying something to the youth. He has short-cropped, curly hair and wears a heavy-looking, unbelted and wide-sleeved tunic with a plain round neck.

The poses of the lovers and the intertwining of the textiles that envelop them are particularly ambitious and complex. They are, in many senses, imaginary rather than real and, as a result, they

Fig. 15. Silver cantharus, said to be from Betar (Palestine): detail of side A. London, British Museum GR 1999,0426.1 (photo British Museum).

sometimes do not seem completely successful, as is actually true of many other representations of intercourse or complex action. The most obvious example of this is the dominant youth on side B, where there seems to be a lack of organic connection between his upper torso and his right thigh and genitals, and not enough space between these for his buttocks and stomach.[40] However, if the same group is viewed from further to the left, nearer the handle, the pose is resolved and there is no awkwardness - the youth's chest is no longer nearly frontal and there is space for his buttocks and hips (*fig. 9*).[41] This might suggest that the craftsman or designer took account in some way of, and used, the fact that the cantharus would be turned in the hand by its admiring user. If true, it has to be admitted, however, that the result is ultimately somewhat unsatisfactory, for the frontal view remains problematic. We shall return to this feature as we examine the traditions of Roman silversmiths and offer another reason for this anomaly.

Iconographic Details

Some of the iconographic details that we have noted above require further comment. Drapes and curtains are to be seen in some representations of the interiors of rooms and of colonnades, in wall-paintings, in marble reliefs, and on ceramics.[42] They served a decorative purpose, softening the effect of the walls themselves or, if they carried woven or embroidered designs, adding to the richness of the decoration of the room. Such *parapetasmata poikila* were linked as early as the 5th century BC with the Near East and Eleanor Leach has recently commented that 'literary texts emphasized their exotic associations with the rich courts of the Hellenistic East.'[43] Fixing holes for such brackets to support hangings have been observed in several houses, especially in the colonnades around the atrium.[44]

Such a drape also appears on a fragment of a cameo glass scyphus (or large cantharus) from Rome (now in London) with a male-to-male *symplegma*, for the figures are set against a white ground rather than the final, lowermost blue glass layer of the background (*fig. 16*).[45] Furthermore, although over the erotic couples on a cameo glass scent-oil bottle from Estapa in Spain (now Ortiz collection) garlands of leaves and fruit are draped from small *bucrania*, at the sides of the vessel they are connected with two gathers of drapery (*fig. 17*).[46] These garlands recall some scenes on wall-paintings where they are usually assumed to be painted

Fig. 16. Cameo glass fragment, said to be from Rome. London, British Museum GR 1956,0301.5 (photo British Museum).

on the walls, but the Ortiz bottle offers the possibility that they might sometimes have been embroidered onto the hanging textiles themselves.[47] Indeed, there even seem to be traces of arcs over the figures suggesting the swags of the drapery, although this is made uncertain by the degree of weathering to the surface of the glass. Such drapes are frequently found on the erotic scenes on bronze *spintriae* and they are also to be seen on a green lead-glaze scyphus in the Indiana University Museum as a background to the two pairs of heterosexual couples,[48] while on Arretine vessels such decoration has been simplified to streamers above the couples.[49] The depiction of hanging textiles, some with pictorial panels, others with simple streamers, was to become a feature of Pompeian Fourth Style painting.[50] Whether the drapes on the Betar cantharus were once simply gilded, as the drapes on, for example, a silver cantharus in Boston with a Bacchic scene or more elaborately decorated after the manner of the unusual patterns on the drape shown on the fragment of a cameo glass scyphus in Corning, cannot now be determined.[51]

The hairstyles of the figures are particularly important for a proper understanding of the Betar cantharus. The senior figure has a short beard which is very un-Roman for the 1st century BC, while the rare occurrences of beards in the 1st century AD, first on a few portraits of Nero, later on some of Domitian, were connected with a respect or admiration for Greek culture, a process of increasing philhellenism that came to a peak under Hadrian.[52] The man's beard is, therefore, a strong iconographic signal that he is to be thought of as a Greek.

The active youth on the other side of the cantharus (but not the passive one on the front) has a carefully depicted braided tress of hair laid on the top of his head - it might be called a *plochmos* (*fig. 18*).[53] As Evelyn Harrison has noted, this sort of plait is first seen in Greek sculpture in the late 5th century on a relief from Brauron, where Apollo has one, and may be found in the second half of the 4th century in connection with Apollo Lykeios.[54] Thereafter, in the Hellenistic period, it appears more widely, as, for example, on the 2nd-century BC bronze figure of Agon or Eros from the Mahdia shipwreck.[55]

The youth's passive boy-lover is shown, by contrast, with extra thick, loose long locks flowing over the back of his neck, as was first noted by Herrmann (*fig. 18*).[56] It seems likely that young boys left their locks hanging loose, but later, perhaps after puberty, they sometimes had them neatly braided. Herrmann has traced such loose long locks from ca 200 BC.[57] In the Roman world of the 1st century AD and after, we find the depiction of long loose locks occurring in a number of contexts where it is difficult to disentangle the copying of late Hellenistic types and the Roman creation of new eclectic compositions in a Hellenistic vein, as Herrmann has shown.[58]

The long loose lock style (but not braided locks, it would seem) also appear in other erotic contexts besides the Betar cantharus. It occurs in a more exaggerated form on the male-to-male lovemaking scene that is juxtaposed with male-to-female scene on the Ortiz cameo glass bottle (*fig. 17*) and perhaps, but not certainly, on some of the Arretine vases.[59] It also recurs on a marble altar or base, the so-called Townley Puteal, said to be from Capri, where a satyr seated on a rock under a pine-tree attempts to keep control of a naked boy with long locks at the back of his head who holds a pair of *auloi*.[60] Finally, a boy in a painting of an amorous scene from the palaestra at Herculaneum has such hair: he wears an *exomis* and has pale skin suggesting that he is not of the citizen class but a slave boy.[61]

These hairstyles that centre on the maintenance of locks of hair to be offered later to the gods clearly indicate a Greek rather than a Roman ethnic identity. They are connected with the Greek practice of keeping some of the hair uncut until reaching maturity when it was cut off and dedicated to a god. This Greek rite, the *koureion*, coincided with acceptance into the citizen body, and happened

Fig. 17. Cameo glass bottle, said to be from Estapa (Spain): sides A and B. Vandoeuvres, collection of George Ortiz (photos Ortiz Collection).

between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. In contrast, Roman male *rites de passage* concentrated at puberty on the giving up of the *bulla* and the change from the *toga praetexta* to the *toga virilis* and later on the cutting of the side-whiskers sprouting on the upper cheeks.[62]

Thus, in a Greek context the hair style would have indicated a member of the citizen class (citizen and slave had to be clearly distinguished). In a Roman context, however, a master might permit his Greek slave to retain his traditional hairstyle, as difference in dress was the main signal for class and status in Rome. It should be stressed here, however, that the hairstyle with a long lock, braided or loose, had nothing to do with the Roman sculptures that have been identified by Pollini as *pueri delicati*, the pet-slaves of a rich master, with their elaborate, fancily dressed hair.[63] There is no sign of the distinctive division of the hair across the width of the head, from ear to ear, the front half

combed forward, the back backward, on any of the preserved representations in whatever medium, nor does the lock of hair on the nape of the neck correspond to the mass of long hair found on the examples signalled by Pollini.[64] Similarly, the long lock style adopted in the erotic scenes does not match the long back fringe that Pollini has isolated for sacrificial ministrants, a style which is clearly not worn by the youth on the front of the Betar cantharus.[65] Pollini's observation, however, that the youth on the front of the scyphus has rather long hair over the nape of his neck seems justified. It may be seen, however, as a further sign of Greekness, long hair and luxury in a young man prior to full adulthood.[66]

These unusual hairstyles, moreover, as a result of the customs associated with them, provide an important key to the ages of the figures represented. Since the *koureion* occurred between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, we may recognise the well-developed youth with the plait as aged about 16; the equally well-developed youth on the other side, who has already cut his plait, is presumably between 17 and 18. The young boy is shown without any pubic hair and should thus be younger than about 13.[67] Finally, the bearded man on the front of the cantharus is fully mature with a strong beard - we may place him somewhere between 30 and 45.

The musical instruments also play a role in understanding the context. The complex eleven-stringed *cithara* seems to have been a Greek invention, a professional virtuoso instrument that appeared ca 450 BC and was associated with Ion of Chios; it was not for use at a symposium.[68] The double *aulos*, although shown being learned by boys and youths on 5th-century Athenian vases, was also essentially a professional instrument. As a result, it is unlikely that either should be thought of as having been played by any of the figures on the cantharus. Rather these instruments are to be viewed as symbolic of Greek musical skill and culture. Sim-

Fig. 18. Silver cantharus, said to be from Betar (Palestine): detail of side B. London, British Museum, GR 1999,0426.1 (photo British Museum).

ilar *citharae* appear hung up in symposium scenes on Arretine pottery (although not *auloi*).[69]

The very Greek context that is indicated by beard and hair and reinforced by the musical instruments, is also continued in the textiles. What there is by way of drapery for the main figures all suggests Greek *chlamydes* rather than Roman *togae*. The shapeless shift worn by the boy at the door is suitable for a slave in a Roman context, but would be equally at home in the Hellenistic period. His hair is short and curly, in strong contrast to that of the four other figures, which have been given wavy hair with individual strands or groups of strands marked out in relief (though now much worn).

Finally, a word on the implications of this slave boy at the door. Slaves were, by and large, invisible, non-persons in Roman eyes and they are to be found in the same room as their masters or mistresses, whatever activity is represented.[70] This boy is presumably a *cubicularius*, who has been waiting outside the door, but now enters perhaps to say something. We cannot reconstruct any exchange between him and the youth who seems to look at him. Indeed, none may have been in the mind of the creator of the scene, for the slave and the door are essentially spatial indicators. Nevertheless, the figure of the slave does act as an echo of our own view of the scene - essentially he sees what we see.

The idea of the voyeur, of course, was not foreign to the Romans, as passages in Petronius' *Satyricon* and Martial's *Spectacula* reveal all too clearly.[71] At the mythological level, Eros might watch lovemaking, as in the case of his observation of Leda and the swan; in the mortal realm, the visual motif of voyeur goes back at least to the Hellenistic period - a young figure peeping over a curtain appears on a Hellenistic relief vessel from Parion in Turkey - a scene which is clearly purely voyeuristic involving no interchange with the couple.[72] There is probably a similar underlying voyeurism in the scene of young girl slave reaching round a curtain to touch the leg of one of the *hetairai* in an erotically charged symposium found in Arretine pottery.[73] We might wonder too if the figure with the spouted vessel on the Corning cameo glass fragment might be another servant 'voyeur'.[74] Finally, we see the motif of the voyeur at the door, now in association with a complex erotic scene on Gallo-Roman relief pottery of the 2nd century AD.[75]

Interpreting the Figured Scenes

Silver vessels clearly operated in the world of the Roman house just as did sculptures and wall-paintings. They were deliberately placed on a table at the *convivium* to be seen and admired - witness the representation of such tables laden with silver vessels in wall-paintings and on silver vessels themselves.[76] The scenes on such vessels were also most probably discussed at various points by the assembled guests as they were used. As Katherine Dunbabin has succinctly put it, the decoration on such silver plate was 'intended to evoke admiration and discussion at the drinking party, and to invite exhibitions of culture and wit from the assembled guests'.[77] Silver vessels were, thus, a means for the owner both to display his wealth and his culture, and to reinforce his self-identity and social standing as a Roman, which need not, perhaps, have been particularly high, as the example of Priscus seems to suggest. He was probably of humble origin, but free, and died at the age of 22 in office as a mere *aedilis*. His tomb, however, was paid for by his mother and the paintings were inside the tomb and not generally visible, so that there may well be an element of aspiration in the painted scenes rather than straightforward reality.[78]

What, then, did the scenes on the Betar cantharus mean to its owner(s) and users? Various interpretations have been offered and it is worth briefly noting them before trying to assess the iconographic clues we have been given (or at least those we can recognise). Vermeule, in his somewhat anarchic manner, saw the scenes as a satire on Augustus' family dynasty, even suggesting that the youth and boy on the back had 'faces like Tiberius and Drusus Jr.'.[79] Clarke, after identifying the boy as a slave on the basis of his un-Roman long locks of hair, proposed various readings. Between 1991 and 1993 he held the view that the setting was a gay hotel or brothel. In 1998, however, he withdrew the idea of a gay hotel and offered three other alternatives. The first was a costly home entertainment (suggested to him by Jennifer Neils); the second some sort of metaphor of the balance of power between Rome and the Eastern Mediterranean transformed into sexual behaviours (suggested by Brian Rose); the third 'a world of sexual fantasy... [in which] the individuals making love were not fixed in time, place, or social status'.[80] Subsequently, Pollini in his article on the cantharus concentrated on the supposed slave hairstyle of the boy and argued, unconvincingly, that the youth on the other side also had a slave hairstyle. As a result, he labelled them both *pueri delicati* and used Philo of Alexandria to label the boy a *boupais* and the youth as one already showing *meirakia protogeneia*.[81] Thus, stressing the idea of the unrestrained sexual attitudes of Roman masters to their slaves, he went on to set the scene not in a brothel but in a private

house, whose master perhaps had 'scopophilic' interests and was wealthy enough to have his own slave-school and special, sexually trained slaves.[82]

It seems to me that, although Pollini's (and Neils') interpretation attempts to bring the scenes into line with normal Roman sexual protocols (at least as they are currently reconstructed by scholars), namely that citizen men did what they pleased with slaves, provided they were the dominant or penetrative partner, there remain the iconographic details that point to a very Greek, cultured setting - and they cannot simply be ignored.[83]

Although, given the other representations of a boy with long locks over the neck, the Betar boy could represent to a Roman viewer a young Greek slave, the youth with the plait who is entering him would not have: he ought to have been recognised as both a Greek and, from his dominant role, as well as his hair, a citizen. As a result, it seems less than correct to view the scenes on the Betar cantharus as purely Roman. They are certainly nothing like the scenes of Roman banquets that we find in the 'House of the Triclinium' (Pompeii, V.2.4) as opposed to the 'Greek' ones depicted in the 'House of the Chaste Lovers' (Pompeii, IX.12.6-7): the former include guests in Roman dress and words of welcome from the host, the latter symposiasts half-naked in the Greek fashion.[84] As a result, we need to consider how the scenes on the cantharus might have fitted into a Greek cultural *milieu*. Hellenistic scenes of *symplegmata* in a variety of media are regularly quite specific, especially in the eastern Mediterranean. For example, we find a remarkable representation of two young men having intercourse on an inscribed gem in Leiden - the penetrated youth even has an erection.[85] Our literary sources suggest that, although in Athens pederasty may have become de-institutionalised, such was not the case in Sparta, Crete or Thebes. The scenes on the cantharus, therefore, could reflect elements of a Hellenistic Greek sexual *mores* and iconographic tradition, however shaped by the strongly classicising style of the silversmith.

Let us now try to imagine how Roman users might have gone about decoding the cantharus's scenes. Roman sexual protocols seem to have allowed a man to penetrate a slave boy but not a citizen boy, so that Roman viewers probably took the passive partners initially as slaves, imagining the scenes to have been set in a wealthy private house (much as Pollini in fact suggested). One of them may even have seen the myrtle wreaths as reinforcing the difference in status, for only the dominant partners wear them. The wreath, however, provides no real distinction, for the boy being penetrated on the Ortiz cameo glass bottle holds one.[86] At some point in the discussion, the cultured Greek environment will have begun to be noticed and finally, on closer inspection, the careful delineation of the hairstyles, which not only help to pinpoint the ethnicity and ages of the figures but also their status as citizens.

The Roman users of the cantharus will, thus, have understood that the scenes were not intended to be openly subversive of the regular 'phallic construction' of Roman sexual protocols (whether such protocols were in fact strictly observed or not), for the participants are identified as Greek citizens.[87] They will have been well aware that Greeks celebrated pederasty (whether such a social construct in fact allowed for other relationships or not) and there will no doubt have been a discussion of its nature, extent and history in the Greek world as well as its contemporary status in various parts of the Roman world, for some will have noted its inclusion in Virgil's 'politically correct' *Aeneid*.

Not all discussions at the banquet, however, will have been of a serious nature concerning sexual *mores*, for humour was important too. Sooner or later, the participants will have turned their talk to ideas about the best positions and the best ages for a lover. It is intriguing to note here that the deliberate age structure of the lovers on the Betar cantharus recalls the lines of the later poet, Strato, a Greek from Sardis in Lydia, who described the increasing pleasure to be gained from boys for each year between twelve and seventeen. Indeed, Strato's final comment that 'if, however, one has a passion for those still older, he no longer "plays" but forthwith "receives his reply"' seems to echo the scene on the front of the cantharus where the younger partner is no longer simply passive, his movements replying to those of the bearded man.

Iconographic Connections between Materials

In general, the iconography of Roman silver vessels corresponds to that found in a wide range of other Roman art forms, from wall-painting to pottery. In style, too, there is the same pluralism, the same complete familiarity with both Classical Greek and Hellenistic idioms, and the same astonishing skill in adopting and adapting them, a trait that in many ways prevents us from recognising the work of individual craftsmen. We find themes taken from Greek mythology, from Roman imperial ceremonial, and from rustic life.[88] There are imaginary Nilotic landscapes, scenes from Egyptian and Gaul-

ish cult and several depictions of imaginary rural Bacchic sanctuaries often peopled by cupids (winged or wingless).[89] There are scenes involving mythical creatures (centaurs, tritons and marine horses) and wild and domesticated animals. Allegorical skeletons and even historical figures from science and literature are also to be found.[90] Pliny refers to a few specific scenes in his discussion of silver plate, namely satyrs and cupids (by Mys), hunting (by Acragas), a sleeping satyr (by Antipater), battle scenes (by Hedystratides), Orestes on the Areopagus (by Zopyrus), and the theft of the Palladion (by Pytheas).[91] Pliny also notes scenes known as *magiriscia*, 'little cooks' (by Pytheas), but what he means by these is far from clear. His further reference to cups 'engraved with libidinous subjects' ('*in poculis libidines caelare iuvit ac per obscenitates bibere*') is, of course, particularly relevant to the Betar cantharus.[92] Trimalchio's numerous heavy-weight silver vessels had scenes from Greek mythology (misunderstood) and images of famous contemporary gladiators (possibly in bad taste, but it is a subject found on glass drinking vessels).[93] Virgil's 'beechwood'cups were also clearly modelled on vessels of more precious material. [94] They were the work of one Alcimedon, and bore scenes of Conon of Samos, the astronomer, with a colleague, presumably Eudoxus of Cnidus, and of Orpheus charming the trees, subjects that echo something of the subject matter of silver vessels - Greek myths, culture and learning.

Of vessels in gold we remain all too ignorant. In the early 1st century BC there may well have been much gold plate available to the highest élite, as in the anecdote told by Plutarch's grandfather of how, in Alexandria, Mark Antony's eldest son once offered (but without the consent of his father) a particularly sympathetic doctor the gold drinking cups from the symposium table - they were of ancient workmanship and highly valued for their skill.[95] Sumptuary legislation under the early empire, however, may have meant that little gold was used, even in the imperial household.[96] Of actual preserved examples there are two small plain gold vessels from off the island of Cnidus[97] and a superb two-nozzle lamp found in 1863 in Pompeii decorated on the body with *nelumbo* leaves in the Hellenistic manner and with a reflector decorated with a palmette.[98] To these we might add perhaps the completely gilded silver jug with relief figures in a German private collection, although it is probably a regional product (see below).[99] In general, one may presume that gold plate was decorated in a very similar fashion to silver, although it was never to be quite as fashionable as silver, which the middle rankers clearly could afford.[100]

Among vessels carved in semi-precious stone, two stand out as displaying iconographic links with silver vessels - the agate cantharus in the Cabinet des Médailles (the so-called 'Cup of the Ptolemies') with a crowded Bacchic sanctuary and the rock crystal scyphus in Naples with floral decoration.[101] To these one might add Nero's favourite pair of rock crystal cups that he deliberately smashed in AD 68 so nobody else might have the pleasure of them, for they had scenes drawn from the poems of Homer.[102] There are connections, too, between cameo glass and silver vessels, both in terms of floral and figural designs. In addition to the *symplegmata* scenes discussed below, we might note, for example, a fragment of a cameo glass plaque in Würzburg which seems to show part of a Nereid on the back of a Triton (note the fin in front of her and the curved body on which she sits): it matches the one-handled silver cantharus from Pompeii with Tritons and Nereids carrying the arms of Achilles.[103] The theme was also taken up by Arretine potters, whose works suggest a certain modification and simplification of the theme as compared with the silver version.[104]

Bronze vessels were also sometimes elaborately decorated in relief: craters, situlae and jugs with friezes and basins and paterae with medallions.[105] There are scenes taken from myth,[106] rustic scenes,[107] cultic landscapes,[108] and even the occasional erotic tableau such as that on the fine basin from Pompeii and the later Herstal balsamarium (see below).[109] There are a few possible iconographic connections, such as the theft of the Palladion, which Pliny reported as being the subject of a silver emblema in a bowl by Pytheas (sold for 10,000 denarii) and is known from the neck of a silver jug from the Berthouville treasure, for it appears as the emblema in a bronze patera found at Tienen-Avendoren in Belgium.[110] The scenes on the Varna bronze crater are taken from the tale of Iphigeneia in Tauris, which also informed the London cantharus (Orestes taking refuge).[111] A silver cantharus of unusual shape once in the Gorowitz collection shows on one side the sacrifice of Iphigeneia in Aulis and on the other a group of figures at the right end of which is a bearded figure, labelled Aias, who recalls the figure of the bound Orestes (or Pylades) on the Varna crater or even more closely one of the Greek heroes on the marble Medici krater.[112]

Arretine vessels and moulds can be seen to have particularly close connections with preserved silver vessels, both in shape and decoration. This has been noted especially for representations of Orestes

at Sminthe, of Priam ransoming the body of Hector, and of Philoktetes on Lemnos.[113] Indeed, the closeness can be so marked that Knud Friis Johansen could comment on an Arretine fragment (once in Berlin) and one of the Hoby scyphi that 'we must undoubtedly assume that there has been a direct mechanical connection between the two works; in other words, that a cast of the Hoby cup itself (or of perhaps an exact copy of it) must have formed the basis of the scene on the Arretine vessel'.[114] Following the publication of the London Sminthe cantharus, however, Arturo Stenico assembled a number of fragments of Arretine pottery and moulds with the same subject, and rightly argued that there was too much discrepancy and manipulation of the details of the scenes to justify the idea of direct mechanical copying.[115]

In the case of erotic scenes of *symplegmata* we currently lack any example on a vessel carved in semi-precious stone, but in silver we have not only the Betar cantharus but also the pair of grander canthari with scenes from the love-life of Mars and Venus from the House of the Menander.[116] All three vessels reveal complex, sophisticated and extended compositions, together with treatments of the erotic theme that are more subtle than simple depictions of sexual acts. Furthermore, in cameo glass, there are some four examples of erotic imagery: the London fragment (*fig. 16*), probably from a scyphus or large cantharus, with a youth and a boy, the Ortiz bottle with its pairing of erotic scenes (*fig. 17*), a cup fragment in New York with a male and a woman, and two fragments from a cup or scyphus in the Corning Museum of Glass that seem to show heterosexual erotic scenes, perhaps in a mythological context.[117] Of these the London fragment and the Corning fragments come from very elaborate, multi-layered and multi-coloured examples that clearly approach something of the richness and complexity of silver pieces. Indeed, we see a very similarly decorated couch on both the London cameo glass fragment and the House of the Menander silver canthari, while the Corning cameo glass fragments may perhaps come from a scene of Theseus and Ariadne or Aeneas and Dido.[118] Both also have an extra layer of white glass to enable figures to be represented against drapes. The Ortiz bottle and the New York cup fragment are, by contrast, two-layered pieces and their iconography consequently, it would seem, simpler and more direct.[119]

In terms of connections between the Betar cantharus and the *symplegma* scenes on Arretine pottery, there would seem to be a difference between its two sides. The front, with a youth riding a bearded male partner, has no preserved male-to-male parallel in Arretine, although the woman coming down on a youth, her back to him, as seen on the Arretine krater in Boston, is the male-to-female equivalent of this pose, which, perhaps significantly, is regularly paired with a youth and boy *symplegma*.[120] Indeed, one notes that it is perhaps such an *a tergo* pose that is hinted at in the Mars and Venus scene on one of the canthari from the House of the Menander.[121]

On Arretine vessels there also seems to be something of a visual echo in the series of male-to-female *symplegmata* that depict the woman turning her bottom to the viewer - and again they are combined with the youth and boy scene.[122] This same pose can already be seen on a late 2nd century BC terracotta mould from Sardis and is, of course, shown on one side of the Ortiz cameo bottle.[123] Although the scheme could be intended to show off the particular woman's best feature, *kallipugos*, one has to consider the possibility that such scenes were actually intended to depict not *a tergo* vaginal coupling but rather anal intercourse. The turning of the woman's head and her restraining hand on his thigh or hand suggest her wish to slow down his entry and may be a key visual signal.[124]

The essentials of the poses of the couple on the other side of the Betar cantharus, the youth and the boy, can be traced from the early Hellenistic mirror cover from Corinth in Boston,[125] through the later Hellenistic relief tondo fragment in Berlin,[126] the Roman versions on one of the paintings from the Suburban Baths at Pompeii and a bronze mirror cover from the Palatine,[127] and on to a group of bronze *spintriae*[128] and a number of Arretine bowls.[129] In the first four examples the *symplegma* is male-to-female; but on the *spintriae* and on the Arretine bowls the pose has been used for male-to-male couplings, as on the Ortiz cameo glass bottle (*fig. 17*) and the London multi-layered cameo cup fragment (*fig. 16*) as well as on a contemporary glass gem set in a bronze ring.[130] The preserved Arretine versions vary the poses slightly, especially the legs, the placement of the youth's hand (from thigh to buttock) and the closeness of the heads, which are always turned towards each other. In these scenes it is important to recognise that, although the way the heads are turned towards each other might suggest to the romantically inclined modern viewer a degree of intimacy, we have to be more cautious in our 'reading' and note that the pose of the boy's hand is really the key signal - he is trying to slow down his eager lover's entry, and so his head is also turned up and

toward him perhaps more in anxiety than passion. As we have noted, this restraining gesture is repeated in the related female scenes.

There is, however, one interesting exception in the preserved Arretine corpus and this shows the youth and the boy clearly kissing and the boy's right arm round the youth's head, pulling him into the kiss instead of restraining him (*fig. 19*).[131] This kissing pose recalls that seen in some heterosexual scenes[132] and has, of course, Hellenistic precedents.[133] It is, indeed, this Arretine type, together with the Betar cantharus, that begins to reveal that there was a wider 'narrative' of such *symplegmata* scenes. Bronze *spintriae* offer further variations on the poses and participants. One type shows the boy replaced, it would seem, by a bearded man, which would be in contravention of the 'phallic norm', showing a mature *pathicus* (*fig. 20*).[134] Another type has the boy posed with his body flat on the couch, his upper torso and head turning up and back towards the youth who enters him.[135] This pose recalls that on the Hellenistic gem in Leiden and demonstrates again that Roman representations of the male-to-male *symplegma* could be more varied than might seem at first glance.[136]

Finally, we should note the remarkable, large bronze balsamarium with elaborate figured decoration that was found in a warrior's tumulus at Herstal (prov. Liège).[137] It dates from the 2nd century AD, like the Gallo-Roman terra sigillata, and is decorated on the body with four statuesque figures of philosophers, that in the centre of one side being young, that in the centre of the other bearded and balding (the other two are under either handle). On the shoulder are four *symplegmata* scenes: the two above the old philosopher show a bearded man with a boy, the two above the younger philosopher a youth with a boy.[138] The poses do not match the Betar cantharus, but the grouping of the ages does. The interpretation of its scenes is also somewhat enigmatic, but there is surely an intended connection or contrast between philosophy and *symplegmata*.

In conclusion, the variation in the scenes and poses on the Betar cantharus are much more subtle and interesting than on any of the preserved representations in other media. The pair of bearded man and youth is, so far, unparalleled. On the other side, the lack of the boy's anxious restraining gesture and gaze, the intimate linking of hands, the gentle lifting of the boy's leg, all contrast strongly with the more forceful scheme regularly found on glass, bronze and pottery. From the second half of the 5th century BC Greek representations of *symplegmata*, whether male-male or male-female, display a clear interest in pose and interaction, with compositions frequently prefiguring those employed by the Romans. It seems most likely, therefore, that the origins of the Betar cantharus's scenes and the overall 'narrative' of Roman male *symplegmata* should be located in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods: actions, poses and iconographic details all point to a Greek ambience not to a Roman one.

Fig. 19. Drawing of Arretine fragment, from Rome. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 15805 (after Porten Palange 2004, pl. 124, Sy20a).

Fig. 20. Bronze spintria*. London, British Museum C&M R.4481 (photo British Museum).*

Centres of Production

It has often been claimed that there were or might have been several centres of production of silver plate around the Mediterranean and even further north in continental Europe.[139] Such suggestions are generally based on style or shape, usually combined with a knowledge of the provenience of a particular piece. Indeed, Strong, who had handled the Betar cantharus in the late 1950s, suggested that it might be of Palestinian manufac-

ture, no doubt influenced by its reported findspot. Details of shape, decoration and style often link pairs of pieces within archaeological contexts, for example Boscoreale, indicating they were made in the same workshop, and sometimes such links may be seen between pieces without recorded provenience.[140]

There is, however, very little to indicate where such workshops were physically based. It is sometimes assumed that the old Hellenistic cultural centres, Pergamon, Alexandria and Antioch, continued to be important artistic centres. In the case of work in precious metals especially it is much more likely, however, that craftsmen followed the flood of silver and enormous wealth that left Greece and the royal Greek capitals of the eastern Mediterranean for Rome in the 2nd century BC (Scipio Asiaticus defeated the Seleucid empire, 190 BC; Metellus defeated Macedon, 148 BC; Mummius sacked Corinth, 146 BC;[141] and Attalus III bequeathed Pergamum to Rome, 133 BC) and again after 31 BC when Octavian defeated Egypt bringing peace and stability to the now extremely wealthy city of Rome.[142] Furthermore, we should note that the strong coherence of style, technique and shapes (with only very few exceptions) suggests a dominant metropolitan influence. Indeed, the activities of *argentarii vascularii* in and around the sanctuaries of central Rome ought not to be forgotten in this regard.[143] They should, indeed, be combined with a scenario reported by Pliny: Zenodoros, while in Gaul (at Averni) making a bronze statue of Mercury, produced for the governor, Dubius Avitus, very close copies of two 'chased cups' that were the work of Kalamis.[144]

It seems that we have some evidence of how a craftsman like Zenodorus may have operated abroad. Firstly, his story itself indicates clearly the craftsman's ability to copy accurately the work of others (whether or not the cups were really the work of Kalamis). Secondly, Pierre Wuilleumier in publishing a beaker from Lyon noted its Gaulish cult iconography but metropolitan style and suggested it was produced in Gaul by a visiting craftsman, much as Zenodorus made cups for Avitus.[145] This indicates the craftsman's ability to create new scenes abroad while retaining his metropolitan style. Thirdly, there was the use of plaster positives, what seem to have been called *mnemosuna* (records), which allowed the craftsman to carry with him replicas of his own works and those of others.[146] The finds at Kara-Tobe, which include a plaster positive of a cantharus that is very close to the silver catharus from Alise-Sainte-Reine, came from a context of the first half of the 1st century AD and thus help us to see this last process in near-contemporary action.[147]

The ability of Roman silversmiths to copy, carefully and closely, both the works of other or earlier craftsmen and plaster models would seem to be confirmed by the now numerous examples of preserved works that are extremely close to each other, with the variations being deliberate. There is, for example, the trio of silver canthari now divided between Princeton, Boston and a New York private collection, all with very similar cultic scenes connected with the worship of Bacchus appear, although nothing is identical - all is variation on a theme.[148] This is also true of the pair of canthari now in a New York collection with a family of Pans on one side and satyrs on the other or, indeed, the pair showing the Vote over Orestes on the Areopagus and the pair with Isiac children on the pair from Moregine, found in 2000.[149]

We may conclude that silver craftsmen were normally based in Rome but might travel elsewhere in the empire, especially in connection with special commissions. If the presence of a rich clientèle turned out to be long term, local workshops might even have been established,[150] and the Vize canthari which seem very derivative in style, might be examples of such work.[151] The possibility, however, of there being some, more independent workshops in frontier regions that were both silver-producing and had a long local tradition (only partially Hellenised) is raised by the gilded silver jug in a German private collection, signed by Octavius Menedorus (see below).[152] Its somewhat clumsy and unparalleled style, the loose structure of its scene without ground-line, the absence of any additional ornament framing the scene or delineating part of the shape, all suggest it stands apart in terms of tradition and production.[153] Its difficult iconography may also, in part, be the result of its local cultural connections. Other such products of frontier workshops would seem to include the cup from Goslawice.[154]

Signatures and Status

Four signatures are to be found on the preserved decorated silver plate from the 1st century BC and 1st century AD, those of Cheirisophos and Octavius Menedorus on vessels, and Euporos and M. Domitius Polygnos on mirrors.[155] This is perhaps a high number, at least in relation to signatures in gold and even bronze, and may well thus reflect in some way the interest in individual artists and signed pieces, as recorded in the works of Pliny,

Martial and Seneca.[156] Cheirisophos signed his pair of scyphi in Greek: *Cheirisophos epoei*, on the funerary stele (presumably of Patroclus) on the back of the Achilles scyphus (*fig. 21*) and, transliterated into Latin script, *Chirisophos epoi*, on the front of the Philoktetes scyphus.[157] The name Cheirisophos appears very rare and specific in its meaning. It was known from a legendary Cretan sculptor, which suggests that here it was specially constructed for a gifted slave by his master.[158] The cramped Latin signature on the mirror from Boscoreale, which reads 'M. Domitius fece Polygnost', requires a little more detailed comment.[159] The writer may have realised he had erred with his 'fece' and perhaps wished to add a terminal 't', but instead of adding it to the upper line (where there was in fact some space) he placed it in the second, after 'Polygnos'. He may have also realised, however, that he had in addition written his own name wrongly, Polygnos instead of Polygnotos - the name Polygnos does not exist.[160] Whichever of the scenarios one adopts, or perhaps rather a combination of both, his uncertainty over the writing of Latin ('fecet' for 'fecit') is perhaps to be accounted for by his origins and his probable earlier servile status. The name of the famous 5th century BC painter Polygnotos of Thasos was surely given him in recognition of his talents, possibly by his master M. Domitius. The form of his name is usefully compared with the maker of a silver cup recorded by Horace, C. Avianius Evander. He was apparently an Athenian who was taken by Mark Antony, via Alexandria, to Rome, and was later freed by C. Avianus.[161]

The remaining signatures lack the word for 'made', but give the craftsman's name in the genitive with the word *ergon* understood. On a gilded silver jug of unusual shape and style, already mentioned, Octavius Menodorus wrote his name in Greek, in the genitive, *Oktauio Menedorou*: the inscription is at the focal point of the scene and is carefully rendered with outlined letters.[162] The combination of a Greek name and what seems to be a Roman *nomen gentilicium* probably indicates that he was freed slave.[163] The omission of a final 'u' could possibly be the result of some uncertainty over spelling. As a slave he was presumably given the name of a Greek sculptor because of his craft skills.[164] Euporos decorated a mirror with the portrait of Domitian and signed it with his name in Greek and in the genitive.[165] His name is a particularly suitable one for a clever and skilled slave.

There is one other possible signature. The words Sabinus and, in Greek letters, Sabeinos occur on

Fig. 21. Silver scyphus, from Hoby (Denmark): Ransom of Hector, side B. Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark inv. 9.20 (photo National Museum of Denmark).

a pair of scyphi from Boscoreale.[166] They are very carefully written, the Latin in the field above the hunting stick on one side, in Greek on the rim of a jar on the other. The use of the nominative is not normal for a signature, but the use of the two languages clearly brings it into relation with the signatures of Cheirisophos. Nevertheless, by their placement, the words seem to be associated with the produce of the countryside so that we might wonder if they were intended to celebrate the richness of the Sabine lands rather than the name of the craftsman.

There are many problems involved in the interpretation of such signatures. The first centres on the precise involvement of the signer - is the name given that of the actual craftsman, of a head craftsman or even of an 'arm's length' owner? The answer may well have varied between craft groups, between regions and over time. In the case of silversmiths, however, there is no reason to imagine that anyone other than the actual craftsman would have signed a particular piece. Workshops were probably not large and there was no need for the hand of more than one craftsman on any particular vessel, while, of course, the names hardly point to Roman citizens by birth.

A second problem surrounds the status of the craftsmen named - were they citizens, visiting or resident foreigners (*peregrini*), freedmen or slaves? The sculptor Pasiteles is specifically called a Roman citizen by Pliny (Greeks in South Italy were given full citizenship after the Social War of 91-88 BC), but none of his fellows in Rome, like Arcesilaus, is so honoured - he may have been a freedman who chose not to give his Roman name or even a *peregrinus* (if we had a signature, it might have helped us determine his real status).[167] The addition of a toponym after the craftsman's name probably indicated that he was a citizen of that place, as with sculptors from Athens, Rhodes or Aphrodisias (when the words gave added cachet), but toponyms are rare among the minor arts.[168] Their use by some glass-blowers, namely Aristeas of Cyprus and a group of Sidonian craftsmen, is unusual but surely indicates that all were working outside their native land.[169]

Names that combine a Greek name with Roman *nomina* record the transition in status from slave to freedman. In addition to that of C. Domitius Polygnotos we might note the signature on a glass beaker of M. Licinius Diceus (for Dikaios), on the marble *extispicium* relief from the Forum of Trajan with the signature of M. Ulpius Orestes or on an architrave in Rome of the painter M. Plautius Menecrates.[170] All these are written in Latin and this is surely significant - they are craftsmen of foreign origin, now freed, proudly proclaiming their new Roman status. The signature of Octavios Menodoros, however, on what seems to be the work of a fringe workshop, perhaps in Thrace, is unusual in its form for it is not only in Greek instead of Latin, but it omits his *praenomen*.

Neither Cheirisophos nor Euporos, however, provide us with any additional information as to their status. The form of their names (and that of Euandros), strongly suggest slave names (as would Sabinus,[171] if a name) invented presumably by their masters. Although the name of a slave might appear in a signature, as in the case of Arretine pottery and an architect called Hospes, one would expect it to occur together with that of his owner.[172] As a result, we are left to conclude that, on the analogy of Augustus' artists, Zeuxis and Protogenes (named after famous painters), who are referred to as freedmen, Cheirisophos and Euporos were freedmen who preferred to retain their Greek names 'unencumbered'. This may have been the result of a commercial decision or simply pride in their origins - and Euporos' signature in Greek alone might support this. The way that Cheirisophos, however, attempts to sign in both Greek and Latin, although he only succeeds in transliterating his Greek into Latin letters, remains something of an enigma - did he really know no Latin at all?

Finally, as to the ethnicity of our silversmiths, we cannot simply assume that the four slaves or freed craftsmen with Greek names (Cheirisophos, Polygnotos, Menedoros and Euporos) actually were Greek in origin, as Greek names were particularly common for slaves whatever their homeland.[173] Since their familiarity with the Greek language does not seem to have extended beyond signing their names, we cannot really be sure that they were even Greek speakers. It is only with the case of the anonymous craftsman who used Greek letters as location marks on one of the crane canthari now in New York that we may suppose that he spoke Greek.[174]

Signing seems to have been very much a Greek tradition, but signatures may appear for a variety of reasons and in any particular case for several reasons at a time. It seems likely that in the Roman period signing in Greek was intended to add particular cachet to the work by suggesting that the craftsman was Greek, however exact the connection really was. Signing in both Greek and Latin is something that is also found in other crafts - once on mosaics (Proklos, at Ostia),[175] on free-blown glass scyphi produced by three different craftsmen in the early 1st century AD,[176] and on

Arretine pottery from the hands of four potters.[177] It represents perhaps the wish to appeal to two key aspects of their consumers, their Roman-ness and their love of Greek culture.

Copying

From the 33rd book of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* we learn a certain amount about silver vessels and their makers. In chapter 55 he lists the most famous craftsmen - they are all Greek, and 'antiqui'.[178] Indeed, Pliny mentions no Roman silversmiths directly, only suggesting them through the epithets for fashionable silver of Furnian, Clodian and Gratian styles (seemingly not plate with relief figures).[179] That these terms were widely known as referring to particular styles or shapes, probably named after the craftsmen responsible (or their owners), one gathers from the epitaph in Rome of the freedman with a Greek cognomen, M. Canuleius Zosimus, '*arte in caelatura Clodiana evincit omnes*', and from Martial's mention of Gratian work.[180] Pliny also makes a number of remarks that are of importance in trying to understand Roman silver plate. Firstly he notes that undercutting was a style that was in fashion at some point, in other words figures or florals in high relief.[181] He also says that the Roman passion, almost mania, for table silver reached its highpoint in the middle of the 1st century AD.[182] A further comment, presumably set in the third quarter of the 1st century, is to the effect that 'all of a sudden this art [repoussé] so declined that it is now valued only in old specimens and authority attaches to examples worn with use even if the very design is invisible.'[183] Strong saw this as reflecting the shift in fashion from thin walled repoussé vessels in the Hellenistic tradition to heavier, cast bowls and cups, and went on to suggest that Pliny's mention of a fashionable technique that involved 'wasting as much silver as possible' reflected the beginnings of the change.[184] Elsewhere, Pliny also noted that the use of glass had driven gold and silver drinking vessels out of the market.[185] Both the new fashion for glass and the new technique of blowing into moulds, which resulted in low relief scenes, may have had an impact on the traditional way of working silver vessels as well as on their popularity.[186]

The picture we receive, therefore, is a complex one, with demand driven by a determined desire for works by '*antiqui*', or 'Old Masters' as Andrew Oliver has recently called them, that is earlier, Greek craftsmen.[187] Martial refers to such vessels as '*archetypa*'.[188] The increasing demand that Pliny describes can hardly have been satisfied by originals after the end of the first quarter of the 1st century BC and must have meant the creation of close copies and of vessels in both Classical and Hellenistic styles, much as was the case with sculpture and wall-painting. Since Pasiteles is recorded as having made both a silver cup and the first silver mirror, as well as writing on the subject of 'chasing', we might not be wrong in wondering if he was also the first to begin to attempt to meet the increased demand in his prolific and long lasting workshop.[189] Cicero informs us that Pasiteles' silver cup was a commission from the very famous actor, Q. Roscius Gallus (died 62 BC): it depicted a dramatic episode from his childhood that involved a snake being coiled round him in his crib.[190] This was, then, an original creation, but one may imagine that it drew on the iconography of Herakles and was done in a classicising style. We also know of a contemporary of Pasiteles who made silver vessels - he may even have been part of the same workshop. This was Zopyros who produced two cups showing the Court of the Areopagus and the Trial of Orestes (valued at 12,000 sesterces).[191] Their subject, drawn from Greek tragedy, suggests that they were either exact copies of earlier works ('*archetypa*') or were produced in a classicising style.

With Octavian's annexation of Egypt in 30 BC, there may have been a new influx of craftsmen with Greek origins and working in a Hellenistic style, an influx that would have coincided with the development of the early Augustan style. Any such new immigrants would have presumably merged with the 'Pasitelean' tradition. Sometime in the second quarter of the 1st century AD Zenodorus (perhaps originally a Gaulish slave) made exact copies of two cups that were said to have been made by the 5th century Greek sculptor Kalamis. These cups were created for the governor of Gaul, Dubius Avitus, who had inherited the 'originals' from his uncle, Cassius Silanus. Silanus had been given them by his pupil, Germanicus, probably in the last years of the 1st century BC. It is, indeed, highly unlikely that Avitus' cups really were '*archetypa*' by Kalamis, but whether they were products of an Alexandrian craftsman who arrived in Rome after Octavian's annexation of Egypt or even late 'Pasitelean' creations, we cannot know.

According to Pliny, the skill in producing such copies and eclectic imitations failed, presumably sometime in the third quarter of the 1st century AD, leaving the collector-consumer only with heavily worn vessels, which were almost certainly not in fact the works of real '*antiqui*'. Given the silver plate preserved at Pompeii and Herculaneum, this

judgement is perhaps hard to understand, unless Pliny simply had in mind the fashion for vessels in low relief and exaggerated their appearance, in contrast to the high relief works that he mentions, for dramatic effect.

In raising the issue of '*antiqui*', Oliver has recently suggested that the Hoby scyphi are copies of what he terms 'Old Masters' produced by a Hellenistic craftsman, and that Cheirisophos may, as a result, have been the name of the original 'Old Master' who made it 'centuries earlier'.[192] This does not, however, really take account of the double signature, in Greek and in Latin script. It is surely more likely that Cheirisophos was the copier or imitator. The Hoby scyphi are indeed of very high quality, but on the back of the Achilles scyphus the central sleeping warrior (probably Ulysses) is seen in an ambitious but rather unsatisfactory rear view (*fig. 21*). It is very flat and quite hard to read as the cuirass is so stiff. Little attempt has been made to even suggest the figure's limbs, other than his left hand on his shoulder: it almost looks like an empty cuirass! If, however, the vessel from which the design for the scene was taken had been rendered in higher relief, we would have gained a glimpse of the body beyond, especially something of the limbs. Is this a case then of a copyist or re-creator deciding not to employ such high relief, thus saving time and effort (and as a result expense)? There are other elements of the scenes that might be explained in the same way - the vagueness of the legs of the servant with the bowl of water to wash Philoctetes' wound and the absence of the legs of one of the seated women.

Zopyrus's two famous cups, produced around the middle of the 1st century BC, would not have been 'Old Masters' by Oliver's definition but new, classicizing creations. By some chance, there are two preserved canthari showing the Trial of Orestes on the Areopagus, one known since 1761, the other published by Oliver.[193] Although the general subject is the same as on Zopyrus' cups, the focus just on Athena's vote seems narrower: they cannot, of course, be by Zopyrus, but they could be simplified copies of one of Zopyrus's cups. The two preserved canthari are not identical but vary in details, some minor (drapery and rock), some major (omission of the trees from the Corsini cantharus; omission of a sun-dial topped pillar from the piece in a private collection). The style of both is very bare, the relief low, and the figures paratactic. This perhaps suggests derivation from a common source rather than exact copying, something that must also have been prevalent.

The possibility that the Betar cantharus was also a copy, perhaps in the manner of the Hoby scyphi, might help to explain the oddity of the youth's torso on side B (see above). If the 'original' version had much higher relief, with the youth's shoulders and chest more nearly profile, we might explain the distortion of the youth's torso as the result of the copier's flattening of the degree of relief. A similar loss of relief might help to explain the less obvious, but still noticeable flaws in the depiction of the three-quarter open chest on the rear of the cantharus.

If such failures over the representation of three-dimensionality and perspective do point to copying or imitation, then we may suspect its presence on other silver vessels. In the case of the Buner centaur cantharus (*fig. 22*), the absence of the lower legs and feet of the Lapith woman being carried off by the older centaur might be explained by the copying from a composition in higher relief in which the thighs and knees of the woman projected much further from the surface. The craftsman who decorated the Toledo cantharus with its masks and altars went so far as to carefully avoid any fully three-quarter views in his extremely flat rendering, with only the krater on top of the altar suggesting any depth of field and that particularly ineffectually (*fig. 11*). The contrast between this cantharus and, for example, the similar scenes on

Fig. 22. Silver cantharus, said to be from Buner (Pakistan): detail of side A. New York market, Christie's 2010 (photo Christie's New York).

vessels like the large cups from Hildesheim and Stevensweert is considerable.[194] On the latter, the high relief and the well worked-out three-dimensionality of the masks and other Bacchic impedimenta suggest that they stand much closer to 'original' Hellenistic versions than does the Toledo cantharus.[195]

A cantharus in the J. Paul Getty Museum is in a similar low relief style with a rather paratactic arrangement - indeed it is most probably by the same craftsman as the Trial of Orestes cantharus in a European collection, as Oliver has convincingly suggested.[196] Its subject, however, seems not to be a copy of a Classical or Hellenistic theme but rather a Roman construction. A figure who is surely Ulysses, having cut the head off a ram or sheep as a blood sacrifice to summon the dead from the Underworld, is juxtaposed with a group of figures who are neither famous dead heroes nor Tiresias, who was to provide Ulysses with advice on his onward journey. Instead, we find seven figures, standing and seated, that look like philosophers in conversation. Whether these are Socrates and other once recognisable philosophers transported to the Isles of the Blessed or even the Seven Sages (including Socrates, as in the later Apamea mosaic) is not entirely clear, at least to us, but the anachronistic mixing of the hero of Homer's *Odyssey* with a group of famous men of learning would seem more Roman than Hellenistic.[197] One is tempted to reconstruct the theme as Ulysses sent to the Underworld to summon the philosophers or sages to be the celebrity guests at a *convivium*, whether one of their own (as set by Plutarch in Delphi) or that even of the owner of the vessel. Here then we probably have a copy of an earlier, classicizing work of the time of Pasiteles and Zopyrus, one that combined a Classical theme with something more in line with Roman ideas.

The idea that there were copies and recreations makes any attempt to isolate individual craftsmen extremely difficult. Nevertheless, there are strong stylistic connections between the Betar cantharus and the centaur cantharus from the hoard found at Buner (Pakistan), a vessel whose rim and foot also provide details that are particularly close to that of the Betar cantharus, as noted above. It would seem quite likely that the two canthari were produced in the same workshop. There also seem to be close stylistic links between the Betar cantharus and the pair of signed scyphi from Hoby. Details, of hands, ears, hair and drapery correspond well, while the bareness of the composition and lack of any subsidiary ornament are also comparable. We might also note that the cantharus with Ulysses and the philosophers is very close to the pair with Pan and satyr families, as Oliver pointed out. The latter pair also recalls the Cleveland beaker from Vicarello.[198] Finally, the pair of canthari from Bertouville with historical figures is very close to the pair from Moregine. It seems impossible, however, to decide how many of these small stylistically recognisable groups might correspond to the work of the same or different craftsmen.

The Romans clearly did not suffer from the modern preference for an original over a copy. For them a sculpture, a wall-painting or a silver cantharus was to be enjoyed and admired if it displayed something of Classical culture, whether this involved careful, highly skilled copying of what was (or was thought to be) a work by a Greek '*antiquus*' (compare Avitus' silver cups) or the creation of a new classicizing work that combined Greek and Roman elements.[199] The precise relationships between individual silver vessels that have been preserved to us and any earlier versions or 'originals' cannot be worked out like a stemma of manuscripts or a sequence of portrait types, since so few examples have been preserved and the subjects are so varied. It is important, however, to remain open to the existence of such a process of transmission, a process in which there were probably many different stages or versions.

Dating

As for the dating of the early Roman silverware that is preserved to us, although we have the closed contexts of the house and villa treasures from Pompeii, Boscoreale and Herculaneum, which must date before the final eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79, it is very difficult to find any helpful chronological indicators to set individual pieces in the overall time bracket of ca 60 BC to AD 79.[200]

Internal iconographical details have sometimes been used. Vermeule proposed various historical identifications for individual figures: Augustus on the Meroë cantharus; Germanicus/Tiberius as Orestes and Claudius as Chryses on the London cantharus; Tiberius as Achilles, with Gemanicus and Drusus the younger, Agrippina and Livia, on the Hoby scyphi; and Tiberius and the younger Drusus on the back of the Betar cantharus.[201] Such wild ideas have been matched more recently by Marisa Mastroroberto who proposed to identify the herms on the Moregine canthari as portraits of Mark Antony and Octavian, allowing her to go on to claim that the canthari were intended

to celebrate the reconciliation between the two, resulting in a date for them of ca 40 BC.[202] Similarly unreliable arguments have been made from hairstyles, whether published, like those of Vermeule, or unpublished, such as that of Dick Nicholls who dated the cantharus to the first quarter or early second quarter of the 1st century AD,[203] or Susan Walker who preferred a Neronian date.[204] Ernst Künzl suggested a precise date of 11/10 BC for the silver calathus from Wardt-Lüttingen near Xanten on iconographic grounds, linking the scene, which he interpreted as Jason and Creusa, with the second marriage of Julia with Tiberius, but his arguments appear overly speculative and unreliable.[205]

We seem to be on more certain ground with the high relief pair of scyphi with imperial scenes from Boscoreale with scenes from the lives of Augustus and Tiberius.[206] Nevertheless, their dating remains problematic - they could date as early as 8-7 BC, the date of Tiberius' first triumph, or they could be products of AD 14-20 celebrating Tiberius' divine ancestry and his early deeds as emperor. Much depends on the identification of the figures and the fullest recent study, that of Ann Kuttner, argues strongly for the earlier date.[207]

Contextual associations are also offered as a means of dating. The Classicising pair of scyphi from Hoby have been connected, because of the scratched name of Silius under their feet, with Gaius Silius the commander of the Roman legions in southern Germany from AD 14 until AD 21, and the cups seen as diplomatic presents for a local chieftain in Denmark of the sort mentioned by Tacitus among the Germans.[208] It is far from certain, however, whether the name Silius refers to an owner or whether it should be linked with the similarly incised names Apelles and Sisimis on some other pieces and refer to a dealer or, less plausibly, to a false attribution to an earlier craftsman.[209] If it is connected with Gaius Silius, then, at best, it only offers a *terminus ante quem*.

The Meroë scyphus has been associated with either Caesar's military campaign under C. Petronius in 25 BC, as pillage, or the expedition in 61 AD under Nero, as a diplomatic gift.[210] The plaster copy of a silver cantharus, very like the one from Alise, which has been found at Kara-Tobe in the western Crimea, has led to an association with the activities of T. Plautius Silvanus Aellianus in 58-66 AD in relieving the blockade of Chersonese by the king of the Scythians, although it might be better connected with diplomatic gifts to Aspurgus, the ruler of the client Bosporan kingdom from 8 BC until AD 38.[211] Similarly, the deposition date of the Hildesheim treasure remains problematic (AD 7 or some 50 years later), even if there is general agreement that the objects are Augustan in date.[212] Finally, the external evidence of the Karoshti graffiti on the Buner silver cantharus might suggest a *terminus ante quem* at the beginning of the 1st century AD, but there is little real precision here either.[213]

Arretine pottery, which is generally dated from 30 BC to AD 60, can, with the aid of the work done on the various overlapping workshops, especially most recently that of Francesca Porten Palange and Philip Kenrick, perhaps offer another route. Kenrick makes it clear that the most imaginative and prolific period was his Period B, dating to ca 20/15 BC to AD 15.[214] Those silver pieces that are particularly closely linked in subject with Arretine vessels, for example Rasinus' Chryses scene and his Priam and Achilles scene, or Cn. Ateius' Priam and Achilles, his Philoktetes, and his Homer or Aion scenes, suggest a bracket perhaps of 20/15 BC to AD 10/15.[215] The depiction of cranes are also to be found, in both the works of Cn. Ateius and Cornelius.[216] Homoerotic scenes appear with the Tigranus phase of the Perennius workshop (ca 15 BC - AD 10) and in the workshops of Cispius[217] and Pomponius.[218] Overall, therefore, if we assume that Arretine and silver versions of the same or similar scenes were roughly contemporary (and this is a considerable assumption), we can perhaps narrow down the date of the silver versions to the last decade of the 1st century BC or the first decade of the 1st century AD. Even though there are no very close parallels for the front of the Betar cantharus, nor even really for the rear, such a date bracket might seem acceptable.[219]

It is often thought that high relief silver plate predates low relief work. Ann Kuttner, however, in her volume on the Boscoreale historical scyphi commented that 'the choice between baroque or illusionistic high relief on the one hand and low, flat "painterly" relief on the other hand was just that - a choice from available modes. One did not succeed the other in time in strict organic evolution; either mode could be employed at will, with good Hellenistic models for both modes.'[220] Although this is no doubt true, in terms of silver relief work, however, different craftsmen or workshops may have specialised in high or low relief, depending both on skill and current fashion. Furthermore, in the case of special commissions, of the order of the Boscoreale historical scyphi (and perhaps Pasiteles' cup for Roscius), it may have been deemed more suitable to employ a high relief technique, whether in the last decade of the

1st century BC or the second decade of the 1st century AD. Fashion and content, therefore, may have determined the degree of relief, along with skill and training, and the fashion for high relief may itself have waxed and waned. Nevertheless, one does detect a general, growing acceptance of low relief (as Pliny's remark, noted above, also suggests). Furthermore, if one adds the likelihood of an increase in the copying of earlier and grander works, especially when demand began to outstrip supply, then the reduction in relief would tend to be a significant result over time.

In conclusion, a date for the Betar cantharus of 10 BC-AD 10 would seem the most likely at present although the issue raised earlier of copying makes precision impossible.

Findspot

In August 1909 Hirsch, the first known modern owner of the cantharus, recorded the findspot as Palestine, before selling it to Warren in 1911.[221] In 1932, Vorberg noted its findspot as Syria.[222] Vermeule, who seems never to have handled the vessel, only heard of it, probably through colleagues in London or Cambridge, claimed on no apparent foundation that it came from Pompeii.[223] In 1966 Donald Strong, however, who had handled the cantharus, recorded Richard Nicholls' report (given to him by J.D. Beazley in a letter) that it was found in 'Palestine together with coins of Claudius'.[224]

The source for this information is, in fact, also recorded among a series of Beazley's notes on Warren's acquisitions held in the Beazley Archive, with additional details, as Peter Stewart has kindly informed me.[225] Beazley's undated note is as follows:

> 'Silver cup, erotic: said to be from Jerusalem. Sometime after the purchase, a dealer was showing some articles found at Bettir (or Bittir), 6-7 miles from Jerusalem, & said that there was found also, 20 feet underground, a silver cup. On being shown this cup, he identified it as the same one. Bettir was the place where the Maccabees made their last stand against the Romans. The date of the cup would be AD. 14-70.
> [EPW. told me it was found with coins of Claudius; & Hirsch, from whom W. had it, & who bought it back from W.'s executors, confirmed this.]'

This note reveals very clearly how careful Warren was about proveniences, cross-checking information whenever he could. The additional information provided by Beazley, namely the finding of coins of Claudius with the silver cup, was similarly cross-checked. Beazley also reported to Dietrich von Bothmer that at Lewes House the cup was referred to as the 'Holy Grail' as a result of its provenience.[226]

The provenience of Bittir (ancient Betar) was also provided by Hewett to Ariel Herrmann, after she had purchased the cantharus in 1966. Finally, in 1999 David Sox came across some documentation still with the family of Harold Asa Thomas, Warren's executor and legatee. This consisted, firstly, of a letter written by Thomas in March 1938 to Frank Gearing, Warren's last secretary, requesting

> 'a list of the works of art etc. I have, with as many details as possible, such as dimensions etc. Sevres Vase, Silver Cup, Livia, Le Baiser, Rochefort, Eric Gill, Augustus John, The Slate relief, The other pictures, Columns, and anything else you can think of…'

In addition, Sox found the list itself, drawn up by Gearing:

> '…Silver: A calyx Cup on foot, with erotic scenes in relief on the outside, and a removable liner, to which is attached the rim. Said to have been found at Bittir, six miles from Jerusalem, 20 feet underground. Bittir was the place where the Maccabees made their last stand against the Romans. Roman. About 14-70 AD.'

Bittir, as Gearing and Beazley both noted, has long been of historic interest. The site was first identified in 1863 by V. Guerin as Betar, the site of Bar-Kokhba's famous last stand.[227] There have been several subsequent descriptions, especially by C. Clairmont-Ganneau (1899, 463-470), E. Zickermann (1906), and W.D. Carroll (1923-1924), but the site suffered severely as a result of the economic development after 1967.[228] David Ussishkin's survey and excavation in 1984 confirmed that the citadel known as Khirbet el-Yahud was the ancient Betar and revealed that occupation extended back at least until the end of the 8th century BC.[229] It also provided evidence of two major construction phases on the site: an early, carefully built ashlar fortification or retaining wall of the Second Temple period and a later hasty defensive circuit, with semicircular bastions and a rectangular tower, constructed in the 2nd century AD. Ussishkin also identified remains of another early building, its

ashlar blocks having been built into the later rectangular tower. The working of the blocks was different from those of the wall and Ussishkin suggested that they came from some public building in the area. The later hasty fortification wall must have been built by the Bar-Kokhba rebels; the ashlar wall and building indicate use in the early 1st century AD before the First Revolt and the destruction of the First Temple. Unfortunately, the large structure described by Carroll in the centre of the citadel (interpreted by him as the military headquarters, since he thought that there was a Roman garrison here after AD 135) had been completely destroyed. Nevertheless, Carroll's description indicates that it was built of ashlar masonry, 10.25m x 8.70m, and is surely to be dated to Ussishkin's pre-First Revolt period.[230] The earliest Roman pottery from Ussishkin's excavations points to the 1st century BC and he and Karen Singer suggest that the early building phase may well be of that time.[231] It is impossible to determine, therefore, whether the ashlar development of the site was Hasmoneian or Herodian, but it was certainly prior to the Roman take-over of AD 6. During the Roman governance of Judaea as a province, dependent from Syria, Betar may well have been occupied by a member of the local élite who supported Roman rule.

If we turn now to an article by Archdeacon Theodore E. Dowling, we can learn something that may be of particular relevance for the Betar cantharus.[232] Dowling recorded that in February 1906: 'three native Moslem families, who own the land near the Castle grounds [the citadel], began to clear the stones for the cultivation of the soil. This occupied about four months. During this period, undisturbed by the Government, they unearthed one perfect flint spear-head, many broken specimens of spears, one large brass vessel, iron spear heads, iron door rings, stone balls, a quantity of pottery, a large cistern, and another cistern full of wheat. The most interesting discoveries, however, have been the extraordinary number of beautiful silver and copper specimens of Jewish coins.' Elsewhere, we hear of several hoards or groups of coins being found on the site, in 1889 (report of L. Hamburger), 1905 (Jewish bronze coins), 1906 (see above), and late 1907 (probably bronze), but there is no mention of any coins of Claudius.[233] They must have been imperial issues and were probably silver denarii (or even perhaps gold *aureii*, although one might have expected this to have been mentioned by Beazley). It is not now possible to discover what they in fact were or where they have ended up - coin dealers in the early 20th century were rarely interested in the precise source of their coins.[234]

Carroll later noted, in his discussion of cisterns on the citadel that the large cistern mentioned by Dowling was no longer visible.[235] He went on, however, to describe how a local villager had led him to a spot where there was a great deal of water underground, which he took to mean that this was where Dowling's cistern was - a short distance to the northwest of the large house.

Putting these various pieces of information together, we may perhaps imagine that the silver cantharus was buried with coins of Claudius (AD 41-54), a hoard hidden in a cistern, which would suit very well the description of its finding '12 feet underground'. We might note that the hiding place of the Boscoreale Treasure was also a cistern: it had been placed there prior to the eruption of Vesuvius.[236] Given Ussishkin's analysis of the site and our sources on the First Jewish Revolt (AD 66-74), we may suspect that the vessel was hidden in the face of the growing uprising. Perhaps it was owned by a member of the local Hellenized and Romanized élite, who occupied the large house, perhaps one of the *dynatoi* mentioned frequently by Josephus.[237] Although there was clearly no Roman fort on the site, its situation gave it considerable importance in regard to the road system and thus control of Judaea, so that one cannot rule out the possibility that a Roman officer was stationed at Betar, or had a rural residence there.[238]

In any case, it seems that the cantharus was to remain undisturbed in the large cistern until it was rediscovered by the farmers. They will have sold it and the coins to one of the Jewish dealers in Jerusalem, whom Dowling notes were very active and were able to sell on to dealers in Europe and America.[239] One of these distant dealers was Hirsch, then based in Munich and perhaps the foremost dealer in ancient coins of the time.[240] The cantharus probably travelled with the coins of Claudius to Hirsch. The fate of the coins is not known.

Modern History

The first mention of the cantharus was recently noticed by Platz in the archive of the Berlin Antikenmuseum. It appears in two letters from Hirsch in Munich, to Zahn, then the newly appointed Kustos in the Antikenabteilung of the Berlin Museums (later Direktor).[241]

On 9 August 1909 he wrote: 'I have a beaker found in Palestine with relief decoration and would very much like to hear your scholarly

opinion, which I value so highly.' On 12 August Hirsch reported that 'Just as your valued letter of the 11th arrived, Herr Direktor Dressel came to me and I immediately showed him the silver beaker, which he declared undoubtedly genuine. If you think that your Museum or one of the collectors that you know might wish to purchase the cup, I would be happy to bring the cup to Berlin around August 24th or 25th. To guide you, permit me to enclose a single very poor photograph.' Heinrich Dressel was, of course, the head of the coin cabinet in the Berlin Museums, the leading German expert of Roman Kleinkunst and a senior colleague of Zahn. Neither this single photograph is preserved, nor Zahn's replies. When, however, at some point after September 1939, as Platz supposes, the museum was closed and most of the objects packed up, Zahn began to put together his archive files or 'Mappen' (some 1000 in total) of letters, notes and photographs, he grouped together not only the two letters from Hirsch but also two photographs of the cantharus before cleaning, and one (with four images) of it after cleaning, as well, as images of comparanda. This 'Mappe' is headed 'Silver beaker with obscene scenes - from Palestine. Market, with Hirsch - now with Warren, Lewes'.

In their biography of Warren, Osbert Burdett and E.H. Goddard described a particularly important purchase made in 1911:

> 'one bought about this time for £2,000 (for which an offer was made years later of £15,000) is still unsold: its purchase demanded Warren's presence in Rome and the journey which at first seemed tiresome and wearying, became a pleasant interlude which brought back delightful memories of the past…'[242]

Nothing more is said of the object itself, but the price paid and the need for Warren to go to Rome to secure it indicate its importance, especially to him. The silver cup with homoerotic scenes was in fact the only significant antiquity left unsold when they wrote in 1936. One must, therefore, presume that Hirsch moved it from Munich to Rome after a while, perhaps in the hope that it might be easier to sell there, either because of the possibility of linking it with the Vesuvian cities or because of its subject matter. In Rome, one of his closest contacts was Paul Hartwig, with whom he often shared ownership of objects, and when Warren went there in 1911, Hartwig was one of the old friends that he visited - the others mentioned were Coleman, Hauser, Helbig, Fothergill, Parsons, Benedetti, and Oscar Browning.[243]

Warren was all too aware of the unsuitability of the vessel for public display and he does not seem to have considered offering it to Boston, as he did so much else, until late in life. In 1921 he wrote to Arthur Fairbanks on 30 April:

> 'My dear Dr. Fairbanks,
> I have long intended to present certain objects to Boston, of a kind you would not place on exhibition. Among them is a silver cup of the 1st century, in fine condition and very beautifully worked. There are also some Arretine bowls, and, I think, a few odds and ends. Their monetary value is considerable. … I am not, however, quite certain that these sendings would not cause you inconvenience, not knowing whether the Collectors of Income Tax inspect the objects, nor whether the Customs House people will give you trouble.'[244]

Warren did not, however, follow through with this gift, presumably because he received no encouragement from Boston.

It was also in 1921 that Vorberg's first collection of images of Greek and Roman antiquities with erotic subjects was published. Here the Betar cantharus took pride of place, the first three plates, suggesting not only that Warren gave Vorberg the images but also perhaps that Vorberg even visited Lewes House, for he also included Warren's Arretine mould with erotic scenes.[245] This mould was a gift, along with a number of other pieces, including a complete Arretine krater and another complete mould, from Beazley to the Ashmolean in 1966 and it seems likely that Beazley inherited some or all of the group of pieces mentioned by Warren in his letter to Boston.[246] We are left to wonder whether it was as a result of Vorberg's Munich publication that some collector or dealer offered Warren £15,000 for the cantharus. Might it even have been the Munich-based dealer and collector Paul Arndt, as a number of his objects were included in Vorberg's volumes?

In 1929, following Warren's death, his legatee, Harold Asa Thomas, had some antiquities put up for sale in London at Sotheby's in May and most of the contents of Lewes House locally at Gorringe's in October.[247] The silver cantharus, however, was not included in either as a result of the influence of Harold Parsons. Parsons had been trying to secure control of the major items from Lewes House so that he could earn a commission on their sale. Parsons wrote to Thomas from New York on 2 March 1929:

> 'Thank you for the cable giving me four month's control of the Filippino. I feel confident that I can make the sale for you as I have several clients seriously interested.... What about the Livia?...'[248]

Then when he heard about the proposed sale, he wrote from his yacht, the 'Saharet', as he cruised round Sicily on 21 September:

> '... and I will try to get to England in time for your sale. I hope you do not mean to put the Livia into the sale, for I think that would damage its chances in America. I am certain to get you a big price for it, if you will let me have it in America. The silver bowl will be less easy: you should bide your time with that piece. Don't be stampeded into selling these two pieces or the big Rodin group, for if you are patient you will get big prices for all of them, but one has to negotiate. ...'[249]

Thomas' request for a list of the residue of Lewes House in 1938 (see above) was perhaps prompted by the approaching 'majority' of Travis (Warren's adopted son; at the age of 32) when he would gain his inheritance unrestricted. There do not, however, seem to have been any sales at this point. Furthermore, family tales suggest that the vessel was something of an embarrassment and was put away in the attic.[250]

It was only in 1952 that an attempt was made to sell the silver cantharus. The initial negotiations were undertaken by Parsons who contacted the New York collector Walter Baker, but he hesitated, perhaps as Dietrich von Bothmer suggested in a letter to Beazley, because 'he is afraid of what his wife will say when she finds out'.[251] Then, presumably to hurry things along, Thomas 'quite unexpectedly sent the silver cup to New York, consigned to Walter Baker. When inspected by customs the subject was at once observed and the box had to be resealed, pending a decision in Washington whether to allow the import of pornography. This put Walter on the spot, and he hastily offered us [MMA] the cup as a gift and let us struggle with the Treasury Dept. of which Customs is a branch'.[252] An appeal was launched against this decision by U.S. Customs Examiner La Rosa that the vessel's images were 'obscene', but it failed as a result of U.S. Customs' displeasure at the large quantities of 'obscenities' imported by Alfred Kinsey, especially from Japan (now in the Kinsey Institute, Bloomington, Indiana). By the time the vessel was eventually returned to England in October 1954, Thomas was already dead. Parsons, however, had succeeded in selling the small bronze head of Livia to New York in 1952.[253]

Sometime soon thereafter, the cantharus was sold back to Hirsch, presumably with the help of Parsons - he and Hirsch were good friends, Parsons calling the latter 'Papa Hirsch'.[254] Hirsch then sold it on to K. John Hewett (died 1994), a leading London dealer. In about 1958/9 Hewett tried to sell it to the British Museum. Denys Haynes was Keeper and showed it to Lord Crawford, a Trustee and a valued supporter; Donald Strong was an Assistant Keeper at this time and examined it too. But, since the Chairman of Trustees was the Archbishop of Canterbury, Crawford advised against even presenting it as a potential purchase.[255] Hewett next offered it to Colonel Norman Colville MC, a Cornish landowner (died 1974). It was sent to him sight unseen (as was apparently usual with him), but when he opened the box he was horrified and sent it back.[256] When it was offered to the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge in the summer of 1961, despite the urgings of Richard Nicholls, Keeper of Antiquities, and Carl Winter, the Director, its Syndics were no braver.

In the end, it was only in 1966 that Hewett found a buyer when the American scholar and connoisseur Herrmann boldly decided to purchase the cantharus. In June 1972 she loaned it to the Basel Antikenmuseum where it was kept in storage for many years, only going out on show to the public in 1988. In October 1991 she transferred the loan of the cantharus to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[257] It remained on show there from 1992 until 1998 when it was unexpectedly sold to the financial expert and collector, Claude Hankes-Drielsma. Eventually, the British Museum was able to acquire it thanks to the generous financial support of the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Art Fund, the international group of friends of the Greek and Roman Department known as the Caryatids, especially Roy Lennox and Richard W.C. Kan, the British Museum Friends and funds from various bequests to the British Museum. It immediately went on public display in May 1999.

Conclusion

Finally, we need to try set the Betar cantharus in its ancient context, as much as is now possible. We do not know who made it, who purchased it or who owned it by the time it was buried. Our only clue, in fact, is the reported find-spot, Bittir (ancient Betar; now Battir), a few miles southwest of Jerusalem.

We may begin with some general observations about relief decorated canthari. This was indeed one of the most common decorated silver shapes of the last century BC and the 1st AD and one that often bear signs of considerable wear, perhaps more often than other contemporary shapes.[258] Furthermore, it is very noticeable how examples of the shape, especially the smaller versions, have been found not only in central Italy but also far afield, in regions where a Roman presence was important, whether militarily or administratively. The find spots include the following: the sanctuary of Mercury Canetonensis at Berthouville in Upper Normandy (France); Meroë in the Sudan, the southern boundary of Roman penetration in Africa; Vize (Byzia) near Byzantium (Turkey), always a meeting point of cultures; in Syria (unspecified)[259]; and even Buner in far off Pakistan.[260] These find spots naturally recall Tacitus' remark about silver being given as diplomatic gifts in Germania to chieftains and the like,[261] but we should not forget Pliny's mention of officers taking their silver plate on campaign.[262] The Buner cantharus, and its companions in a hoard, may reflect the passing of gifts to those along the line of the Silk Route to secure trade, a passage that was of particular importance to the Romans. Betar, near Jerusalem, would seem to fit rather well with such scenarios, especially after AD 6, when Judaea was taken over as a Roman province.

These observations need to be set against the wider context of silver plate which, in general, suggests that by the late 1st century BC it was frequently purchased by wealthy 'middle rankers' (free-born and freed) for display and use at their *convivia*. The discovery of silver vessels in the houses and villas of wealthy business men, including freedmen, in the neighbourhood of Mt Vesuvius fits this pattern, while Suetonius' mention of the lack of silver being a sign of poverty provides a further reflection of its widespread ownership.[263] It would, thus, seem unlikely that many such vessels were actually specially commissioned (Pasiteles' for Roscius and Zenodoros' for Avitus would be exceptions). Rather, they will have more often than not been bought 'off the shelf' as seems to be suggested in Pliny's description of the fast changing fashions in silver.[264] The imperial family had specialist craftsmen and slaves in their huge households and it is in such an environment that we might best think in terms of the regular commissioning of silver vessels. This means that it is probably misguided to think that the owner of a silver cantharus regularly had any direct input into the fashioning of its scenes, although of course he will presumably have bought what appealed to him, and craftsmen will have made what was considered popular or at least saleable. This is important to bear in mind when reflecting on the subjects depicted on the Betar cantharus.

For such 'middle rankers' of the Late Republic, Augustan and Early Imperial periods it will have been important to project an atmosphere (whether actual or aspirational) of cultured *otium*, that is Epicurean leisure and luxury, dominated by the Hellenising scholarly pleasures of reading, writing, philosophical discussion, and admiration of antique art. They will have made sure they understood the scenes on their silver plate (unlike Trimalchio) and been able to discuss them with their guests. The owner of the cantharus with male-to-male *symplegmata* no doubt purchased it because the scenes appealed to him. Such vessels often seem to have existed as pairs (or multiples of two), but not always. It is possible, therefore, that the middle-ranking purchaser in fact bought a pair of canthari, something that might encourage one to speculate on the scenes on the putative second vessel - differently posed male-male couplings or even male-female intercourse. Such a missing mate might have altered the way the scenes were viewed by their users, but we cannot know.

There seem two plausible possibilities concerning the owner's identity. He may have been a member of the Romanized local élite or a Roman officer. Roman officers and officials will have taken silver plate with them on their postings. Indeed, Peter Noelke in his recent work on the tombstones of auxiliary cavalrymen on the Gallo-German frontier that show the deceased at banquet accompanied by vessels, no doubt of silver, has argued that they are of Italian rather than local form and must reflect silver vessels owned by the officers.[265] If the owner was indeed a Roman officer, one might recall the mention in the description of Caesar's war in Spain of an officer with a *concubinus* and wonder what the reality of male-bonding in the Roman army might have been, following the precedent of Virgil's Nisus and Euryalus, even if it was never so organised as in the earlier Theban Sacred Band.[266]

If, however, the cantharus was owned by a member of the local élite, then one presumes that it was presented to him by a Roman official as part of the process of ensuring his allegiance to Rome, a process recorded by Tacitus in dealings with Germanic chieftains.[267] We cannot know whether the gift came from the Roman's stock of plate or was purchased with the intention of its

being a gift. Nevertheless, the giver must have known that the recipient would not be offended by the scenes on the cantharus. In this respect, one should note both that Palestinian Jewish attitudes to sex between males seem to have mirrored Roman attitudes and that Jerusalem was clearly heavily Hellenized during the 2nd century BC.[268] Whoever the ultimate owner was, the cultured Greek context of the scenes could, when necessary, have served as some sort of a 'smokescreen', similar to that perhaps adopted by Q. Lutatius Catulus in the early 1st century BC and later by Martial, who addressed almost all of his erotic poems to boys with Greek names not Roman ones, if that was ever felt necessary.[269]

The ultimate owner, whether Roman or local, would seem to have had his residence or official quarters up on the plateau of Betar and had the cantharus with him when the uprising of the First Jewish Revolt got under way, causing him to hide it and his store of coins in a cistern, as he fled, never to return.

Finally, it has been argued here that the problems with some of the poses and the height of the relief may indicate that the Betar cantharus was a copy of an earlier vessel and, furthermore, that other examples of copies of silver vessels can be recognised. An earlier version, or 'original', of the Betar cantharus may have been conceived by a craftsman who brought together earlier Hellenistic compositions and gave them a classicising veneer, sometime around the middle of the 1st century BC - one thinks perhaps of Pasiteles and his workshop. The Betar cantharus was itself then a later copy of such a piece, one created perhaps at the end of the century or early in the 1st century AD. This complex process of copying and re-creation may at first seem unlikely, but it is perhaps naïve to consider every silver piece of plate, which was after all so much in demand, as an individual artistic creation.

As a result of the increasing absorption of Greek art, literature and music since the second half of the 2nd century BC Roman culture became deeply 'bilingual'. Virgil's and Horace's comments on the nature of the relationship between Rome and the Greek east make it all too clear that the Romans themselves understood and celebrated the amalgam that they had created - we should not hesitate to do so too, especially when it takes the form of such a remarkable piece as the Betar cantharus.[270]

Appendix: Authenticity

The Betar cantharus is just the sort of piece to attract doubts about its authenticity: its 'uncomfortable' subject matter and its 'colourful' first modern owner sadly make that almost inevitable.

A. Marabini Moevs

The first scholar to have argued in print against the vessel's authenticity was Maria Teresa Marabini Moevs.[271] In 2006 she commented forcefully in a footnote of her volume on the terra sigillata from Cosa that the Betar cantharus is 'a silver vessel of such poor stylistic quality that it must be the work of an unskilled forger'.[272] In April 2008 she paid a visit to the British Museum with Claudio Franchi, a jeweller and silversmith, during which she was given copies of the Museum's scientific reports. Although clearly now impressed with the quality of the piece, she clung to her first reactions and, while reluctantly admitting that the foot and liner might be ancient, she claimed that the relief mantle was 'a voyeuristic, *fin de siècle* interpretation of erotic scenes based on classical models, made by a craftsman in Liberty Style [ie Art Nouveau], commissioned with the aim of satisfying the presumed tastes of a certain element of English society of the late 19th century.'[273]

The compositional analysis of the silver indicates that the source for the silver of which the Betar cantharus was made may well have been Republican silver coins (the sample was taken from the repoussé casing). The silver available in 1900 was naturally much purer, lacking specifically the gold content of ancient silver which was removed for its own value. The understanding of the actual composition of ancient silver is something that only achieved real precision in the 1960s when x-ray diffraction began to be used for metallurgical analysis. Indeed, the precise composition of metal objects, whether silver, gold or bronze, was not known in 1900 and was not considered important, not least because nobody could test it accurately. The supposition that a forger might have melted down a hoard of ancient silver coins might sound attractive to some commentators, but it would make no sense, as it would have been completely unnecessary and commercially unsound, for even worn ancient silver coins had a value above their silver content, as clever forgers could attempt to re-strike them. When forgers set out in the early 20th century to make completely fake Roman denarii they used contemporary, pure silver.[274] In the end, only if the Betar cantharus

could not be traced back any earlier than the late 1960s might one question its authenticity despite such scientific evidence.

Marabini Moevs began by trying to argue that foot and liner are ancient, but the casing modern, but as we have seen above, there are in fact strong reasons not only for considering all three parts to be ancient but also that foot and casing were found still joined together.

Her idea that the scenes display the influence of Art Nouveau would, indeed, have been a relatively easy way to recognise a fake of the early 20th century, for with the passing of time the contemporary influences on the forger become clearer, as in the case of Alceo Dossena's (1878-1937) forgeries of both terracotta and marble sculpture or that of the 'Etruscan' warriors produced by A. Fioravanti and the Riccardi brothers (in ca 1910-1915), which now seem all too obvious forgeries.[275] Nevertheless, there is clearly nothing here as obvious, while the style of the figures in fact corresponds extremely well with that found on Roman silver vessels from more controlled excavations, such as the Hoby scyphi or the Moregine canthari. Indeed, Marabini Moevs' sole Art Nouveau comparison is with an early 20th-century Italian medal engraver, E. Rubino, and this only reveals the classicising, academic figure style of such artists, rather than any reverse influence.[276]

Much of Marabini Moevs' argument in fact centres on the scene of the man and the youth, which she claims is 'unrelated to the homosexual practices of the Romans' and 'cannot be justified by the homoerotic habits of that society'.[277] The interpretation of the scenes requires careful thought, avoiding as much as possible modern prejudices and scholarly constructions.

More specifically, as regards the door motif, Moevs claimed that the creator of the Betar cantharus was copying a fresco from the Cryptoporticus of the House of the Stags at Herculaneum.[278] This fresco does indeed provide a very good parallel for the boy (here a cupid) at the door, and the door itself, but since it was only discovered during Maiuri's excavations of 1929-1932, after Warren's death, it can hardly have had any impact on the maker of the cantharus. In fact, as noted above, the motif of a slave at an open door in an erotic context is also to be found on a couple of later Gaulish pottery fragments which it would be very unlikely for any forger in 1900-1910 to have known.[279]

Returning to the man and youth, Marabini Moevs next claimed that the scene was copied from a fragmentary Athenian red-figured cup once in the collection of Augusto Castellani on the outside of which a man is shown at a symposium with his arms round a youth who shares his couch.[280] There seems no obvious visual connection here at all. Marabini Moevs also saw the strap held by the youth on the Betar cantharus as being copied from another Athenian red-figured cup, this time once in the collection of Alessandro Castellani, where a hetaira is shown supporting herself during intercourse with the aid of a strap.[281] Such straps, however, are to be found as supports for both men and women in later Roman representations of sex scenes and in sex scenes on both 6th- and 5th-century Athenian pottery - they even appear on many 6th-century vases depicting grape-treading.[282] Practicality is no evidence of forgery!

Marabini Moevs also noted some of the anatomical difficulties of the poses of the figures.[283] The visual problem of the lower torso of the youth on side B has been addressed above. She dismissed the braid on the top of the head of this youth as 'illogical', whereas it is in fact an important detail that requires explanation, and is just the sort of detail that a forger would not have known about or have bothered to attempt, as Pollini noted in 2010, while the manner in which it has been rendered recalls the boy on one of the Moregine canthari.[284]

Finally, in speculating on how her forgery was created she sought to implicate the Castellani brothers, Augusto and Alessandro. Alessandro did restore jewellery, adding, for example, almost half of a necklace before he sold it to the British Museum,[285] but he also produced Classicising jewellery that was never intended to deceive. In any case he died in 1883, some ten years before Warren even began to collect antiquities. Augusto lived on until 1914 and, although a dealer like his brother for much of his life, there is no evidence that he was involved with forgeries. As a bridge to Warren, Moevs added Fausto Benedetti, whom she paints as a good looking young rogue, who was well known to Warren.[286] Again, however, there is no evidence that he was a forger, only an illicit 'excavator'and active dealer.

The appendix written by Claudio Franchi concentrates on methods of manufacture. His characterisation of the use of narrow rather than wide chisels in the working up of the relief from the inside as being a modern idea is not borne out by comparison with other Roman silver cups. His claim that a skilled forger might have buried his work for months, constantly adding chemicals to accelerate natural corrosion processes, and thus been able to create the same degree of degradation of the surface, does not match with the contemporary comments on this favourite theme by

Tyszkiewicz and André - see 'Coda' below. Finally, he makes no comment on the analysis of the silver itself or on its divergence from early 20th century silver, nor on the natural corrosion products found on the cantharus or the British Museum's scientific work which he was shown.

B. Giuliani

The second published attack on the authenticity of the Betar cantharus was that by Luca Giuliani in 2013-2014. In 2013 he gave a lecture in Berlin and then published an article in the periodical *Zeitschrift für Ideengeschichte* and a shorter piece in the newspaper *Die Zeit* (14 August 2013: 'Falscher Sex').[287] In March 2014 he gave two papers in England, in London (King's College) and Oxford (Corpus Christi College). Giuliani's published version begins by recounting how he was first shown photographs of the piece by an unnamed dealer in the Hotel Kempinski in Berlin in 1979. Back at the Antikenmuseum, Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer, then its Director, gave these photographs 'a quick, amused glance' and declared the piece a fake. This is hardly surprising since the Betar cantharus was then on loan in Basel and the owner has denied to me that she made any attempt to sell it between her purchase in 1966 and 1998.[288] Clearly the photographs shown to Giuliani were of a copy of the vessel (no doubt one of those produced in 1931-1932) which had come into the hands of an unnamed and clearly unscrupulous dealer who sought to use the novice volunteer in the Antikenmuseum to test whether the copy might pass as a valuable original.

Giuliani's articles and lectures, like Marabini Moevs' work, have avoided talking about any physical aspects of the cantharus itself, such as the silver composition, the condition or the craftsmanship (he had neither handled it before going into print and lecturing in London and Oxford nor reviewed the scientific evidence that had already been mentioned in my 2006 book and noted by Marabini Moevs).[289] Instead, he begins by taking exception to the occurrence of such scenes on a silver vessel. His basic tenet is a 'Wertskala' in which the more expensive the material the more decorum is shown in the iconography - 'für sexuelle Seitensprünge scheint es hier [on silver vessels] keinen Platz gegeben zu haben'. This is hardly substantiated by Pliny's reference, noted earlier, to silver cups 'engraved with libidinous subjects'.[290] His claims of the impact of early 20th century pornography, such as the voyeuristic motif of the slave at the door, is similarly undermined both by related scenes in Hellenistic and Roman art and, of course, by Roman literature.[291]

As a conclusion, Giuliani juxtaposed Warren's sexuality with his failure to acquire the whole of the Boscoreale silver treasure in 1895 and suggested that it was the conservators who cleaned the Boscoreale silver hoard in Italy before they were acquired by Rothschild that created the erotic silver vessel for a special customer who eventually fell for their 'niche marketing' some 15 years later. In his 2014 lectures he went further and identified the goldsmith and restorer Alfred André (1839-1919) as the probable culprit, relying on Rudolf Distelberger's thesis that André was not just a restorer and a producer of mediaeval and Renaissance jeweller, but actually made some pieces to deceive. The line is very hard to draw in the later nineteenth century and there is no evidence that he produced any Greek or Roman works.[292]

C. Coda

In conclusion, one might do well to remember the words of Count Michel Tyszkiewicz, that famous collector of the later 19th century, who wrote in his autobiography: 'il ne s'en est pas encore rencontré qui eussent le talent nécessaire pour inventer des motifs analogues à ceux de l'argenterie antique et les executer d'une façon satisfaisante.'[293] One silver forgery that he notes was a large cup decorated in relief with the Parthenon frieze, and in its modern condition. The Count also comments on forgers' ability to produce a patina that is convincing to the untrained eye but which was rather soft and could be recognised as fake by the connoisseur.

The comments of the man who restored most of the Boscoreale treasure for the Louvre (and the Tarentine Treasure with Rothschild), Alfred André, to whom Giuliani recently drew attention, are also well worth noting.[294] In 1903, at the time of the controversy about the authenticity of the Boscoreale treasure, he gave an interview to the Paris edition of the *New York Herald* in which he commented that the Roman craftsman 'worked out in relief from the inside in a way that no modern artist can imitate.' In addition, he pointed out that 'anyone who has had experience in restoring ancient works of art knows that it is absolutely impossible to imitate or to produce artificially the rust [i.e. corrosion]'.[295]

It was indeed surely the difficulty in imitating convincingly the extraordinary skill of the repoussé designs found on Roman vessels and reproducing corroded silver successfully that meant that any fakes produced were in fact immediately obvious.

Notes

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1 Letters of Jacob Hirsch to Robert Zahn, 9 and 12 August 1909, Berlin Museums, Robert Zahn Nachlass, Rep. 2, Mappe Z 465 (discovered by Dr. Gertrud Platz, Berlin); included in this Mappe are also two undated photographs before cleaning and a set of four images after cleaning, dated 1932; 'a single very poor photograph' mentioned in the letter of August 12 has not been preserved. Publications: Vorberg 1921, pls. 1-3 ('Englischer Privatbesitz'); Vorberg 1932, 456-457 ('Fundort Syrien'); Vermeule 1963, 39 with pl. 14, 2 and 4 (photos supplied by Hewett); Strong 1966, 137-138.

2 Homosexuality was decriminalised in Switzerland as early as 1942, but only nationwide in the U.S. as late as 2003.

3 Johns 1982, fig. 84 (Beazley's copy, Ashmolean). Following on from Vermeule 1963, e.g. Sullivan 1968, 244 n. 2 (noting the voyeurism); Henig 1983, 140; Burkhalter/Arce 1984, 418 (dating). After Johns 1982, Wiseman 1985, 131 n. 4 (young aristocrats prepared to make themselves sexually available); Vickers et al. 1986, 30 (Beazley's copy, Ashmolean; original wrongly said to be in Boston, no comment on scenes).

4 I am very grateful to Ariel Herrmann and Vera Slehoferova for help in charting this.

5 The state of New York decriminalised homosexuality in 1980.

6 New York, MMA L. 1991.95: Clarke 1991, 323-324, fig. 202 (Beazley's copy, Ashmolean); Clarke 1993, 275-294 with figs 1-9.

7 Clarke 1998, esp. 61-90 with pls. 1-2 and figs. 16-22; Pollini 1999, with figs 1-9. Note also the brief mention by Taylor 1997, 326 (Hellenized cast facing exposure of their 'crime' by a voyeur slave; satirization of Augustan family); Williams 1999, 94 with pl. 12.

8 Now London, British Museum, GR 1999,0426.1. Post BM acquisition: Williams 1999 a and b; Clarke 2003, pls 53-54, 56, 60-1 (p. 84 claims to have authenticated the piece on the basis of the boy's long lock); Skinner 2005, 266-267, figs 10, 6-7 (side A, 'Hellenized feel'; B, Roman); Clarke 2005, 288 and 291-3, figs 9-10; Sparkes 2005, 13-14, fig. 7; Younger 2005, 27 with pl. 43 (amateur photos in the show-case in New York); Williams 2006; Frost 2006; Williams 2010, 101-102 and 239; Pollini 2010, 291-291; Clarke 2011, 178-179. Note that Vout 2013, 42-43 and 83 fig. 67 (illustrates a copy of the vessel made in 1998/9 by Faltermeier!); discussion 82, 115-116, 224.

9 Subsequent successful special exhibitions in Plymouth (2012) and Isle of Wight (2014).

10 Williams 2006; review Clarke 2006. The current article does not deal with E.P. Warren as a collector or his social milieu at Lewes House, East Sussex: see Sox 1991; Williams 2006, 17-31; and now Murley 2012, 25-62.

11 It would seem to have been Clarke that first gave it the sobriquet 'The Warren Cup' in print.

12 British Museum reports of the Department of Conservation, Documentation and Science, 7 and 21 December 2004, ns. 2004/6/M/3 (Marilyn Hockey) and AR2004/91 (Susan La Niece and Janet Ambers). On the analysis of Roman silver plate see Baratte/Painter 1989, 21-22; on coinage analysis see Hollstein/Berger 2000 - I am very grateful to Matthew Ponting for this reference. His comment to me (4 February 2013) was 'Looking at the surface analyses of Republican denarii published by Holstein et al. (2000) it is apparent that the cup fits better with these, which is perhaps no surprise as it is probable that Republican silver formed the bulk of the coinage circulating in Italy and the West until the end of the first century at least.' For an XFR analysis of an early 20th century fake silver denarius, cf. BM, C&M 1929,0716,17 (99.9% silver, 0.1% copper, less than 0.1% gold, lead and bismuth): for this information I am very grateful to colleagues at the British Museum, Richard Abdy (Coins and Medals) and Quanyu Wang (Conservation and Research).

13 On technique see e.g., Hill 1947, 248-256; Strong 1966, 10 and 81; Zimi 2011, 113-120.

14 Louvre Bj 1903-1904 (larger pair): Héron de Villefosse 1899, nos 13-14, pls 13-14. Louvre Bj 1905-1906 (smaller pair): Héron de Villefosse 1899, nos 11-12, pls 11-12; Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford 1974, 336 and pl. 117.

15 Boscoreale, larger pair: see n. 14. Pompeii pair: Naples 25376-7, Guzzo 2006, 118-9, nos 106-107.

16 Boscoreale, smaller pair: see n. 14; Note also the similar two pairs of canthari from Vize (south east Bulgaria) now in Istanbul Museum, inv. 5709-12: Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford 1974, pls 113-116; and the pair in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library 1917,527 and 528 (from Italy): Oliver 1977, 144-145, nos 96-97; Byvanck 1974, pl. 118; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, 258-259, nos 34-35, figs 267-269.

17 Buner (Pakistan): Baratte 2002, 15-18 with figs 1-3; Christie's New York, Indian and Southeast Asian Art, 14 September 2010, lot 33 (ex Julian Sherrier). Moregine pair: Guzzo 2006, 224-239, nos 410-411.

18 Vize canthari: see n. 16. Meroë cantharus: Oliver 1977, no 77; Burkhalter/Arce 1984. American pair of canthari (Princeton University Museum; New York, private): Oliver 2004, 8-9. Cf also the plain cups from the Moregine hoard: Guzzo 2006, 233 nos 397-400.

19 For a discussion of this motif see Shefton 1993, 178-209.

20 Toledo 61.9: Oliver 1977, no 76.

21 Boscoreale, Paris, Louvre Bj 1907-1908: Héron de Villefosse 1899, nos 9-10, pls 9-10; Baratte 1986, 36 and drawing on 55. Cf. the different floral scheme, alternating acanthus with nelumbo leaves, on the Berthouville cantharus, Cabinet des Médailles 56.12: Babelon 1916, pl. 12; Oliver 2004, 11 fig. 14.

22 Boetzkes/Stein 1997, 40-41, nos 5-6.

23 E.g. Oliver 2004, figs 9-10, 11-12 (ring handles); 15, 19-20, 22, 28 (ear-shaped), 26 (scyphus).

[24] Ex European collection, 1960s: Antiquarium 1992, no 9; Antiquarium 2013, 27.

[25] Cf. Clarke 1993, 276 n. 5, who does not acknowledge Herrmann.

[26] Pergamonmuseum Photoarchiv, 'Silber nicht im Antiquarium', neg. no 5226. This corrects the comment in Williams 2006, 26. Firm of Carl Zinser: Vollmer 2008; the work must have been done by his eldest son, Richard.

[27] Beazley's draft chapter for Burdett and Goddard 1941 gives the date 1909 - I am very grateful to Jasper Gaunt for sending me a copy of his typescript of this draft; for the friendship see Beazley's published chapter in Burdett and Goddard 1941, 331-363; and note Beazley's obituaries of Warren, *The Times* 2 January 1929, and *Oxford Magazine* 24 January 1929.

[28] Beazley's copy is now in the collection of the Ashmolean Cast Gallery (Beazley had kept it in his office); the existence of other copies is based on information from Dietrich von Bothmer (letter 20 July 1999): 'Beazley told me in 1953 that because of the provenance it was nick-named the Holy Grail at Lewes House. Several replicas were made of it of which one is in Oxford…'. Ernst Berger also made a comment to Ariel Herrmann when she acquired the cantharus implying that he knew of several copies (Ariel Hermann, 6 September 2013). Guiliani and Heilmeyer seem to have been shown photographs of one the copies in 1979 - see appendix.

[29] See BM report by Marilyn Hockey, 2004/6/M/3. She also notes that there is evidence for both the moulding of the cantharus in 1931-1932 for Thomas (scored lines on the stem of the foot and deposits of a white material that appear to be plaster of Paris) and in 1998-1999 by Karl Faltermeier for Claude Hankes-Drielsma (silicone rubber remains). Twelve examples of the Faltermeier version were apparently made, one was presented to Corpus Christi College, Oxford. A still more recent moulding by Mike Neilson of the British Museum took place in 2013.

[30] It is not listed in the sale of contents by Rowland Gorringe, 'Lewes House, Lewes, Sussex', 2-4 October 1929.

[31] For Harold 'Woodbury' Parsons (died 1968) see Sox 1991, 77, 211-48, and 254; see also Burdett and Goddard 1941, 237.

[32] The gilding on Roman silver was clearly not always mercury gilding, which would leave a chemical trace, for Andrew Oddy showed that the Orestes cantharus in the British Museum (GR 1960,0201.1), despite its well-preserved gilding, showed no trace of mercury (BM Research Laboratory report). Cf. also comments in Zimi 2011, 118-120.

[33] Boscoreale, Louvre Bj 1905-1906: see n. 14. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library 1917.527-8: see n. 16.

[34] Comparative analysis of the silver would not settle the matter as the various parts of one object often differ in terms of their precise alloy: cf. Hughes 1986. There are no traces of maker's marks, as on one of the New York crane canthari which has, exceptionally, incised Greek letters to help with the assembly of bowl to the liner, and the bowl to the handles.

[35] E.g. Johns 1986; Baratte 2002.

[36] For the identification of the wreaths as myrtle see Pollini 1999, 41-42; he argues persuasively against laurel, proposed in Clarke 1993, 292 and 1998, 64. For a ring-handled cantharus decorated with myrtle, cf. that from Alesia, Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Strong 1966, pl. 33 B. On the *cubiculum*, Riggsby 1997, 37-39 and 42-43.

[37] There might have been an attempt to mark the line of the ceiling, but this seems unlikely. The remains of some lines, deliberate or accidental have occasionally been mistaken for the lower edge of a lost band of decoration.

[38] The legs of the couches are not always shown on Arretine moulded bowls with *symplegmata*: e.g. Porten Palange 2009, Komb Per 38.

[39] This detail does not seem to have been visible before the vessel's cleaning in 1931-1932.

[40] This has led some to question its authenticity - see Appendix.

[41] I owe this observation to a comment by Lucilla Burn at the seminar at King's College, March 2014.

[42] Wall paintings: Farnesina *cubiculum* D (right wall, attic zone, to right of central *aedicula*) – Clarke 1998, 102 fig. 33; Pompeii, House of the Beautiful Impluvium (I, 9,1), *cubiculum* 11 - Clarke 1998, 150 fig. 49; Pompeii, House at I, 13,16, *triclinium* - Clarke 1998, 191 fig. 77. Relief sculptures, marble and terracotta: see *LIMC* III, *sv* Dionysos, nos 855-858; and on later mythological sarcophagi: Toynbee 1934, 188-189. Ceramics: Roman green glazed scyphus - Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Mus. 74.6.2, Hochuli-Gysel 1977, 145 no T.4; pls 44 and 25 figs 116-117; black-glazed Hellenistic tondo fragment, Berlin V.I. 4991 - Clarke 1998, 117 fig. 40. Cf. also a bronze *spintria*, BM, C&M 1906,1103.2928 - Clarke 1998, 245 fig. 95; Campana 2009, 63 serie 4 no IIII.

[43] Leach 2004, 181. See also Miller 1997, 76-77.

[44] Jashemski 1979, 34 (casa di Meleagro); Eristov 1994, 16; Leach 2004, 180-184.

[45] London, British Museum 1956,0301.5: Clarke 2003, 87 fig. 59; Williams 2006, 42 fig. 24; Roberts et al. 2010, 50 no 10 - this detail is not noted.

[46] Vandoeuvres, Ortiz: Painter/Whitehouse 1990, 161-162 figs 124-125; Whitehouse 1991, 29-30, pls 6-7; Clarke 1998, pls 3-4; Pollini 1999, 29-30 figs 10-11; Clarke 2003, 85; Williams 2006, 40-41.

[47] Floral swags in wall-paintings: e.g. Pompeii, House of the Centenary (IX, 8.6), Clarke 1998, 166 fig. 58; Pompeii lupanar (VII, 12,18-20), Clarke 1998, 198 fig. 81, 201 fig. 83, 203 fig. 84, 205 fig. 85.

[48] *Spintriae*: e.g. Campana 2009, nos D 6-8 and 20-25. Scyphus, Indiana Univ. Mus. 74.6.2: see n. 42.

[49] Arretine, e.g. Boston pieces: 13.109, Clarke 1998, 74 fig. 24 and 76 fig. 26, and Williams 2006, 43 fig. 25; 08.33c (mould), Clarke 1998 75 fig. 25; 08.33f Clarke 1998, 77 fig. 27; 08.33g Clarke 1998, 110 fig. 36; 08.33d Clarke 1998, 112 fig. 38.

[50] Ling 1991, 71 (Fourth Style); cf. also Clarke 1991, 166-170 ('tapestry manner').

[51] Boston 1997.83: Oliver 2004, 8 figs 9-10. Corning cameo fragments 62.1.24a-b: Painter/Whitehouse 1991, 163-164, no B2.

[52] On beards see Walker 1995, 83-93. Cf. Zanker 1995, 217-223; Pollini 1999, 31-32, commenting on the Betar cantharus.

[53] Poll. *Onom.* 2.30. It is treated in just the same way as the side-lock of the boy on one of the Moregine cantharus, Pompeii inv. 86776: Guzzo 2006, no 411, with detail on p. 37 fig. 8.

[54] Harrison 1988, 253. For the Brauron relief, Vanderpool 1959, pl. 73, 2; for Apollo Lykeios, Thompson 1959, no 60.

[55] On the Mahdia Agon or Eros see Fuchs 1963, 12ff and figs 1-8; Herrmann 1993, 306, figs 8-9. The 3rd century AD portrait head of a boy from the Agora, noted by Harrison 1988, 254 with fig. 10, seems to show a curled lock that is not plaited (perhaps a variation, intermediate between the plaited type and the long loose lock considered below).

[56] Herrmann 1993, 321, n. 33.

[57] Herrmann 1993, 304-305, figs 6-7, and notes 19 and 21.

58 Herrmann 1993: note especially her discovery of the series of sculptures of a boy with jumping weights and punch-bag. On hair locks see, in addition to Simon 1980, 175-176; Harrison 1988, von Gonzenbach 1969, Goette 1989, and, for an Aphrodisian example, Hallett 1998, 81-82.

59 Ortiz cameo glass bottle: see n. 46. Arretine: Boston 08.33c (mould), e and f do not have the long lock; 13.109 and Oxford fr. (Brown 1968, 8 no 6; Pollini 1999, 32 fig. 13) might (wear on the mould can make details deceptive). The figure holding back a curtain on the Arretine mould in Florence (Marabini Moevs 2006 a, 120-126, pl. 68, no 22) and the fragment from Cosa (Marabini Moevs 2006 b, 177 fig. 2 - from a heavily worn mould) is surely a young girl slave not a boy; see also Porten Palange 2004, mF re 15a, pl. 8, p. 39

60 Noted by Herrmann 1993, 321 n. 33. British Museum GR 1805.7-3.227 (Cat. Sculp. 2541): Vout 2013, 180, fig. 145.

61 Noted by Herrmann 1993, 321 n. 33. For the Herculaneum painting, Maiuri 1958, 125-126, fig. 100.

62 See Richlin 1993, 545-8; and Walker 1996, 85-86. For a possibly related rite in Roman Egypt, perhaps called the *mallocouria*, see Montserrat 1993, 224; and Walker/Bierbrier 1997, 100-101, no 94.

63 Pollini 1999, 29-31 and 33-35. See also Pollini 2001, 115-152; and Pollini 2003, 149-166.

64 See Pollini 1999, 34 figs 17-20 (= Pollini 2001, fig. 16; Pollini 2003, figs 11-12); Pollini 2001, 137 fig. 15; and Pollini 2003, 161-163. Cf. also the two Getty bronze heads Pollini 2001, 116-120 figs 1-4 (= Pollini 2003, figs 17-22).

65 Pollini 2003, 163- 6 with fig. 16 (funeral altar = Pollini 1999, 33 fig. 15 and 2001, 139 fig. 17), figs 25-26 ('spolia' panel from the Arch of Titus, Rome) and figs 7-10 (portrait head).

66 Cf. the later head noted by Bartman 2003, 237 with fig. 13.

67 Cf. Arist. *HA* 7.1; and Eyben 1972, 683 and 695-697.

68 West 1992, 23-28; Power 2007.

69 For the kithara cf. Arretine: Porten Palange 2009, Komb Per 33 (hung up). Auloi only ever played, e.g. Komb 34-36, 42, 53 (satyr, maenad), and Komb At 29-30 etc. (winged figure).

70 On role of slaves, see Riggsby 1997, 44-46. E.g. House of the Chaste Lovers, *cubiculum* D, Clarke 1998 figs 32-34.

71 Petr. *Sat*. 26 and 140; Mart. *Spec*. 11.104.13-14. See Pollini 1999, 38-40; and Pollini 2010, 289-293.

72 Myth: Sebasteion relief, Aphrodisias: Erim 1982, 164 fig. 1. See also *LIMC* VI, *sv* Leda nos 16, 76, and 99; and *LIMC* III, *sv* Eros/Amor, Cupido nos 547 and 558. Mortal: Keleş/Ful 2009 - I am very grateful to Christopher Jones (Harvard) for this reference. Cf. also the Arretine punch - Porten Palange 2004, pl. 61, M fr 1b, p. 128; with Porten Palange 2009, 274; and Porten Palange 2004, wTMF fr 1a, pl. 128, p. 240-241 as Porten Palange 2009, Komb Per 5, pl. 23 in Dionysiac context.

73 Porten Palange 2009, Komb Per 33; Porten Palange 2004, mF re 15a. The scene is discussed in Marabini Moevs 2006. See also Marabini Moevs 2006 b, 120-126. The slave is clearly not a boy, as Marabini Moevs would have it, but a girl because of her dress and hair style. The interpretation of the scene as being an example of *exclusus amator* is attractive, but cannot be confirmed - indeed, the scenes on the Arretine pieces and related wall-paintings (e.g. Clarke 2003, 227-231, pls 18-20) suggest various possible 'story-lines'- note also Porten Palange 2010, 231 top, where she notes a fragment combining the sleeping man with a naked woman from a *symplegma* scene.

74 Corning 62.1.24a: Painter/Whitehouse 1990, 163 fig. 127.

75 Rottweil, no inv. no: Knorr 1907, 59 with pl. 14, 3; Knorr 1911, pl. 25, 3 and 26 B. Fos sur Mer inv. 1013: Baude/Dumas 2005, 51.

76 Wall-paintings: e.g. Naples inv. 9024 (from Herculaneum): Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, fig. 88. N.b. tomb of Priscus, where the relief decoration, both figures and florals, may be made out - Mols/Moormann 1993-1994, 30-32; Guzzo 2006, 18 fig. 1; Clarke 2003, pl. 14. On silver vessels: Oliver 2004, 8-9, figs 10-12. Cf. also Cic. *Verr.* 2.4 (*De signis* 15).

77 Dunbabin 2003, 66; cf. Pollini 1999, 37-38.

78 Cf. Clarke 2003, 189. Note the caution rightly expressed in Stewart 2008, 68-70.

79 Vermeule 1963, 39.

80 Clarke 1993, 292; Clarke 1998, 81 and 86 (slave boy), and discussion 87-89.

81 Philo *De vita contemplativa* 50-52: see Pollini 1999, 35-36.

82 Pollini 1999. Cf. also Pollini 2001, 141-142; 2003; and 2010.

83 Clarke 2011, 178-179, continues to ignore the details of the scenes (cf. Clarke 2006); neither Clarke nor Pollini noticed the youth's plait.

84 See Clarke 2003, 227-233 with pls 17-18 and 20 (House of Chaste Lovers), and 239-245 with pls 21-22 (House of the Triclinium).

85 Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. G5-01172: Clarke 1998, 38-42, fig. 9; Clarke 2003, 93. Clarke 1998, 36-37 fig. 7 (Berlin inv. C 7630 - lost tondo) and fig. 8 (Sardis inv. P79.6/T79.3:8246 - clay mould) illustrates two ceramic examples that he argues represent male-to-male intercourse, but such a reading is far from certain.

86 Ortiz cameo bottle: see n. 46. Cf. also Hellenistic, woman: Hübner 1993, pl. 28 fig. 141 (woman) and pl. 29, fig. 147 (non-active male with woman). Clarke 1998, 81 compares the Farnesina paintings.

87 The complex issue of whether Romans adhered strictly to their apparent protocols or might have adopted a more relaxed approach is not addressed here, but see Clarke 1993, 290-291; Griffin 1976, 100-101.

88 Imperial ceremony: Boscoreale scyphi, Louvre Bj 2366-2367: Héron de Villefosse 1899, nos 103-104, pls 21-26; Barrate 1986, 68-75. 'Rustic' life: Avenches cantharus - Roth 1970, 81-85; Duvauchelle 2001, 259-266. Cf. also the pair of canthari from the House of the Menander: Naples inv. 145504-5; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, nos 73-4, figs 136-140; Painter 2001, pls 1-2.

89 Pair of canthari with Nilotic scenes (one still in New York, other in a European collection): Antiquarium 1992, no 18; Christie's New York, 6 June 2013, lot 616; Christie's New York 10 December 2004, lot 550. Egyptian cult scenes: beaker with Isis scene: Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, no 36, figs 162-163; cf. also Moregine pair, n. 17. Gaulish cult: Wuilleumier 1936.

90 Boscoreale, skeletons, Louvre Bj 1923-1924: Héron de Villefosse 1899, nos 7-8, pls 7-8; Baratte 1986, 65-67; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, nos 48-49, p. 46-47 figs 30-31, pl. 105. Berthouville, poets and their muses, Cabinet des Médailles 56.13-14: Babelon 1916, nos 13-14, pls 16-19; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, no 103, fig. 182; Richter 1965, vol. ii, figs 1660-1665; Lapatin 2014, 142-144.

91 Plin. *HN* 33.55.

92 Plin. *NH* 33.2.5. Cf. Juv. *Sat*. 2.95.

93 Petron, *Sat.* 52. For glass examples of the second half of the 1st century AD cf. e.g. Harden et al. 1987, nos 88 and 90.

94 Verg. *Ecl.* 3.35-47.

[95] Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 28, 5-7. I am very grateful to Natacha Massar for this reference.
[96] Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2.33.
[97] Jar, BM, GR 1894,0615.1; beaker, Getty 2001.6. Both inscribed with weight inscriptions.
[98] Naples inv. 25000: Ward Perkins/Claridge 1976, no 169.
[99] Mainz priv.: Künzl 1984, 365-384, pls 51-58; Simon 1988, 139 fig. 182; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, 49 fig. 33.
[100] Pliny notes the fact that the names of no makers of gold vessels had come down to him, whereas many silversmiths had - *HN* 33.55. But see n. 163 below (Claudius Hymeneus).
[101] Agate cantharus, Cabinet des Médailles 368: Bühler 1973, no 18. Rock crystal scyphus, Naples inv. 124701: La Rocca 2013, no VII.10.2. For the series of larger marble relief craters see Grassinger 1991 - the scenes are mostly Dionysiac, but the Medici krater (Florence, Uffizi inv. 307; Grassinger 1991, 163-166, no 8) has a Homeric theme.
[102] Suet. *Nero* 47; Plin. *HN* 37.29.
[103] Würzburg (H 1726): Weiss/Schüssler 1999; Wiss 2000, 212-219. Naples 144802: Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, no 13, figs 6-7.
[104] Porten Palange 2009, Komb Per 6; and Komb At 22.
[105] See Henig 1983, 150-151.
[106] Varna crater, Curtius 1934, 247-294; Froning 1980, 335-336. Pompeii crater: see most recently, Barbanera 2014. Situla, Boston 03.1001 (Dionysus): Comstock/Vermeule no 428; Rolley 1986, 182 fig. 161. Patera from Boscoreale, BM, GR 1897,0726.7 (Scylla): *LIMC* VIII, *sv* Skylla, no 54. Basin, Boston 24.979 (Actaeon): Comstock/Vermeule 1971, no 471.
[107] Small situla from Hautot-l'Auvray: Espérandieu/Rolland 1959, 69-70, pls 42-43, no 139.
[108] Jug, from Avenches: Rolley 1986, 198 215 fig. 187.
[109] Basin, Naples inv. 27671: De Caro 2000, 60. For the Herstal vessel see below, n. 137.
[110] Plin. *HN* 33.156. Berthouville jug, Cabinet des Médailles 56.4: Babelon 1916, no 5, pls 7-8; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, no 102, figs 180-181; Lapatin 2014, 52-57. Patera, Feider-Feytmans 1979, no 368, pl. 147.
[111] London cantharus, BM, GR 1960,0201,1; Corbett/Strong 1961; Williams 2006, figs 20-21 and 26. Cf. also the canthari with the later episode of the vote on the Areopagus: Oliver 2006, 20-21.
[112] Gorowitz cantharus, Christie's New York, 6 December 2007, lot 158 (unsold; current whereabouts unknown). The figures were labelled, but the names are now hardly legible. The subject occurs on Arretine pottery, but the scheme is reversed: Porten Palange 2004, 180. Medici krater: Grassinger 1991, no 8, fig. 46 (figure H); Froning 1981, 140-153.
[113] Priam and Philoctetes - Porten Palange 2009, 189-191, Komb At 10 (Priam) and 11 (Philoctetes); cf. Hoby scyphi see below n. 157. Orestes at Sminthe - Porten Palange 2009, 148-149, Komb Ras 1, and 191-192, Ateius; Stenico 1966; cf. cantharus, London BM, GR 160,0201,1 - see n. 111. Cf. also apotheosis of Homer - Porten Palange 2009, 192, At 12; cf. Naples 25301, mug, Richter 1965, figs 114-116; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, figs 21-22. Note Porten Palange 2009, Komb Ras 23, p. 160 - not Philoctetes but probably Ulysses trying to persuade Achilles to return to battle.
[114] Friis Johansen 1930, 274-275.
[115] Stenico 1966, 29-46.
[116] Naples inv. 145515-6: Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, nos 65-66, figs 122-7.
[117] London GR 1956,0301.5: see n. 45. Ortiz bottle: see n. 46. New York 81.10.349: Clarke 2003, 10 and 130, fig. 89. Corning 62.1.24 a-b: Painter/Whitehouse 1990, 163-165, figs 127-128.
[118] The larger fr. has a male (perhaps Theseus or Aeneas) with one hand out perhaps on the lower back of a bending female; behind the drape is a servant holding a trulla, cf. the silver example, Oliver 1977, 102 no. 59. The smaller fr. has a woman set against a second drape, she seems to be leaning back, rather inactive - perhaps Ariadne or Dido abandoned.
[119] Cf. also the fragments of two opaque white glass votive Aphrodite dishes, one in New York (MMA 1995.86), the other in London (BM, GR 1893,1009.4) that show male-female couplings, but both are signed in Greek: Picón 1995, 14; Clarke 1998, 32-34, fig 6 (New York); Lightfoot/Picón 2015, forthcoming.
[120] Boston 06.13.109: Clarke 1999, 74 fig. 24; Porten Palange 2009, Komb Pomp 12 and Komb Cis 7. In the world of wall-painting a caricature of this pose is to be seen as the entertainment for the pygmy banquet, Pompeii (House VIII 5, 24): Clarke 1998, 44 fig. 10. The position continued to be depicted in later centuries, e.g. the Rhone Valley medallion: Clarke 1998, 261, fig. 101.
[121] Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, 150-151, figs 122-127, esp. figs 124, 126 and 127; Painter 2001, 56-58, pl. 6. On the subjects see Linfert 1977. The pose of Mars and Venus is echoed in more erotic form on the green-glazed scyphus, Bloomington, Indiana Univ. inv. 74.6.2: see n. 42.
[122] Cf. Porten Palange 2009, Komb Per 39, 40a, 40b, 41; on Komb Per 40b combined with youth and boy.
[123] Sardis mould: Clarke 1998, 37 fig. 8, who reads it as a male-to-male scene. Ortiz bottle: see n. 46. An early example is on the fragmentary red-figured plaque, attributed to Paseas, and intercourse is taking place in this position: Greifenhagen 1976, 43-48, pl. 12a, and colour plate; Karoglou 2010, no 207, fig. 96. A late example of the scheme is to be found on fifth century lamp from Ephesus: BM, GR 1867,1122.232: Clarke 253, fig. 96.
[124] Cf. the caption added to the scene on Pompeii VII 9, 33, 'lente impelle': Clarke 2003, 154-5, fig. 107 - the woman's arm is back and her head turns towards the man as she says this. Cf. also the Athenian red-figured cup with a man penetrating a woman from behind that includes the caption 'keep still' (also anal rather than vaginal intercourse?), Boston 1970.233: Buitron 1972, no 57.
[125] Boston 08.32c: Clarke 1998, 23 fig. 2.
[126] Berlin VI 4991: Clarke 1998, 117 fig. 40
[127] Suburban Baths, apodyterium 7, scene 2: Clarke 1998, pl. 10. Mirror cover, Rome Antiquarium Communale: Clarke 1998, fig. 60.
[128] Campana 2009, 74-83, series 9 (heterosexual), 10 (heterosexual) and 11 (homosexual).
[129] Arretine: e.g. Boston 13.109 and 08.33f: Clarke 1998, 74-5 figs 26-27.
[130] Ortiz bottle: see n. 46. London cameo fr.: see n. 45. For the glass gem see Weiss forthcoming, no 307 (inv. 15.046, 601).
[131] Porten Palange 2004, Sy 20a, pl. 124, p. 228; Porten Palange 2009, 65, 68, 205; Porten Palange 1966, pl. 5 no 30 (Rome Mus. Naz. inv. 15805).
[132] Porten Palange 2004, Sy 18a, pl. 123, p. 227; Porten Palange 2009, Komb Cor 13, pl. 124, p. 269. Cf. glass Aphrodite dishes: see n. 119.
[133] Boston bronze mirror case, 08.32c: Clarke 23 fig. 2. Delos rhyton fr. B7461: Clarke 31 fig. 5.
[134] Campana 2009, 80, D 24.
[135] Campana 2009, 63-69, Serie 5, D 9-13.
[136] Leiden gem: see n. 85.

[137] Brussels MRAH B 934: Cumont 1900; Feider-Feytmans 1979, no 367, pls 145-6; Baratte 1992; Braun 2001, cat. no 60 (type IV)
[138] The boys all have top-knots, as on the Gallo-Roman sigillata fragments.
[139] Vermeule 1963 (on p. 39 he suggests that the Betar cantharus was made in the Greek East); Strong 1966, 137 (Egypt, Gaul, Greek, Palestine and Britain); Johns 1986, 10; Oliver 2004, 21 (Hildesheim and Stevenswert pieces made in eastern Mediterranean or northern Europe).
[140] Cf. Oliver's linking of two canthari, with different subjects, now divided between Malibu and a European collection: Oliver 2004, 21.
[141] Cf. Petron. *Sat.* 52: Trimalchio provides us with a satirical gloss - thousands of silver jugs supposedly inherited from Mummius who sacked Corinth in 146 BC.
[142] The events of 190, 146 and 133 BC noted specifically in Plin. *HN* 33.53. One could also mention Pompey's defeat of Mithridates in 63 BC.
[143] See Neudecker 2005, 94-96.
[144] Plin. *HN* 34.47; Kalamis also mentioned as a maker of silver plate at 33.55. Toynbee 1951, 27.
[145] Wuilleumier 1936, 53. The style of the relief work is clearly not local.
[146] On plaster positives see Rubensohn 1911; Richter 1958; Adriani 1960; Froning 1980, 337-341; Vnukov et al. 1990. For the *mnemosunon* of Epimachos, a plaster positive of a large emblema of a woman's head with an ink inscription, see Rubensohn 1911, 17-18, no 3, pl. 3; Richter 1958, 371 with pl. 89.
[147] Vnukov et al. 1990. For the Alise-Sainte-Reine cantharus see Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford 1960; and Lejeune 1983.
[148] Oliver 2006, 4-9, figs 3-12.
[149] Pans: Oliver 2006, 13-15, figs 19-20. Vote over Orestes: Oliver 2004, 20-21, figs 27-28. Moregine: Guzzo 2006, nos 410-411.
[150] For a possible maker of silver vessels with reliefs in Narbonne, C. Cornelius Philonicus faber argent[arius], see Toynbee 1951, 51.
[151] Vize canthari: see n. 16.
[152] Menedorus jug: see n. 99.
[153] Its unusual style was noted by Künzl 1984, 373-374; cf. Simon 1986, 142. Its find-spot is unknown (Künzl 1984, 365) but it first belonged to King Peter of Serbia (Peter Karadjordjević, 1844-1921) perhaps suggesting a Balkan origin.
[154] Breslau Museum: Stupperich 1997, 169-170 with fig. 5.
[155] On signatures: Künzl 1978, 314-316; Painter 2001, 28; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, 48-50. Silver mirrors are included here as they were no doubt made by the same craftsmen as vessels: note Pliny's reference to Pasiteles making the first, *HN* 33.45.
[156] Plin. *HN* 33.53; Mart. 8.34; Sen. *Dial.* 11.11.3 (*Ad Helviam matrem: de consolatione*). Cf. also Seneca's preference for unsigned pieces: *Dial.* 9.1.7 (*Ad serenum: de tranquilitate animi*).
[157] Hoby scyphi: Poulsen 1968, 69-74, pls 42-55; Künzl 1978, 314-315; Künzl 1988, 569-571; Muller 1994; Thomas 2000.
[158] Cretan sculptor: Paus. 8.53.8. Cf. also the Spartan general: Xen. *An.* 1.4.3; Diod. 14.19.21.
[159] Polygnos: Héron de Villefosse 1899, 88 no. 21, pl. 19, drawing of signature 90 fig. 20 (also Künzl 1978, 314 fig. 2).
[160] The *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* gives no parallels for the name Polygnos.
[161] Hor. *Sat.* 1.3.90. See Overbeck 1868, 432-433, nos 2227-2228; and, on C. Avianus, D'Arms 1972, 211-212. For signatures in Greek (by Asiatic Greeks?) on mould-blown glass see Harden 1935; Stern 1995, 69-74.
[162] Künzl 1984, 365-384, pls 51-58; Simon 1988, 139 fig. 182.
[163] Cf. comment by Joyce Reynolds recorded by Painter 2001, 28 n. 24. For the combination of names cf. [Cla]udius Hymeneus [au]rarius argent[arius feci]t: Toynbee 1951, 51.
[164] On Menodoros see *RE* xv, 1, 900 s.v. Menodoros.
[165] Euporos - Karlsruhe inv. 68/40: Künzl 1978, 314-315; Maass/Fabricius 1995, 139 fig. 128.
[166] Boscoreale, Louvre Bj 1914: Héron de Villefosse 1899, 207, nos 15-16, pls 15-16 (drawing of Greek signature on tripod jar, 207, fig. 50); Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, figs 103-104; Schumacher 1979, pls 58-59; Baratte 1986, 83; Painter 2001, 28.
[167] Citizenship of Pasiteles, Plin. *HN* 33.45; Arcesilaus, Plin. *HN* 35.155 and 35.45. The preserved signatures of his pupils, Stephanos and Menelaos, add no details of their own. Epimachos whose name appears on a plaster positive (see n. 146) was also perhaps a *peregrinus*.
[168] Toynbee 1951, 23-26; Stewart 2008, 15-16; Smith 2011, 64; Donderer 2011, 189-194. Hallett's suggestion, Hallett 1998, 67, that Apollonius Chrysippou Aster gave himself the agnomen 'the star' would be unique; but perhaps it is rather an abbreviation for the toponym Asteriotes, as Asterion was a place famed for its brilliant white rock - see Hom. *Il.* 2.734; identified as Peirasia in Thessaly by Steph. Byz. *sv* Asterion.
[169] Stern 1995, 68-69, and 72. Harden 1935 preferred to see the Sidonians as still operating in their home city.
[170] Diceus, Corning 57.1.4: Harden et al. 1987, no 8. Orestes, Louvre MA 978: Toynbee 1951, 26; Kleiner 1992, 223 fig. 187. Menecrates, '*pictor*': Toynbee 1951, 42; Stewart 2008, 17.
[171] Sabinus is known as a freedman name from Arretine stamps - Prachner 1980, 183. However, Gordon 1924, 99 notes that Sabeinos was also used of Celtic slaves and, on p. 110, that 'the artistic skills of Celtic workmen must have been of great value to industrial owners'.
[172] Arretine: Kenrick 2000, 16-17. Hospes: Toynbee 1951, 10
[173] Gordon 1924. Cf. Stewart 2008, 17-18.
[174] New York: Oliver 1977, 144-5 nos 96-7. For a Greek speaking architect resident in Italy who conversed in Greek with Cicero, see Toynbee 1951, 10.
[175] *CIL* 14, suppl. 4755; Toynbee 1951, 44.
[176] Stern 1995, 68-69 (Ariston, Artas and Philippos: from Sidon).
[177] Prachner 1980, 206. On the names and workshops of Arretine potters see especially Kenrick,15-24; also note Johnston 1985, publishing a graffito with, under a header of *ordo katilarion* (of dish makers), a list of 8 slave names, all in Greek.
[178] Cf. also the list and discussion of metal vessels in Ath. 11.781e-782 b: he notes a scyphus by Mys showing the sack of Troy, and inscribed 'design by Parrhasios, work by Mys; I represent the sack of Troy by the Achaeans'.
[179] Plin. *HN* 33.49.
[180] *CIL* 6, 9222; Volkommer 2007, 128. Martial 4.39.
[181] Plin. *HN* 33.49.
[182] Plin. *HN* 33.40-43; cf. Schnurbusch 2011, 91-92.
[183] Plin. *HN* 33.55. Translation is by Strong, 1966, 140.
[184] Strong 1966, 140.
[185] Plin. *HN* 36.67.
[186] On the introduction of mould-blown glass see Stern 1995, 95-96; cf Plin. *HN* 36.66.
[187] Oliver 2004, 20.
[188] Mart. 14.93 and 8.34.
[189] On Pasiteles, Borda 1953. See also Zanker 1974, 57-58.
[190] Cic. *Div.* 1.79.
[191] Plin. *HN* 33.55. Cf. Strong 138-139.
[192] Oliver 2006, 20-21.

[193] Rome, Corsini 671: Pirzio Boreli Stefanelli 1991, 61 fig. 40 (drawing); de Luca 1976, 18 no 73, pls 106-9; Froning 1980, 333 fig. 8. New York market: Oliver 2005, 20 fig. 28.
[194] Hildesheim pair: Boetzkes/Stein 1997, 46-48 nos 13-14; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, no 93, figs 169-171. Stevensweert: Künzl 1971, pls 15-18. Cf. also Oliver 2004, 12-13, figs 16-17.
[195] Oliver 2004, 21 makes the same point, but dates the Toledo cantharus earlier than the Hildesheim and Stevensweert pieces, which I cannot follow.
[196] Getty 96.AM.57 (ex Fleischman): La Rocca 1996; Oliver 2006, 16 fig. 22 - on p. 21 he notes the connection with the New York market. Orestes cantharus - see above n. 192; Lang 2012, 114, pl. 41 figs 279a-b (V TypG3).
[197] On the Seven Sages see Richter 1965, i, 81-91; Busine 2002; on silver, Baratte 1992; in toilets, Clarke 2003, 170-180 (Ostia wall-paintings - cf. also the unpublished series from Dion).
[198] Cleveland 66.371: Oliver 1977, no 95; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, 65 fig. 42.
[199] See Stewart 2003, 231-249; Hallett 2005 (a very useful review of recent works on copies).
[200] On dating see, for example, Küthmann 1959; Strong 1966, 133 and 137-140; Künzl 1969, 362-368; Burkhalter/Arce 1984, 418-419; and Oliver 2004, 19-21.
[201] Vermeule 1963.
[202] Vermeule 1963, 39 (see this article for suggested portraits on other silver vessels); Mastroroberto 2006.
[203] Nicholls: report to the Syndics 15 July 1961.
[204] Susan Walker made the suggestion at the time of the purchase of the cantharus that the raised ridge that she saw over the brows of the figures and the short beard could indicate a Neronian date (cf. also her letter to Marabini Moevs, 11 August 2010).
[205] Künzl 1969, 374-380; see Froning 1980, 330-331.
[206] Boscoreale imperial scyphi, see n. 88.
[207] Kuttner 1995.
[208] Tac. *Germ.* 5. Note that the tomb also contained a Roman bronze basin with a relief *emblema*.
[209] See Oliver 2004, 17-18; with Painter 2001, 28-29; and Künzl 1978, 313-314.
[210] Meroë cantharus: see n. 18.
[211] For the Kara-Tobe plasters see Vnukov et al. 1990 (they assume a mid 1st century AD date for the Alise cantharus). For the Alise-Sainte-Reine cantharus see n. 147.
[212] E.g. Künzl 1997, 114-124; Erdrich 1997, 191-198; Künzl 1999.
[213] Salomon/Goldman 1990.
[214] Oxé/Comfort/Kenrick 2000, 36-37. Cf. the discussion of shapes in Roth-Rubi 1997.
[215] For Rasinus see Porten Palange 2009, 141 (20 BC-AD 10-15); for C. Ateius, Porten Palange 2009, 174 (20/15-5 BC?). For the silver modiolus with Homer or Aion see Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, 257 no 28, fig. 22.
[216] For Cn. Ateius see Porten Palange 2009, 213-214, Komb At 38; cf. Baratte 1986, 56-57. Cornelius: Porten Palange 2009, 278.
[217] Porten Palange 2009, Cis 7 with p. 338 (chronology).
[218] Porten Palange 2009, Pomp 12 with p. 322 (chronology).
[219] I now prefer this dating to my earlier one of AD 5-15 proposed in 2006, and subsequently repeated.
[220] Kuttner 1995, 209.
[221] Hirsch letters, August 1909 (see below).
[222] Vorberg 1932, 456-457. The cantharus was not included in Vorberg 1926.
[223] Vermeule 1963, 39. Vermeule comments that its foot is lost, revealing that he only knew the piece from photographs (requested from K. John Hewett in February 1962); in fact the photographs he used indicate that the foot was in place. He never seems to have asked Hewett where it was found, as Hewett knew the Bittir story (see below). One wonders if it is Vermeule's opinion that re-appears, anonymously, in Clarke 1993, 276 n. 3.
[224] Letter from Beazley to Richard Nicholls, 1961: Strong 1966, 137, n. 6, and 213; letter not found in Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Nicholls' existing letters (9 and 21 August 1961) record that after the failure of the purchase (July 1961), he asked Hewett for permission to publish it.
[225] The note is included in a series of notebooks that Beazley made on the Warren collection, using the Lewes House Registers (some were preserved at Lewes House, now in the Ashmolean Museum). It is not included in the existing Registers; and Beazley's note is unreferenced.
[226] Letter of D. von Bothmer to the author, 20 July 1999; he notes that Beazley told him this in 1953.
[227] Guerin 1869, I, 387-395.
[228] Clermont-Ganneau 1899, 463-470; Zickermann 1906; Carroll 1923-1924.
[229] Ussishkin 1993.
[230] Carroll 1923-1924, 96.
[231] Ussishkin 1993, 91; Singer 102.
[232] Dowling 1907, 296-297. Dowling (1837-1921) was Archdeacon in Syria; his papers are in Lambeth Palace, London.
[233] See Mayer 1908 - I am very grateful to Dr Karsten Dahmen, Münzkabinett Staatliche Museeen zu Berlin for this reference.
[234] I am very grateful to Alan Walker, Haim Gitlin and Andrew Oliver for their attempts to locate relevant Hirsch papers.
[235] Carroll 1923-1924, 96-97.
[236] Cistern below the grape-pressing room P 1: Painter 2001, 14.
[237] See Goodman 1987, 36-40.
[238] For the military taking silverware with them on their postings cf. Plin. *HN* 33.143 (Pompeius Paulinus, AD 56); and perhaps the Hildesheim Treasure (? P. Quinctilius Varus, ambushed AD 9).
[239] Dowling 1907, 297.
[240] On Hirsch see Mildenberg 1956.
[241] Berlin Museums, Robert Zahn Nachlass, Rep. 2, Mappe Z 465. On Zahn and his Mappe see Platz-Horster 2003, 206 fn 7.
[242] Burdett/Goddard, 78.
[243] Gertrude Platz suggested to me that it might have been Hartwig who acted for Hirsch in Rome, citing *inter alia* the acquisition in 1911 by the Berlin Museums of the large Teano krater, inv. 30017, from Hirsch and Hartwig. On Warren's trip see Burdett/Goddard, 78.
[244] I am very grateful to Ariel Herrmann for knowledge of this letter, kept in the Director's files at the MFA. The mention of income tax is because Warren intended to claim the value of the gifts back against his tax.
[245] Vorberg 1921, pls 1-3 (silver cantharus), 90-93 (Arretine mould).
[246] Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. 1966.250-252 and 254; Brown 1968, nos 1, 2, 8, and 62. Perhaps also the Roman lamp, 1966.294, Hamilton 1967, no 557.
[247] Sotheby's 27-28 May 1929, 'The Residue of the Collection of the late E.P. Warren' (nearly 100 lots); Rowland Gorringe, Lewes, 22-24 October 1929. Cf. Sox 1991, 224-225. The Cranach was sold at the Gorringe sale, lot 546, for £2,500 to Viscount Fareham; it is now in the Courtauld Institute, London.

[248] Cf. also Parsons to Thomas, 5 March 1929: 'Can you let me have good photographs of the Cranach, the Rodin group, the Rochefort bust, and the Antoniazzo Romano?...' Parsons sold the Filippino Lippi, *Holy Family* tondo, to Cleveland: Sox 1991, 222-223.
[249] For Rodin's, Le Baiser, see Williams 2006, 28-9. Warren's sculpture by Eric Gill, originally called 'Fucking', was bought by the Tate Gallery 1982 (ref. TO3477).
[250] Information from David Sox.
[251] Letter of D. von Bothmer to J.D. Beazley, 21 November 1952.
[252] Letter of D. von Bothmer to J.D. Beazley, 19 February 1953. Cf. the Customs File, no. 602991, in the Registrar's Office, MMA.
[253] MMA 52.11.6: Bartman 1999, 224 n. 2 (no longer thought to be a portrait of Livia).
[254] On Hirsch and Parsons, see Sox 1991, 125 and 220-1; for 'Papa Hirsch' see p. 220. Note also that Hirsch seems to have acquired things soon after Warren's death, including Arretine: Porten Palange 1990 [1995], 611-612.
[255] Strong 1966, 137, refers to it as being on the London market.
[256] Information from Sandy Martin, who worked for Hewett at the time.
[257] It was examined by Richard Stone, Head of the MMA's Conservation Department, before it was exhibited.
[258] E.g esp. Boscoreale smaller pair (n. 14); Buner cantharus (n. 17); Vize canthari (n. 16); New York Pierpont Morgan canthari (n. 16).
[259] The silver cantharus in the Freer and Sackler Galleries, Washington, S1987.129 (erotes in floral scrolls) is said to be from Syria.
[260] A closely related shape, the handless beaker with a flat foot, is similarly known from important foreign locations: Aventium (modern Avenches, Switzerland; see n. 88), founded in early 1st century AD to control the Helvetii, and from Lyon (see Wuilleumier 1936), the administrative hub for the Gallic provinces and Germania.
[261] Tac. *Germ.* 5.
[262] Plin. *HN* 33.143 (Pompeius Paulinus, AD 56).
[263] Suet. *Dom.* 1.
[264] Plin. *HN* 33.49: '*Etenim tabernas mensis adoptamus.*'
[265] Noelke 1998; cf. also Dunbabin 2003, 34.
[266] [Caes.] *BHisp.* 33; cf. Balsdon 1979, 226 - 'it is hard to believe that there was not a great deal of homosexuality in the army'. For Nisus and Euryalus, Verg. *Aen.* 5 and 9. On homosexuality in Greek armies see Ogden 1996; for the importance of the loyalty between Roman tent-mates (*contubernales*) see MacMullen 1984.
[267] Tac. *Germ.* 5.
[268] On Palestinian Jewish attitudes: Satlow 1998, 135-144. On Hellenization: e.g. Hengel 2001, 6-37.
[269] Catulus: Courtney 1993, 70 and 75-76 (Theotimus). Martial: Richlin 1993, 537 n. 34.
[270] Verg. *Aen.* 6.847 ff.; Hor., *Epist.* 2.1.156-157.
[271] Note also two other published comments: Porten Palange 1990 [1995], 603 n. 473: 'das Stück müßte m.E. weiter sorgfältig geprüft werden.' In her later works on the Arretine pottery workshops of 2004 and 2009 she makes no reference at all to it; one may conclude that she was early on influenced by Marabini Moevs' opinion. See also the whispers noted by Craig Williams, Williams 1999, 305 n. 155: 'it should be noted that some scholars have expressed doubts - none so far in print - as to the cup's authenticity'.
[272] Marabini Moevs 2006, 123 n. 93.
[273] Marabini Moevs 2008, 11-12.
[274] E.g. BM, GR 1929.0716.17 - XRF 2013, 99.9% silver; many thanks to Richard Abdy and Qanyu Wang.
[275] On Dossena see Sox 1987; active 1916-1928. MMA terracotta warrior: Bothmer/Noble 1961.
[276] Marabini Moevs 2008, 9-10, fig. 16
[277] Marabini Moevs 2008, 3 and 5.
[278] Marabini Moevs 2008, 5, with fig. 8. In her earlier comment on it (Marabini Moevs 2006, 123 n. 93) she asserted that the door motif was derived from the slave behind a curtain on Arretine - she also wrongly claims that the slave is a boy, when dress and hair point clearly to a girl.
[279] Gaulish frr.: cf. above n. 75.
[280] Marabini Moevs 2008, 5-6, fig. 9. Rome, Villa Giulia inv. 50458: Mingazzini 1971, no 640, pl. 107, 1. On the Castellani brothers see Weber Soros/Walker 2004.
[281] Marabini Moevs 2008, 6 fig. 10. Florence 3921: Wegner 1973, pl. 4a. Not restored until the 1920s; first published, Vorberg 1926, pls 13-14 (detail not visible).
[282] Roman: appliqué BM, GR 1012.11-25, 12-256 (supporting a male penetrator: Johns 1982, 114 fig. 15). For Attic black-figure and red-figure examples: Sutton 2009, 79 (b.-f.) with n. 9 (r.-f.); Kilmer 1993, nos R 464 and R 518. For the strap in wine-treading scenes, Sparkes 1976, figs 4, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 25 and 26.
[283] Marabini Moevs 2008, 6-7.
[284] Marabini Moevs 2008, 8. See comments on the boy's loose long hair and its indication of authenticity in Clarke 2003, 84 and Pollini 2010, 291-292 fn 11.
[285] Meeks 1998.
[286] Marabini Moevs 2008, 11; she eliminates Angelo Pasqui: see Porten Palange 2008. Benedeti: Sox 1991, 68-70 - illicit excavating, but no suggestion he was involved in forgeries; and Porten Palange 1990 [1995], 612-619.
[287] The unfortunate title perhaps pays homage to Heilmeyer's article ('Falsche Liebe') on fake Arretine moulds and punches: Heilmeyer 1989.
[288] Ariel Herrmann, e-mail, 6 September 2013.
[289] Williams 2006, 7; Marabini Moevs 2008, 12. Giuliani was eventually persuaded to handle the cantharus on 6 November 2014; on 4 February 2015 he wrote to the British Museum to say that he now 'also think[s] the cup is ancient'.
[290] See n. 92.
[291] Petr. *Sat.* 25-26 and 140. On voyeurism see Pollini 2010.
[292] Distelberger 1994, 282-304; cf. also Distelberger 2000.
[293] See Tyszkiewicz 1898, 73-74 (= *RA* 1897, 305-308, section XXXV).
[294] On André note also the comments by Platz-Horster 2003, 207 fn 11.
[295] *The New York Times*, 11 October 1903, 5. I am very grateful to Peter Stewart for this reference.

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The Imperial *horrea* of the *Porticus Aemilia*

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Abstract

This article presents the preliminary results of excavations carried out between 2011 and 2013 among the standing remains of the building commonly identified as the Porticus Aemilia*, centrally located in the ancient river harbour of Rome. The common identification of this building as a warehouse has recently been questioned by another school of thought, which contends that it was the* Urbs' Navalia *or shipshed. The excavations allow us to conclude that such one-sided interpretations fail to do justice to the archaeological evidence, which suggests instead a highly differentiated history of occupation in the area. Although the original use of the building in the late Republican era remains obscure as yet, we have documented multiple traces of abandonment, collapse, rebuilding and restructuring for the various post-Republican phases. The excavations are particularly revealing with regard to the late first and early 2nd century AD, when parts of the building were restructured to accommodate* horrea. *The new data constitute the first scientifically excavated evidence of the existence of* horrea *in the* Urbs.

Introduction

In recent years a great deal of archaeological research has been devoted to discovering more about workings of large warehouses and other storage facilities in Ancient Rome and its harbours.[1] The remains of the *Porticus Aemilia*, in the modern-day Roman neighbourhood of Testaccio, have proven particularly relevant in this quest. Since the reconstruction by G. Gatti in 1934, this building has commonly been identified as one of the largest storage facilities in the Ancient Roman world. Between 2011 and 2013 the *Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma*, the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome and the Archaeological Centre of VU University Amsterdam carried out a series of excavations between the standing remains of this monumental structure (*fig. 1*). The aim of these digs was to investigate the spatial configuration of the building and the history of its occupation. The findings provide important new insights, particularly for the late first and early 2nd century AD, when parts of the building were restructured to accommodate *horrea.*

Fig. 1. The excavations in progress (photo C. Tetteroo).

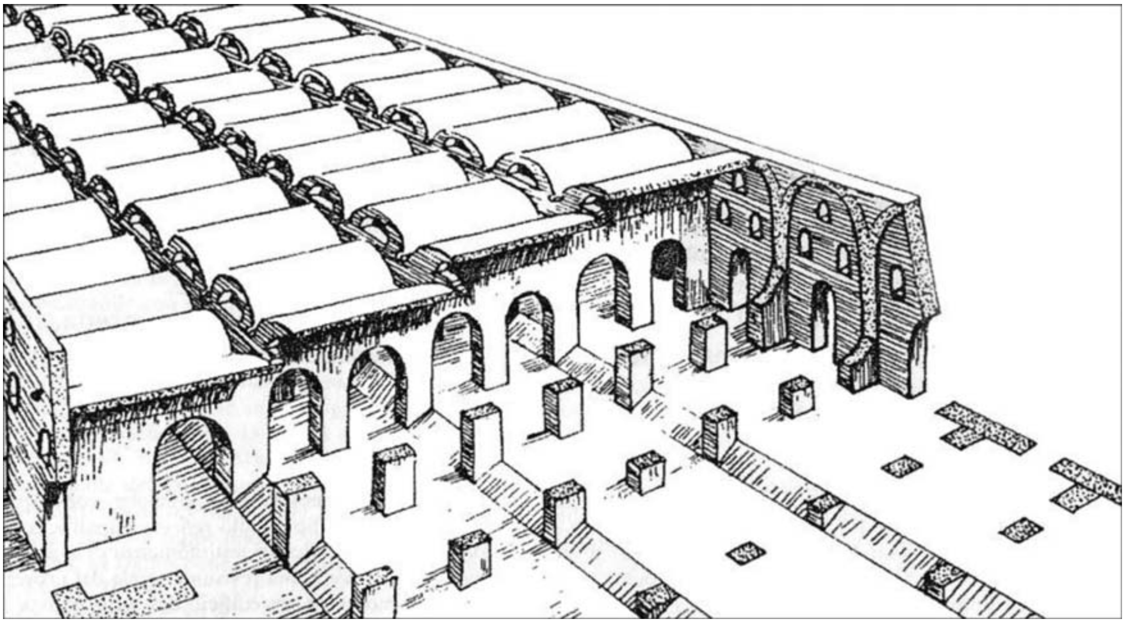


Fig. 2. Axonometric view of the Porticus Aemilia *(Rodríguez Almeida 1984, 31, fig. 4).*

The building commonly identified as the *Porticus Aemilia* is named after the *aediles* Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Aemilius Paulus, who, according to Livy (35.10.11-12), started building a *Porticus* outside *Porta Trigemina*[2] in 193 BC, with the aim of capitalizing on the new harbour (*Emporium*) in what is now the Testaccio district in Rome. On the basis of Giuglielmo Gatti's commonly accepted reconstruction of the building (based primarily on linking on-site observations to relevant fragments of the Severan marble plan, the *Forma Urbis*), we can say that the building measured approximately 487 by 60 metres and had 50 aisles descending towards the Tiber (*figs 2 and 3*; Gatti 1934).[3] The aisles were separated by arches, founded on a continuous wall across the width of the building. The enormous structure is thought to have been covered by a barrel vault. It was built largely with irregular tufa blocks in the *opus incertum* technique, attesting indeed to its Republican origins.

Gatti's identification of this building as Livy's *Porticus Aemilia*, which supposedly served as a warehouse, was recently questioned by another school of thought which has identified it as the *Urbs' Navalia* or shipsheds, on the basis of, amongst others, a different reading of the letters inscribed

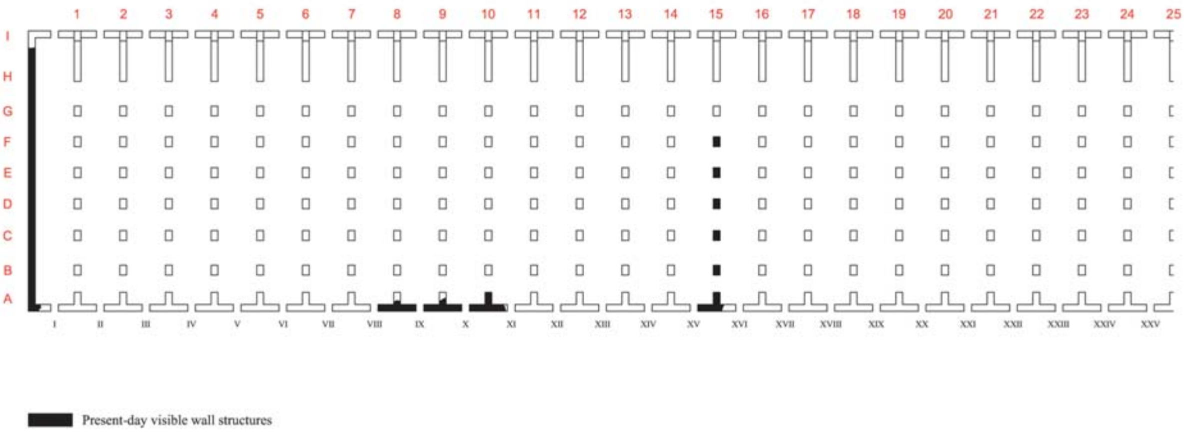


Fig. 3. Layout of the Porticus Aemilia *with the numbering of the aisles and pillars*

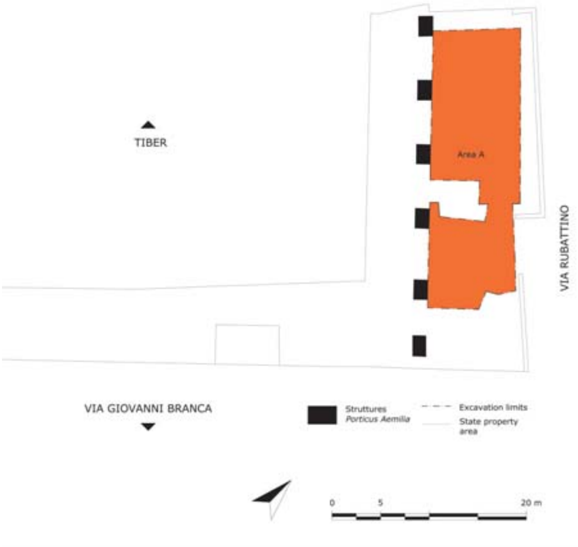


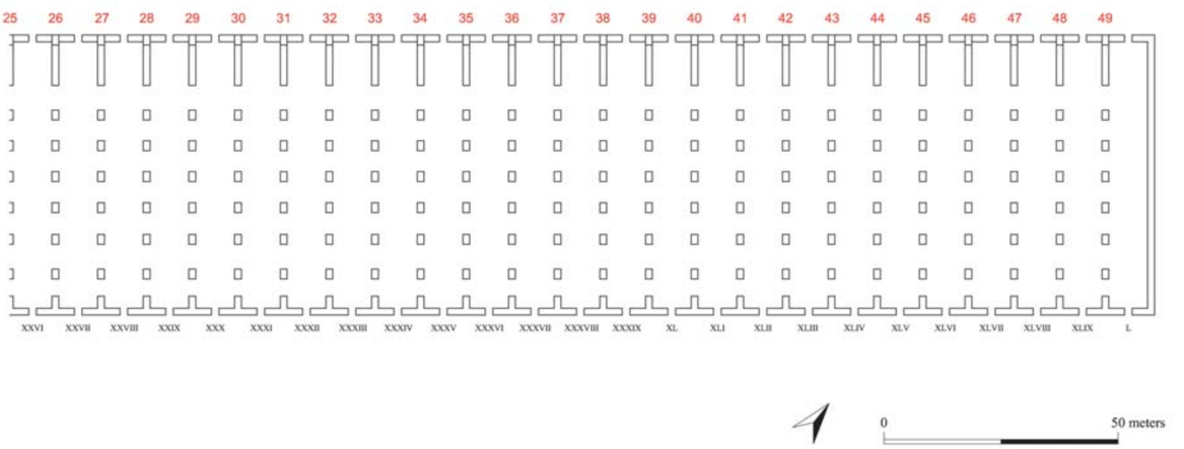
Fig. 4. Lay-out of the excavation area in aisle XVI, discussed in the present article (graphics by S. Della Giustina).

on the *Forma Urbis* fragments.[4] We could not prove either of these hypotheses with our excavations, at least not with regard to the building's original use. No Republican strata were identified during the digs. As we will demonstrate in this report, our explorations provide information on various post-Republican phases of abandonment, collapse, rebuilding and restructuring, all of which may have contributed to the obliteration of the Republican layers.[5] The Imperial Period is especially relevant in this argument, since earlier layers may have been systematically removed in a major effort to restructure the building. In this article we focus particularly on this later history of occupation. In the documentation and discussion of the excavation data, however, the numbering of the walls, aisles and pillars follows the plan of the original building as reconstructed by Gatti and shown in figure 3**.** The article will focus mainly on the excavations carried out in aisle XVI of this monumental building (*fig. 4*).[6]

The Restructuring of Aisle XVI

One of the most important conclusions that can be drawn from our excavations is that the area of aisle XVI in the Porticus Aemilia was turned into a construction site at some point in the late first or early 2nd century AD. In fact, large-scale restructuring work took place in this period, which testifies to a thorough re-organization of the aisle and most probably to other parts of the Republican building as well.[7] This operation turned the rear side of the aisle, occupying three corridors, into one single room (B), which could be accessed by steps from another, lower-lying room (A) on its north-western side (*fig. 5*). The plan of these two rooms and the floor system *a sospensure* in room B are reminiscent of the plan of *horrea*, as known from Portus and Ostia.[8]

It was ascertained that the Republican structure must have been in a state of neglect when the Imperial building was constructed. Parts (especially angles) of the pillars were damaged and the Republican walls in *opus incertum* which connected the pillars were in a relatively poor state of conservation, which necessitated the integration of Imperial walls into the original Republican wall structures at various points (*fig. 6*).



(after Gatti 1934, pl. II. Graphics by V. De Leonardis).

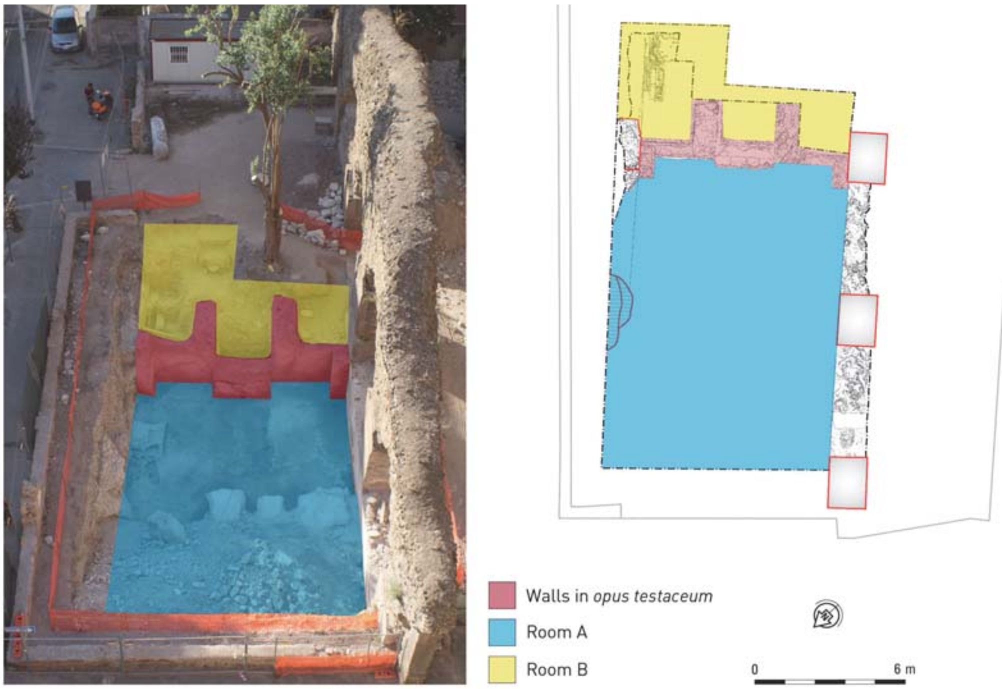


Fig. 5. Photo and layout of the Imperial building and of room A and B, as excavated in 2012 (photo R.A.E. Kok-Merlino, graphics layout of the map by S. Della Giustina).

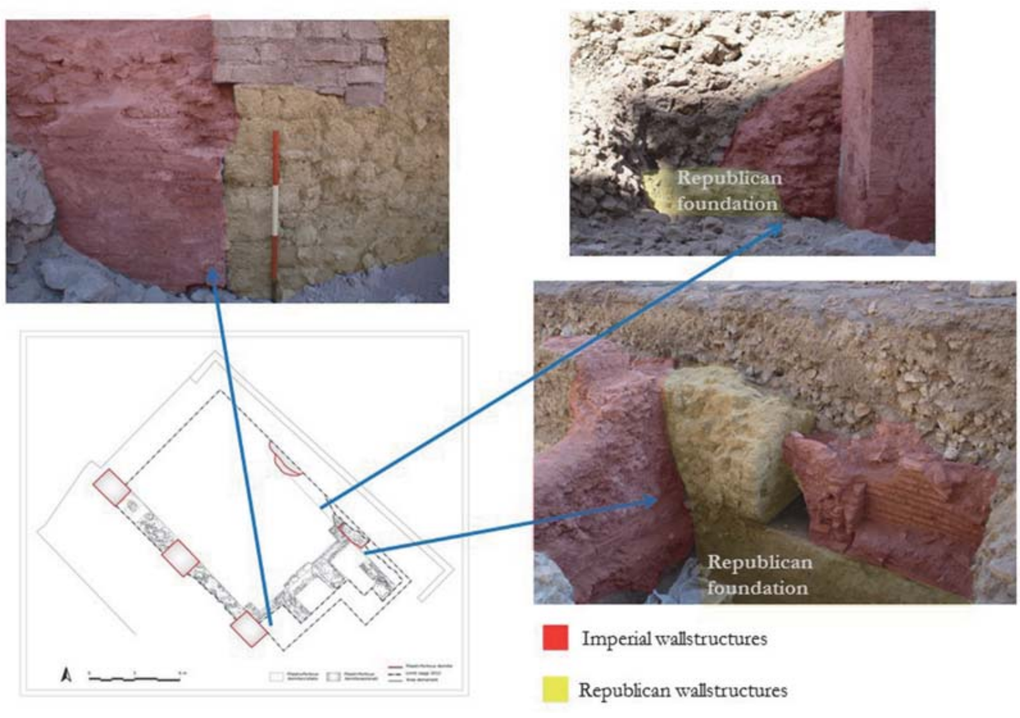


Fig. 6. Several Imperial wall structures which interlock with the Republican pilasters and presumed foundations (photos R.A.E. Kok-Merlino, graphics by S. Della Giustina).

Fig. 7. A deposit of pottery sherds near pillar D16 (left) and the layers of pozzolana *which were used to elevate the horizontal surface in between pillars B15 and B16, seen from the southeast (photos R.A.E. Kok-Merlino).*

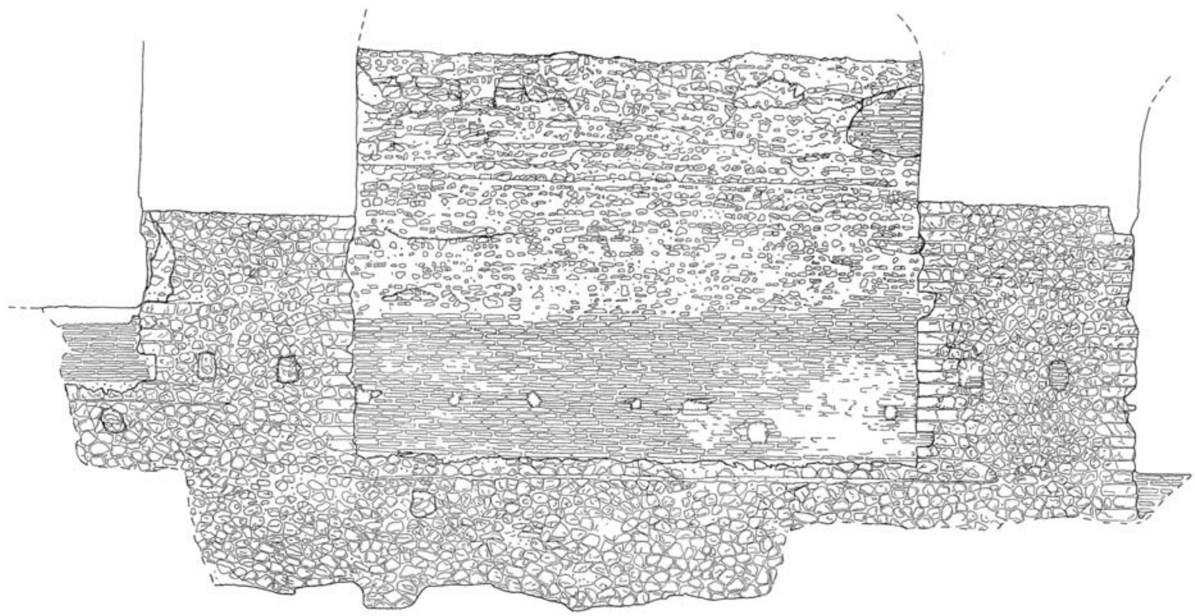


Fig. 8. Drawing of the pillars B15 and C15 and the continuous wall in opus incertum *which could be interpreted as foundation. On top of the latter one finds the Imperial wall in* opus testaceum *which impedes the passage between aisles XV and XVI through corridor B, seen from the northeast (drawing by A. Tartaro).*

Prior to the Imperial restructuring in aisle XVI, the floors were raised by at least 1.7 metres.[9] This took place in two ways. In the central part of the aisle, between pillars D15 and D16, deposits of pottery sherds, mainly from amphorae, were found, while towards the rear wall of the Porticus, between the pillars B15 and B16, the deposits consisted of layers of red *pozzolana* (*fig. 7*).[10] Both types of deposit can be dated to between the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century AD. Although different in composition and consistency, both materials have good draining properties, which suggests that they may be connected with the construction of the *horrea*.

After the layers of the thick, highly drainable deposits of shards and *pozzolana* had been laid, construction continued with the building of walls in *opus testaceum* in between the arcades. These walls closed off aisle XVI from the neighbouring aisles, thus creating the two rooms A and B, mentioned above (*figs 8 and 13*). Whereas the passageway between aisles XV and XVI was entirely closed,

the one between aisles XVI and XVII was closed only between pillars D15 and E15; the other arcades in this passageway were left open.

Other walls in *opus testaceum* were then added in aisle XVI between pillars D15 and D16, thus subdividing the aisle into two separate rooms. Two small rectangular-shaped brickwork pillars were positioned against pillars D15 and E15. These probably sustained an arch which accentuated the entrance to room B and reinforced the roof at this point.[11]

Fig. 9. The staircase with access to room B, seen from the northwest (photo R.A.E. Kok-Merlino).

The entrance to room B was flanked by two walls in *opus testaceum* and was accessible by two steps, approximately 2.30 metres wide (*fig. 9*).[12] The steps served to overcome the difference in height caused by the gradual descent of the entire *Porticus Aemilia* building towards the river Tiber (see the introduction above). On the upper step, parts of a hinge (*cardo*) enclosed by triangular bricks were identified, which seems to indicate the presence of a door that closed off room B from room A.

The well-preserved walls in *opus testaceum* all have similar architectural characteristics, with surfaces consisting mostly of tiles and a few bricks and a nucleus in *opus caementicium*. The mortar is compact and friable, light grey in colour and with a high concentration of black *pozzolana* and undiluted lime. The nucleus in *opus caementicium* contains a large quantity of tile fragments as well as some small yellow tufa blocks and some *spicatum* and pottery sherds. The quality of the wall constructions is not refined, even for a functional building. This observation was confirmed by the analysis of the Imperial foundation walls which were found in the corridor between room A and room B and which seem to indicate a somewhat sloppy building site.[13] The excavation of the trenches of these foundation walls delivered numerous

Fig. 10. Room A seen from the north (photo R.A.E. Kok-Merlino).

diagnostic pottery sherds which have been dated to between the middle and the end of the 1st century AD. Also, several iron nails were found, which could have belonged to formworks.

In order to achieve uniformity in appearance, the new brick walls as well as the old Republican pillars in *opus incertum* of rooms A and B had been covered with a whitish layer of plaster around three centimetres thick, thus establishing a polished and waterproof surface (*fig. 10*). Iron nails (*claves muscarii*) were also found *in situ.* The plaster was well-preserved in room A, but destructive post-depositional processes meant that hardly any of the plaster had been preserved in room B. However, *claves muscarii* were also found here and the discolouration of the walls indicates that plaster had indeed been used.

On the northern side of the pillars between aisles XV and XVI rectangular holes were identified in the masonry, two on each pillar. A smaller hole somewhat lower than the others, was found in the *opus testaceum* wall between pillars D14 and E14. These openings were located at the same height

Fig. 11. Photo of the small staircase seen from the southwest (photo R.A.E. Kok-Merlino).

(14.4 metres) and must have been created before or when the plaster was applied to the structures, as the inside of the holes is partly covered by plaster. In room A the plaster is thinner near the holes and ends at the same height in a rounded profile. The holes probably served to support wooden beams, possibly creating a mezzanine. The height of the holes seems slightly low to suggest a second floor in the Imperial building (2.10 metres in room A, 1.50 metres in room B).

Not long after the major restructuring work, some minor adaptations were made to the new building, especially to the connection between aisles XVI and XVII. In room A two steps had been built against the eastern Republican wall in *opus incertum*, so that the wall could be crossed to gain access to aisle XVII (*fig. 11*). These two steps, probably 1.20 metres in length, covered the *cocciopesto* floor which abutted onto the Republican wall in *opus incertum*, indicating that the steps had indeed been built in a second phase. It is highly probable that the wall in *opus testaceum*, which obstructed this passage in the initial phase of the Imperial building, was partially dismantled in the second phase.[14] On the other hand, in room B the passage between aisles XVI and XVII seems to have been closed in the second phase of the Imperial building. Remains of Imperial walls in *opus testaceum* were discovered on top of the Republican *opus incertum* wall between pillars B and C and between C and D (*fig. 12*).[15]

The Imperial floors

The floors of the Imperial building were relatively well-preserved. Room A had a *cocciopesto* floor (*fig. 10*), with a curb along its south-western edge that enabled it to lean against the stonework.[16] The *cocciopesto* had a rather coarse matrix with relatively large fragments of pottery and *pozzolana;* only the parts near the brick walls had smaller

Fig. 12. The T-shaped wall structures between aisles XVI and XVII. To the left the remains of the walls between pillars B16 and C16, to the right the wall structures between C16 and D16 ; seen from the southwest (photos R.A.E. Kok-Merlino).

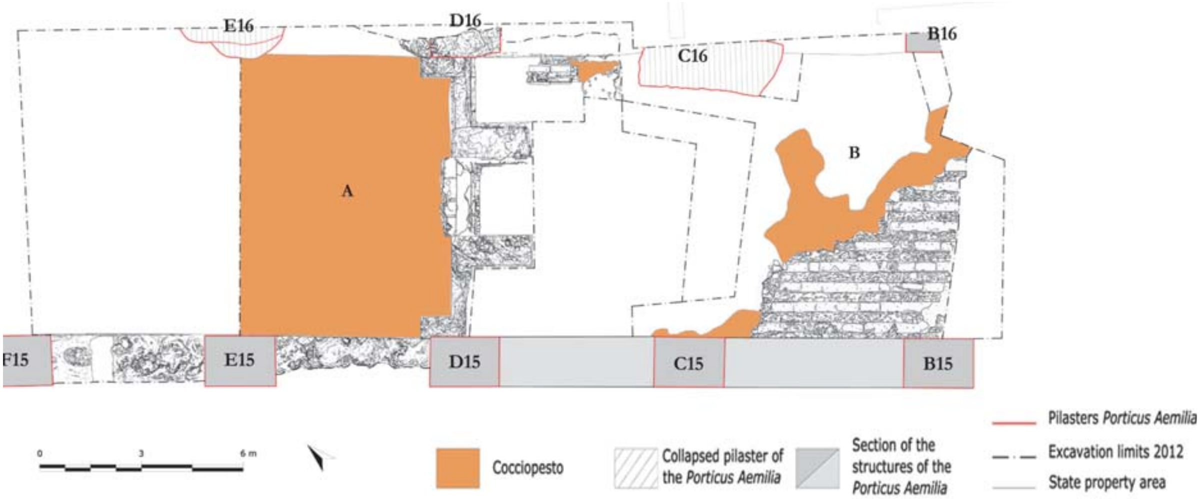


Fig. 13. Plan of the excavations in the XVIth aisle of the Porticus Aemilia *(drawings by B. Taddei, M. Mimmo, S. Marrotta. Graphics layout by S. Della Giustina).*

Fig. 14. Wall delimiting the entrance to room B at northeast with traces of the attachment of the floor level and underneath the offset covered with tile fragments, seen from the southwest (photo R.A.E. Kok-Merlino).

Fig. 15. View of the suspensurae of Room B, seen from the southeast (photo R.A.E. Kok-Merlino).

inclusions. The *cocciopesto* surface was roughly finished and cracked in several places due to the compression caused by the collapse of the vault on top of it (see below). The floor in the central part of the room also caved in under the weight of the roof, creating a drop of around 30 centimetres.

It was possible to analyse the preparation beneath the floor in the north-eastern part of room A; it consisted of flat-lying tufa blocks measuring between 15 and 20 centimetres. Near the walls in *opus testaceum* the *cocciopesto* floor rested instead on a row of protruding bricks. The *cocciopesto* and the entry steps to room B must have been built at the same time, since the floor abuts onto the staircase (*fig. 9*). At the level of the upper step between rooms A and B, at the point where the wall plaster finishes, clear traces were found of the attachment of the floor (12.9 metres), resting on some protruding bricks (*fig. 14*).

Room B also had a *cocciopesto* floor; however, it lay on sets of *suspensurae*, placed at a regular distance of approximately 30 centimetres from each other (*figs 15 and 16*). These small *suspensurae* walls, 65 centimetres high and around 30 centimetres wide, were oriented northwest-southeast and consisted of irregularly shaped tiles which were mostly triangular on the outer surfaces, whereas the *nucleus* consisted of mortar, tile fragments and tufa. The outermost *suspensurae* were smaller in width (10 centimetres) and placed against the walls

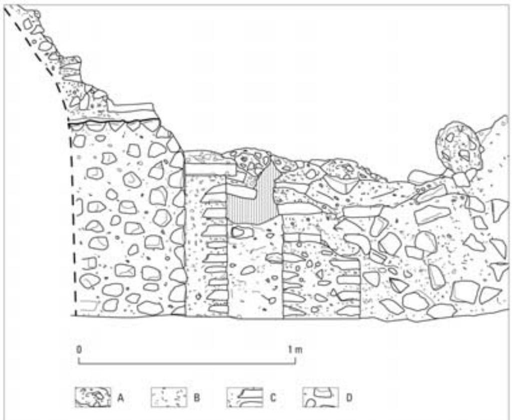


Fig. 16. Section drawing of the suspensurae *in the northern part of room B (drawing by M. Mimmo, graphics layout B. Brouwenstijn). A:* cocciopesto*; B: mortar; C: brick curtain wall; D:* opus incertum *curtain wall.*

Fig. 17. View of the side of a suspensurae *wall with the two construction phases (photo R.A.E. Kok-Merlino).*

in *opus incertum* that demarcated room B (*figs 15 and 16*). In the northern part of this room, the small *suspensurae* walls rested on bipedal bricks which were lying on a thin cementitious layer spread on top of a preparation of tufa blocks.[17] One layer of bipedal bricks was positioned on top of the *suspensurae* walls which supported a *cocciopesto* floor (*fig. 16*). In the central part of the room, the *suspensurae* walls were built directly on the same preparation of tufa blocks. A cementitious layer between the small structures bore the imprints of brick fragments which were still present in some cases. On top of the *suspensurae* walls the *cocciopesto* was sustained by two layers of bipedal bricks divided by a layer of mortar.

Although the floor and the underlying system of *suspensurae* had been severely damaged at some points and had even been partially removed, it is clear from the excavations that this system once covered the whole of room B, including the entrance. The analysis of the *suspensurae* walls has led to the identification of two phases in this floor system. In some places the upper part of the *suspensurae* walls was different from the lower part; it was made of different materials and had been constructed with a different technique (*fig. 17*).[18] Most probably this difference relates to a second phase in which the Imperial floor and building were restructured, but which cannot be dated with any certainty.

Interpretation of the Imperial Structure in Aisle XVI

As stated above, the plan of the Imperial structure that came to light through new excavations in the *Porticus Aemilia* resembles that of a *cella* of *horrea*, identified in Portus and Ostia. Evidently, in this case, the dimensions of the *horrea* had to be adapted to fit in with the available width inside the aisle of the *Porticus*. The walls in *opus testaceum* which flanked the entrance to room B (below *figs 5 and 13*) were functional and no doubt helped to prevent cereals from slipping into the entrance and perhaps under the door.[19] Most probably, the cereals were preserved in piles: a large one in the central part of the *cella* or several along the walls.[20] The presence of *suspensurae* in room B lends more credibility to the interpretation as a *cella* of *horrea,* as such a floor would have facilitated the preservation of dry wheat. The *suspensurae* would have stopped the humidity from rising to the *cocciopesto* floor and helped to maintain a constant temperature, - an absolute necessity, because if the temperature rose above 18/20º the cereals would start to ferment.[21] This interpretation is confirmed by our archaeobotanical analyses, which have revealed the presence of carbonized emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*) and barley (*Hordeum vulgare*).[22] If room B can indeed be interpreted as an authentic storage *cella*, room A may have served as a connection between the inside and the outside of the building. The numerous coins found on the *cocciopesto* floor could also indicate that room A was a place where exchange took place. In fact, storage buildings could have different functions such as a small market, as is acknowledged at M'eninx on the island of Djerba. Moreover, it is known from juridical sources that wholesale took place even in buildings that were entirely dedicated to storage.[23]

In the first phase of room B, the passage between aisles XVI and XVII seems to have been open,

Fig. 18. The collapsed vault, seen from the southeast (photo R.A.E. Kok-Merlino, drawing by B. Taddei, graphic layouts B. Brouwenstijn).

which fits in with the hypothesis that the Imperial *horreum* in the *Porticus Aemilia* was larger than the only *cella* we found during the excavations. It is certainly conceivable that a similar structure was built in aisle XVII, communicating with our *cella,* and that even a much larger part of the back of the *Porticus* was transformed into *horrea* in the first half of the 2nd century AD.[24]

The End of the Imperial *horrea*

Rooms A and B were in use at least up to the 5th century AD. The archaeological data indicate that they collapsed between the 6th and 7th century AD.

In room B pillar C16 collapsed together with part of the arch over corridor B.[25] The roof and the walls then came down as well. Our analyses indicate that spoliation took place both before and after the collapse. In fact, on the preserved part of the *cocciopesto* floor in room B, bricks and tiles were found which seem to originate from the *suspensurae* walls. Moreover, it was clear that the floor on the north-eastern part of the room had collapsed because of spoliation: here the *suspensurae* walls had been removed, causing the *cocciopesto* to cave in. The south-western part shows, on the other hand, that the collapsed roof and the floor were cut in order to retrieve building materials. It is evident that room B suffered more damage after its abandonment than room A. The poor preservation of the plaster in room B may well be due to the large pits that were dug right through the layers of debris; these pits also cut the floor and damaged the exterior of the walls. The filling

from these pits consisted of material dated from between the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century AD, which seems to indicate that this part of the building may have collapsed somewhat earlier than room A.

In room A the collapse probably began when pillar E16 fell down on the wall in *opus incertum* on which the pillars of the Republican *Porticus* had been built. This was followed by the collapse of the vault and the side walls of the building. In the central part of room A, between pillars E15 and E16, the collapsed remains of the vault came to light and provided important insights into the construction of the roof (*fig. 18*). The rectangular tufa blocks of the collapsed vault (45 centimetres by 12 centimetres) were positioned sideways on the floor and covered by the inner concrete part of the roof. These tufa blocks and the nucleus of the vault were covered by bipedal bricks (approximately 4.2 centimetres thick) and large fragments of concrete which were plastered and smoothed on top. The concrete slabs, which had a maximum length of 1.85 metres and a maximum thickness of 26 centimetres, served to reinforce the covering of the building and make it impermeable. The restoration, which most probably took place in Imperial times, consisted of the positioning of the bipedal bricks and the plastered concrete on top of the tufa construction. The covering of the Imperial building was probably reinforced with a brick arch above the entrance to room B, as a collapsed brick construction in front seems to suggest.

Underneath the collapsed tufa blocks, a layer consisting of numerous pottery sherds of significant dimensions was excavated. The sherds, which came mainly from amphorae, have been dated between the beginning of the 4th and the 6th century BC, and indicate the time when the room was abandoned. This deposit covered a highly organic layer with a maximum thickness of 3 centimetres, which can be interpreted as the last surface which had been walked on in the Imperial building. It revealed flat-lying pottery sherds dating from the first half of the 3rd century AD and numerous coins which are currently being studied, as they could shed light on the last phases of use of the *horreum* and the room in front of it.

Later Reuse

Though the Imperial structure in aisle XVI had fallen into abeyance, its rooms were not abandoned forever. In the north-eastern sector of room A a small rectangular compartment was found, cut into the collapsed remains (*fig. 19*). The compartment with northwest-southeast orientation was enclosed by dry-stone walls preserved up to a height of three to four rows, which were built against the cut debris. Most of the blocks were made of concrete and tufa but fragments of *cocciopesto* had also been used as building material, all with irregular shapes and dimensions. The largest blocks were placed in the lower part of the walls, while the smaller ones were positioned in the higher rows. The floor of this structure consisted of well-trodden soil, immediately on top of the Imperial *cocciopesto*. A round hole of around 15 centimetres in diameter in the eastern corner was probably used to hold a support pole for the roof. To create more space for the realization of the compartment a large chunk of concrete that had fallen from the Imperial roof was moved.

Even though this part of room A had been heavily compromised by modern construction works, it was still possible to excavate some layers, testifying to the abandonment of this late structure, which can be dated after the 6th century AD. Unfortunately, it could not be dated with any more precision but its stratigraphic position indicates a date soon after the collapse of the room. The interpretation of the compartment may be that of a shelter or a shed for animals which probably remained in use for a long time.

In room A, in the wall in *opus testaceum* between the pillars E15 and F15, an almost circular hole cutting the plaster and the wall was identified. The pit had an opening of about 15 cm in diameter which lead to an interior space of about 30 cm wide. The hole was (still partially) closed by some tiles and could have functioned as a small repository perhaps for valuable items. The dating of this repository turns out to be problematic

Fig. 19. The small compartment built into the collapsed layers of room A, seen from the northeast (photo R.A.E. Kok-Merlino).

given the complete lack of ceramics or numismatic materials. It is however possible to hypothesize that its realisation is contemporary to the reuse of the spaces described above. Stratigraphically it is clear that the repository was made after the abandonment and the collapse of room A.

Conclusion

The above-discussed excavations in aisle XVI of the *Porticus Aemilia* clearly show that stratigraphical digs have much to contribute to a more complete understanding of the complexity of the use of space through time. In fact, with these excavations we wished to emphasize that this area has a highly differentiated history of occupation which should not be reduced to the discussion or identification of the original building only and mainly on the basis of written sources. Moreover, the digs suggest that in one and the same period, the area occupied by the structure of the *Porticus Aemilia* might have accommodated a wide range of functions.

What is most evident from our excavations is that in the late first and early 2nd century AD at least parts of the building were restructured to accommodate *horrea*. Early in this phase, large-scale building activities took place in aisle XVI. First, the floor level was raised considerably by adding thick layers of sherds and *pozzolana* with good draining properties. These deposits served as the foundation for a new building, which reused the solid structure of the Republican *Porticus* as a framework. The plan of the new building, the floor on *suspensurae* and the archaeobotanical data suggest that the Porticus was used as *horrea* in the Imperial era. Most probably, the result of the excavations in aisle XVI can be projected on a larger part of the *Porticus Aemilia*. It seems plausible that a significant part of the monumental building was turned into *horrea publica* with numerous *cellae* along the rear wall of the *Porticus*, and perhaps also at the front, including three corridors in the former Republican building.

The renovation of the complex can be seen as part of a larger restructuring programme undertaken in the Emporium during the Trajanic-Hadrianic era. In this phase there is a renewed interest in the urban harbours in general[26] and several storage places became Imperial property.[27] Wheat was the principal product in weight and volume that was imported in the harbours of the Tiber,[28] which explains the presence of numerous storage facilities in the area of the Emporium. These were still growing in number even around the middle of the 2nd century AD, when older buildings were making way for storage facilities, as demonstrated by the Mercato Nuovo excavations.[29] It is not entirely clear how long the Imperial *horrea* in the *Porticus Aemilia* were used, nor when exactly the reconstruction of the *suspensurae* and the building of the walls between aisles XVI and XVII took place. In room A, the layers dating from the last use before the collapse of the vault could be ascribed to a period between the 4th and 6th century AD, most probably the beginning of the fifth, while the collapsed layers were dated in the first half of the 7th century AD. The building seems to have definitively declined when people started using several locations as burial grounds.[30]

Notes

1 E.g. Boetto et al. 2010; Bukowiecki et al. 2011; in press; Burgers et al. in press; Keay 2008; Sebastiani/Serlonzi 2011; Virlouvet 2011.

2 Livy (41.27.7-8) also recalls renovations by censors Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Postumius Albinus in 174 BC.

3 By analyzing the excavation data gathered during the district's construction, Gatti was also able to retrace the whole plan of the building, thereby producing an essential framework for all researchers who wish to examine this area. Gatti's identification was probably inspired by Lanciani.

4 Cozza/Tucci 2006, 175-181; Tucci 2008, 18-24; 2012, 575-591. The new interpretations are based mainly on a different reading of the letters […]lia found on fragment 23 of the Forma Urbis, namely [nava]lia instead of [porticus aemi]lia. Contra: Arata/Felici 2011, 127-53. Yet another interpretation can be found in Tuck 2000, 175-82, who argues to identify the letters with [corne]lia. See Coarelli 2007, 41-46.

5 Another hypothesis that can't be excluded at the moment is that the original floors of the *Porticus Aemilia* have been preserved in not yet excavated deeper level, underneath the Imperial levels.

6 The excavations at the *Porticus Aemilia* are part of the project 'Challenging Testaccio. Urban History of a Roman *Rione*', of the *Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma*, the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome and the Archaeological Centre of the VU University Amsterdam. They are sponsored by the same institutions and directed by Renato Sebastiani and Gert-Jan Burgers. Field directors: Raphaëlle-Anne Kok-Merlino, Sara della Ricca, Valerio De Leonardis, Franco Tella and Matteo Merlino. Other staff members: Sarah Della Giustina (graphics), Evelyne Bukowiecki (architectural analyses), Alessia Contino, Lucilla D'Alessandro (pottery analyses). Drawings and maps for this article were produced by Bert Brouwenstijn unless otherwise stated. Student participants: C. Tetteroo (assistant field director), C. Cojaniz, M. Caspers, A. Tartaro, S. Marrotta, M. Mimmo, B. Taddei, V. Tolstoj, S. Lengkeek, N. Stoffels, K. Qarche, L. Noorda, D. van Diepen, S. Sleijpen, R. Bruinsma, F. Bouten, L. Drouen, B. Krijger, M. De Hey, C. Fasciani, J. Maas, N. Laghezza, M. Catsman, D. Van Dokkum, D. Bergmans, J. Ypma, M. De Jong, M. Gelhausen, S. Row-

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7 Excavations in the Xth aisle have revealed the same stratigraphic sequence as encountered in the XVIth aisle (Bukowiecki et al., in press, Burgers et al., in press).

8 For example the *Magazzini di Traiano* at Portus (Boetto et. al. 2010; Bukowiecki et al. 2011) and the *Grandi Horrea* at Ostia (Monteix 2011; Rickman 1971, 43-53).

9 The level of the new Imperial floors was found at 12.9 m, while the deposits which raised the level were found at 11.24 m. The lowest point of the excavation in the central part of the Imperial building was 10.54 m.

10 Pozzolana is 'a type of volcanic ash used for mortar or for cement that sets under water' (Oxford Dictionary).

11 This hypothesis is reinforced by the presence of a collapsed brick structure in front of the entrance to room B.

12 The latter consisted in two steps, each one foot high and covered by bipedal bricks of which only the imprints were conserved (three of 59 cm and one of 53 cm long).

13 Three foundations of the *opus testaceum* walls have been examined in the corridor between the two rooms: two of these walls delimited the entrance to room B and one served as the substructure of the staircase previously described. All three foundations consisted of masonry using bricks, tiles and small tufa blocks, alternated with thick layers of mortar. Two foundation walls were bounded and were probably constructed with a formwork. The foundation trenches explored in the same corridor were rather narrow, except for the south-western one where construction needed more space.

14 It is of course possible that the wall in *opus testaceum* never completely blocked the passage, but if so, it is hard to understand why the staircase was constructed later.

15 It has been possible to determine that between pillars C16 and D16 two walls were built: one following the same direction as the Republican wall, and a smaller one perpendicular to it, leaning with the surface to the southeastern side of pillar D16, and thus forming a T-shape. Between the pillars B16 and C16 a similar situation has been discovered, with the T-shape versus pillar B16.
Between pillars C16 and D16, in the space left by the T-shaped walls, a line of fragmented bipedal bricks has been found, one of them with a stamp dated to the beginning of the 2nd century AD. It is unclear what its function was.

16 The bad conservation of the floor along the north-eastern limit of the room does not allow to assess if the curb was present on both sides.

17 The bipedal bricks were absent underneath the smaller *suspensurae* wall next to the wall in *opus incertum*.

18 This renovation of the *suspensurae* was operated with yellow, thick bricks instead of the former thinner red ones. Moreover, the mortar on the upper part has been roughly smoothed resulting in a trimmed joint sealing, while on the original part of the walls, hollow joints sealing have been used.

19 Monteix 2011, fig. 1.

20 See Monteix 2011 for the first hypothesis and Papi/Martorella 2007, 89-92, figs 4, 5, 7 for the second reconstruction.

21 Mattingly/Aldrete 2000, 147; Papi/Martorella 2007, 90. Keay (2008, 13) notes that the presence of *suspensurae* identifies a room as a wheat storage space. *Suspensurae* floors are common for *horrea* in Ostia: *Grandi Horrea* (Reg. II. Is. IX.7), *Horrea Antoniniani* (Reg.II. Is.II.7) and *Horrea* Reg.I Is. VIII.2. The latter are characterised by small 30-cm-wide transepts placed at a distance of 30 cm from one another (Rickman 1971, 28). See also Trajan's warehouses in Portus (Boetto et. al. 2010; Bukowiecki/Panzieri/Zugmeyer, 2011), cellars re-built under Commodus and those converted in the Severan age in Ostia's *Grandi Horrea* (Monteix 2011; Rickman 1971, 43-53).

22 The archaeo-botanic analyses were conducted by D. Lentjes.

23 Virlouvet 2011, 11-12, with relevant bibliography.

24 Research of the archives executed by S. Della Ricca and V. De Leonardis has brought to light earlier discoveries of *suspensurae* in several parts of the *Porticus Aemilia*.

25 This collapse has permitted us to retrieve the exact measurements of the tufa blocks of the arches, also useful for the 3D reconstruction which will be presented in the final publication of the excavations of the *Porticus Aemilia*. The arches that are still standing are heavily eroded.

26 Sebastiani/Serlorenzi 2011, 71. At the *Emporium* extensive construction works took place, such as the realisation of a large dock (cf. Gatti 1936, 55-82; Rodriguez Almeida 1984, 71).

27 As is known from epigraphy (Castagnoli 1980, 39, note 43).

28 Le Gall 2005, 294-296.

29 Sebastiani/Serlorenzi 2008; 2011, 86-95.

30 The building seems to have definitively declined when people started using several locations as burial grounds. Burials have been found in the area of the *Emporium* (Meneghini/Moccheggiani 1985a, 15-64, Meneghini/Moccheggiani 1985b, 86-95), at the *Nuovo Mercato Testaccio* (Carboni 2008), at Via Marmorata (Quaranta/Capodiferro 2011, 60-65) and near the rear wall of the *Porticus Aemilia* (Burgers et al. in press).

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The so-called tomb of Eustorgios at Thessaloniki (Greece)

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Abstract

This article deals with tomb no 46 in Thessaloniki (Greece), known as the 'tomb of Eustorgios'. On the western wall of this painted burial chamber, four persons are illustrated who are mostly interpreted as a family. By comparing this funeral painting with late antique family depictions it should be proved whether the two boys represented are servants instead of the grave owner's sons - as some scholars already have suggested. Furthermore, the woman Aurelia Prokla who is standing isolated in the north-eastern corner will be discussed.

Description

Studying the depictions of Roman children[1] focused my attention on the so-called tomb of Eustorgios at Thessaloniki. This tomb (no 46), excavated in 1930, dates from the beginning of the 4th century and was part of the western necropolis, with 2.11 x 1.08 meter in size and 1.80 meter in height. Today it is fully reconstructed in room no 3 'From the Elysian Fields to the Christian Paradise' in the permanent exhibition of the Museum of Byzantine Culture (Thessaloniki).[2]

The vaulted ceiling is totally covered with green and red flowers encircling a wreath with a XP-monogram.[3] Due to that, this tomb can be regarded as a Christian tomb. XP-monograms in medallions or wreaths are very common in Early Christian graves, primarily located on the main wall opposite the entrance or in the middle of the ceiling.[4]

A *kantharos* flanked by two peacocks and another bird of half-size dominates the middle of the southern wall (*fig. 1*). In the background, one can see scattered flowers, pomegranates and pine cones symbolising a fertile and pleasant atmosphere. The northern wall (*fig. 2*) shows a similar picture with two *Galliformes* besides a tipped over basket full of flowers. This emblem is a little dislocated to make place for a woman standing at the corner. She wears a long robe with *clavi*, girted under her breast, and her hair is covered with a cap. In her left hand she holds a small jug and her right hand offers a beaker. Above there is an inscription (κὲ Αὐρηλίᾳ Πρόκλᾳ μητρὴ (*sic!*) πάντων) naming the woman as Aurelia Prokla.

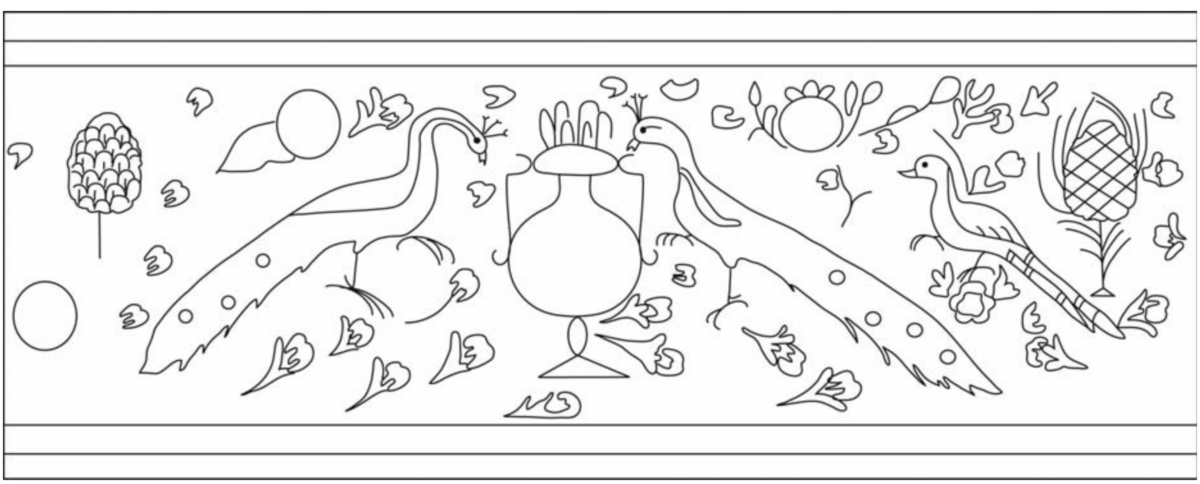

Fig. 1. Sketch of the southern wall of tomb no 46 at Thessaloniki with three birds and a kantharos *(by author, after the drawing in Μάρκη 2006, pl. 61 b).*

Because of the ‘κὲ’, it is obvious that we have to read this inscription in combination with the one in the lunette of the western wall: Φλ[αβίῳ] [---]κὲ [Αὐῥ]ηλ[ίᾳ Εὐστοργίᾳ ὑγιένετε παρ[ο]δῖτε. Together they may be translated as: *To Flavios […] and Aurelia Eustorgia. Fare well passers-by, and to Aurelia Prokla, the mother of all* (*fig. 3*).[5]

The second inscription of Flavios and Aurelia Eustorgia is in a wreath, starting with a cross and ending with a XP-monogram. Stylianos Pelekanidis[6] reads the inscription differently and ascribes the tomb to Eustorgios, which is the reason for the name by which this burial chamber has become well known.[7]

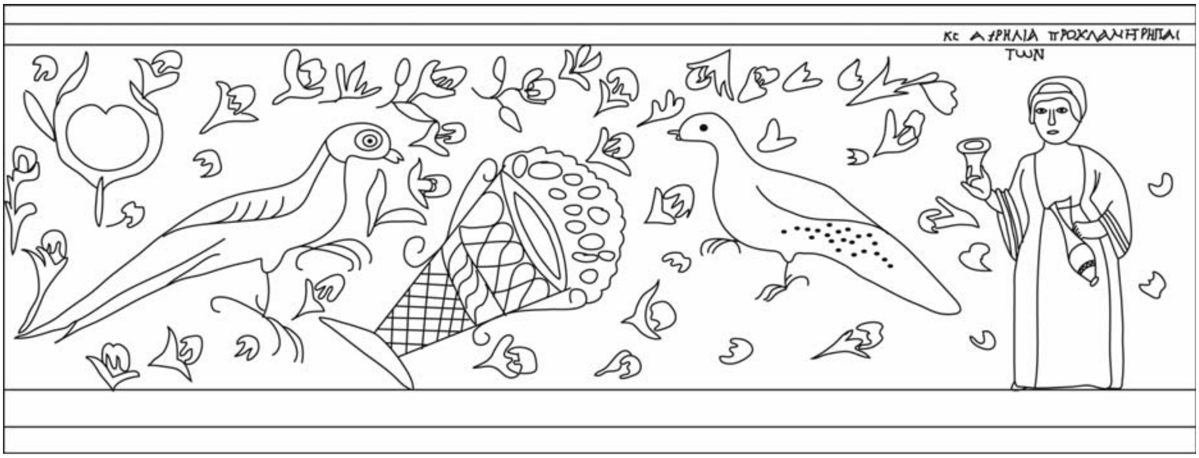

Fig. 2. Sketch of the northern wall of tomb no 46 at Thessaloniki with two birds around a basket and Aurelia Prokla (by author, after the drawing in Μάρκη 2006, pl. 60 c).

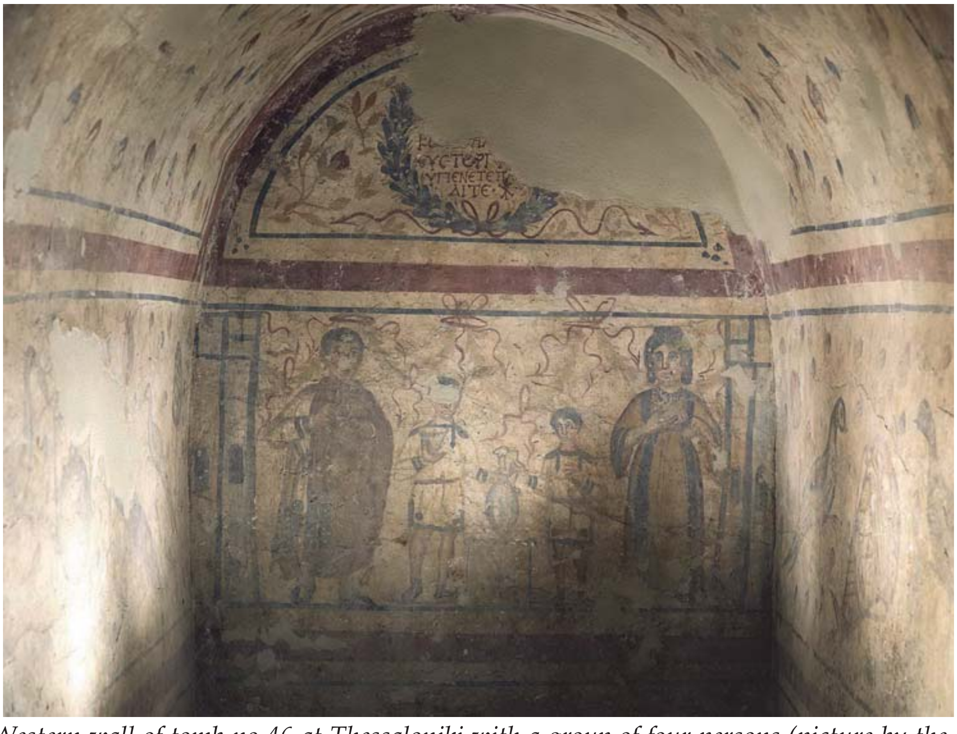

Fig. 3. Western wall of tomb no 46 at Thessaloniki with a group of four persons (picture by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, published by courtesy of Agathoniki Tsilipakou).

The western wall

On the western wall (*fig. 3*) a group of four persons, two children and two adults, are standing around an altar covered with an ornamented cloth. The two boys wear short, girted white tunics with black embroidery. Both of them are touching a glass pitcher standing on a table. The older one holds a conical beaker. A couple is following - a woman dressed in a light yellow *dalmatica* on the right, a man wearing a tunic and *pallium* on the left hand side. Both adults are holding an olive branch in their left hands. Garlands and ribbons decorate the background enclosed by a highly stylized architecture. Euterpi Marki has interpreted this architecture as a ceremonial building on a cemetery where annual libations honouring the deceased were performed.[8] Her thesis is absolutely possible because Christians used to celebrate funeral rituals.[9]

Most scholars understand this group as a family - Flavios and Aurelia Eustorgia with their two sons.[10] Let's have a closer look at Roman family depictions to check if this is convincing.

Families primarily occur in funeral contexts, but also on objects of daily use like glass vessels and jewellery. Through overlapping or touching their bodies, the family members show their coherence and solidarity towards each other. There is no discernable difference in style between pagan and Christian illustrations. Two types can be distinguished.

In the first category, the family is facing the viewer, standing as *orantes* - e.g. Nonnosa and her parents Ilaritas and Theotecnus or Nicatiola and her mother Cominia with Saint Januarius on two paintings in the catacomb of S. Gennaro in Naples (Italy), a sarcophagus in Istanbul (Turkey) or a brick from Caričin Grad (Serbia, *fig. 4*).[11] Much more frequently represented is the second type in which the family members are standing next to or in front of each other - e.g. on sandwich gold glasses, jewellery or funeral monuments like one found in Szombathely (Hungary, *fig. 5*).[12] This type derives from reliefs of Roman freedmen on which their freeborn children are proudly presented as the first Roman citizens.[13] The family members are looking at the viewer which produces a severe expression. This feeling is always reduced by juxtaposition or bodily contact between the family members. They are normally dressed in cloths of the same luxury style, but not in exactly the same fashion.

Fig. 4. Fragmentary brick with a family depiction, National Museum Leskovac Inv. 517 (ex K500) (picture of the Institute of Archaeology (Belgrade), published by courtesy of Vujadin Ivanišević).

Fig. 5. Iulia Priscilla embraced by her husband touches one of her children with her left hand, Szombathely, Savaria Múzeum Inv. 67.10.120 1 (picture by O. Harl (lupa no 681), published by courtesy of Andrea Csapláro).

A very important badge of rank was the *bulla*, an apotropaic pendant exclusively worn by freeborn Roman boys.[14] Between the age of fourteen and seventeen when boys had sexually matured, they took off their *bulla* donating it in the *lararium*.[15] Because of this significance, freedmen used the *bulla* as a statement on their funeral reliefs to mark their children as Roman citizens and to display their newly gained status. This allegory was transferred into Roman art and the *bulla*, like costly jewellery or clothing, demonstrated high status - even in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD.[16] A missing *bulla* does not conversely mean that these boys are slaves, but its absence is noteworthy.

Looking at the Thessaloniki images, we observe that the two boys do not wear this very common symbol. Moreover, the four persons in Thessaloniki are standing next to each other, but not very close; familiar gestures like touching the children on their shoulders are certainly missing!

The children's clothes are elaborate, but not as much as the attire of the couple with rich fabrics, jewellery and a complex updo of Aurelia Eustorgia. These four persons are obviously dressed for a special occasion, maybe as Marki has suggested for an annual ritual. In that case, the precious clothes of the children are suited for this specific event and are not as such an argument against an interpretation of the children as representing slaves.

The two boys are standing in the middle of the composition. They are therefore of special significance. The inscription, however, mentions only Flavios and Aurelia Eustorgia, not the two boys! Since the inscription does not refer to them and the couple has no interaction with them either, in my opinion they must be regarded as 'functional instruments', situated in the middle to strengthen the owner's statement (status).

Representations of servants as status specified personnel can be found in Sidon (Lebanon), Silistra and Ossenovo (Bulgaria), Viminacium and Beška (Serbia).[17] They wear fine clothing and offer valuable things like dishes, drapery and jewellery. The way the older boy is offering the glass beaker in our painting is similar to a depiction of a servant in a private house near the Odeion in Ephesus (Turkey, the so-called Odeion Terrace-House).[18] In this house two servants welcome the entering guests with a glass cup and a plate full of figs. The head of the household awaits the guests, depicted on the northern wall lying on a *stibadium*, waiting for the banquet in the *triclinium*. In these examples, the interpretation of these figures as servants is unambiguous.

Katherine Dunbabin already interpreted the boys in Thessaloniki as slaves taking the movement of the older one as a serving gesture. What is more, in her opinion Aurelia Prokla on the other wall might also be a servant - but she does not give a compelling argument for that identification.[19] Jutta Dresken-Weiland shares this idea and finds the position of Aurelia Prokla absolutely inappropriate for a family member.[20]

Until now, no one has paid attention to the reason *why* Aurelia Prokla is standing so far away from all the others.

Interpretation

As we have seen, the inscription in the wreath on the main wall emphatically names Flavios and Aurelia as the grave owners. Two skeletons were found inside the chamber, probably of the married couple Flavios and Aurelia Eustorgia.[21] We might assume that Aurelia Prokla was already dead and buried elsewhere when this chamber was built, because her bones could not be found in this grave. But apparently one wanted to retain her memory in this place. Therefore, she is depicted as walking in the Garden of Eden, symbolised by flowers, birds and a *kantharos*. This explains why she is standing a little bit aside, next to the entrance/exit decorated with wine tendrils and grapes.[22] According to the allegory of Jesus and the grapevine (John 15.1-5) this motif was very popular in Christian funeral art, symbolising the Christian community, fertility, the Eucharist as well as blood (of Christ and the martyrs).[23]

Flavios and Aurelia Eustorgia are hoping to see Aurelia Prokla in paradise after they honoured her during annual rituals, like Aurelia Prokla might have done for her ancestors. This is why they are standing at the entrance of the cemetery, symbolised by the architecture identified by Marki as a ceremonial building, as mentioned above, on the threshold between life and afterlife. Aurelia Prokla is waiting for her descendants to escort them to the exit, to eternal life.

The Christian character of this tomb is proven by the XP-monogram of the funeral inscription on the western wall, as well as by the one in the wreath in the middle of the ceiling.[24] Vessels, scattered flowers, garlands, birds and wine tendrils as a *locus amoenus*, however, were also used in non-Christian contexts.[25]

Conclusion

K. Dunbabin has proposed to identify the two boys on the main wall of grave no 46 as slaves by comparing them with depictions of Roman servants. By having a closer look at late antique family illustrations, which differ from the one on the western wall, Dunbabin's thesis could be confirmed. Furthermore, Aurelia Prokla's significance was discussed and clarified for the first time. Unanswered remains the question if the expression 'mother of all' in the inscription was meant figuratively or literally.[26] Thus, it could not be determined if Aurelia Prokla was a blood relative (mother of Flavios or Aurelia Eustorgia), but she was important enough to be honoured by a painting in this family grave.

Notes

1 C.-M. Behling, *Kinderdarstellungen in der Spätantike und im frühen Christentum* (PhD thesis University of Vienna 2014).

2 Μάρκη 2006, 221 (Please note that the naming of the walls in this publication differs from earlier, faulty publications). Dr. Agathoniki Tsilipakou, the director of the Museum of Byzantine Culture, was so kind to inform me about the correct designations for which I would like to thank him very much!

3 Pelekanidis 1963, 10; Pelekanidis 1969, 231–232; Μάρκη 2006, pls 5 a; 23; see a very good picture of the tomb at the Tourist website: Welcome InThessaloniki, http://www.inthessaloniki.com/images/Museums_Thumbnails/Byzantine_Museum/Byzsig/Inside_the_Museum_of_Byzantine_Culture_D.jpg (17.03.2014) where you can notice that the picture of the southern wall at Μάρκη 2006, 156 fig. 94 pl. 61 b is reversed.

4 Cp. Valeva 1998, 765; 782 cat. 79, 80; 786 figs 13, 14; Pillinger et al. 1999, 63 fig. 125; Hudák/Nagy 2009, 15 fig. 3; 19 fig. 4; 42 fig. 19; 55 fig. 27; Kaplarević 2011, 46 fig. 38; 79 fig. 60; 83 fig. 63; 87 fig. 66; Rogić et al. 2012, 345, 352; Barbet 2013, 68, 73, 77 fig. 3.

5 Feissel 1983, 121-122 cat. 124-125 pl. 26.

6 Pelekanidis 1969, 213.

7 Pelekanidis 1969, 231: Κ(ΥΡΙ)Ε ι--- ΗΛ --- ΕΥΣΤΟΡΓΙ(ΟΥ) *or* [ΟΝ] ΥΓΙΕΝΕΤΕ ΠΑ[ΡΟ]ΔΙΤΕ.

8 Μάρκη 2006, 138; Marki 2007, 60.

9 Cp. Krautheimer 1960, 31-34; Toynbee 1971, 50-51. 62-64; Février 1977; Jastrzębowska 1979; Guyon 1987, 329-338; Engemann 1997, 119; Schmidt 2000, 234-246.

10 Béquignon 1931, 494; Karo 1931, 271; Pelekanidis 1963, 8-9 fig. 1; Pelekanidis 1969, 230 pls 126-130; Mathews 1993, 35–36 fig. 17; Valeva 2001, 182; Weißbrod 2003, 159; Μάρκη 2006, 138-140 fig. 73 pls 5 a; 60 c; 61 a. b; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2010, 285.

11 Cp. Fasola 1975, 73 pl. 5 a; 95–98 figs 68. 70; Кондић/Поповић 1977, 188 cat. 5; 388 cat. 5 pl. 4, 5; Deckers/Serdaroğlu 1993, 147-151. 163 pls 6 c. d; 7 a. b; Kampen 2009, 124–125 fig. 43; 135-136 pl. 25; Studer-Karlen 2012, 57-58 fig. 50.

12 Lupa nos 348, 595, 681, 3121; Pillinger 1984, 85 colourpl. 31, 244; Ružić 1994, 56-57 cat. 1194 pl. 44; Migotti 2002, esp. 34-38 fig. 74; Zimmermann 2007, 22-23 fig. 12; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 183. 445 pl. 150, 670; Hennessy 2008, 85-86 fig. 3.1; Behling 2011, 166-167 fig. 3.

13 Cp. Zanker 1975, 290, 292-293 fig. 27; 295 figs 29, 30; Backe-Dahmen 2006, pls 1 a, b; 3 a; 4 a, b; 6 a; 7 a, b.

14 Cic. Verr. I.113; Macr. sat. 1.6.9; Val. Max. 5.6.8; Gabelmann 1985, 513, 527-531; Goette 1986, 138, 143-144.

15 Iuv. 13.33; Pers. 5, 31; Schol. Hor. *sat*. 1.2.16-17; 1.5.65-66; Wiedemann 1989, 114, 153; Backe-Dahmen 2006, 82.

16 E.g. Lupa no 823; Cortopassi; Kleiner/Matheson 1996, 148 cat. 87 fig. 87; Engemann 2007, 300-301 fig. 11.

17 Cp. Pillinger et al. 1989, 43–44 figs 35-39; Korać 1991, 114–121 figs 6-15; Barbet et al. 1997, 145-148 figs 3-8; 154; Pillinger et al. 1999, 14-15, 23-26 figs 4, 5; 25-34; Valeva 2001, 180-185; Spasić-Đurić 2002, 55-59 figs 34. 35; Atanasov 2005, 6-17, 26-27 figs 8, 9, 12, 14; Popović 2011, 238-239 fig. 20.

18 Zimmermann/Ladstätter 2010, 168-169 figs 349-351.

[19] Dunbabin 2003, 454; an interpretation of the boys as cupbearer: Warland 1994, 179 note 26.
[20] Dresken-Weiland 2010, 207 with note 598.
[21] Feissel 1983, 122 no 125.
[22] The eastern wall's painting is mentioned by Μάρκη 2006, pl. 12; Marki 2007, 59.
[23] E.g. Leclercq 1953; Thomas 1972, 491-492; Thomas 1986, 994; Valeva 1998, 779 cat. 59; Pillinger et al. 1999, 15; 63 figs 2. 9. 127; Fiocchi Nicolai et al. 2000, 127 fig. 141; Christern-Briesenick 2003, 3-4 cat. 10; 82-83 cat. 145; 84-85 cat. 150. 152; 98-100 cat. 187-190 pls 2, 4; 39, 2; 40, 1; 41, 1; 47, 2; 48, 1-3; Kaplarević 2011, 47 fig. 39; 67-68 figs 52. 53; 71; 90 fig. 69.
[24] Cp. Karo 1931, 271; Pelekanidis 1963, 10–11 fig. 2; Pelekanidis 1969, 231–232 pl. 129, 28; Feissel 1983, 121 no. 124; Weißbrod 2003, 160; Μάρκη 2006, 139 pl. 61 a.
[25] E.g. Korać 1995, 169; Schmidt 2000, esp. 327-328. 330; Valeva 2001, 174-180; Spasić-Đurić 2002, 55-59 figs 34. 35; Hudák/Nagy 2009, 30-36; Anđelković et al. 2010, 233–238 figs 4-8; Dresken-Weiland 2010, 47-48. 318; Popović 2011, 239 fig. 19; Popović 2012, 71-73 figs 11. 12.
[26] Feissel 1983, 122; Dunbabin 2003, 454 note 40; Marki 2006, 139.

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Nulli tam laeti triumphi - Constantine's victory on a reworked cameo in Leiden

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Abstract

The iconography and date of the large imperial cameo, which was added recently to the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, have intrigued scholars in the course of the last two centuries. The interpretation of the scene varied from the victory of emperor Claudius over the Britons in AD 43 to the festivities of emperor Constantine on the occasion of the Vicennalia *in AD 325-326. In this article an overview of the most important theories will be given. Where possible, the scene on the cameo will be linked with the known facts about Constantine's career. It will be argued that the cameo was a senatorial gift to Constantine during the festivities of AD 315-316, the* Decennalia, *and depicts his victory over Maxentius in AD 312. Chronological incongruities and objections by earlier scholars are explained by a closer look at the hairstyles and headgears, which suggest a reworking of the cameo in AD 324.*

Introduction

In the year 2013 the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden acquired some 3500 Greek and Roman gems and cameos from the collection of the former Geld Museum (Money Museum) in Utrecht. The carved stones were originally part of the Royal Coin Cabinet in The Hague, which was founded in 1816. One of the most important pieces in this collection is the large imperial cameo, formerly known as the *Haagsche Camee* (The Hague Cameo) or *Grote Camee* (Grand Cameo). These old honorary names refer to its former residence in The Hague, and to its imposing size.[1] The rather turbulent history of the object in the hands of its previous owners (amongst whom Peter-Paul Rubens) has been diligently researched and published by A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta and will not be discussed here.[2] In the course of time different interpretations of the scene depicted on the cameo have been given, as well as various identifications of the principal persons. Before we turn our attention to these interpretations, let us first examine the scenes on the cameo and the approximate date of the piece.

Description

The cameo is cut from a three-layered white-blue agate measuring 21.1 cm (hight) x 29.7 cm (width), with a thickness of ca 1.15-1.75 cm (*fig. 1*). The size of the cameo can be compared with the 1st century's *Gemma Augustea* in the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna and the *Grand Camée de France* in the *Bibliothèque National* in Paris.[3] The surface of the stone is wavy as it follows the coloured layers, contrasting the figures in white against the background in milky blue. The stone is framed in a 17th century gilded brass case, adorned with enamel, polished rubies, agates and diamonds.[4] There are minor cracks in the surface of the stone, but no breaks. The scene shows a chariot, drawn by two prancing centaurs. On the chariot four persons are depicted: a man with a laurel wreath, holding a stylized thunderbold, and embracing, with his left arm, a woman. The woman wears a wreath or diadem. Her head is covered with a veil. In her left hand she is holding a corn-ear and a poppy head. She is pointing with her index finger towards a young boy. Behind the man a second woman is depicted, wearing a laurel wreath. With her right hand she is also pointing at the boy in front of the couple. The boy is dressed in military gear and reaches with his right hand behind his back to produce an arrow from a quiver. With his left hand he touches the scabbard of his sword. A helmet with plume covers his head.

The two prancing centaurs form a lively composition. They are supporting an upturned shield on which a *tropaeum* is visible, consisting of a scaled cuirass and a scabbard hanging from a belt. The right centaur is upholding the pole on which the tropaeum is draped. Under his hooves two figures are visible. The person on the left wears a Roman tunic and is crouching, holding the leg of his partner and looking in fear at the

Fig. 1. The Leiden Cameo, with 17th century guilded casing (photo National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden).

centaur above him. The other man is wearing a military outfit and tries to support himself on his shield. His downward gaze shows he is succumbing, only moments away from death. Under the hooves of the left centaur a fallen calyx crater is visible, lying between the eight-spoked wheels of the chariot. Above the centaurs a winged Victoria in a long garment is flying towards the group in the chariot. In her outstretched hands she holds a crown, from which a very long double ribbon is spiralling. The ribbon makes a few twists, then disappears behind the *tropaeum* and reemerges above the head of the right centaur, where it ends in straight lines. The whole composition is a combination of dignity, even restraint (the group in the chariot) and of liveliness and movement (the centaurs and Victoria). The movement is enhanced by details such as the fluttering ribbon and the knocked-over crater.[5]

In contrast, the serene composition of the group in the chariot reminds us of Julio-Claudian examples of the 1st century AD. The laurel wreath and the thunderbolt have imperial connotations, so we may speak of an emperor and his wife, in the presence of a second woman and a boy, probably the heir to the throne. The emperor and empress are represented in the *capita opposita* scheme, which became popular in the 1st century AD.[6] The haircut of the emperor is reminiscent of the Julio-Claudian era.[7] The earliest publications of the cameo therefore suggested a date in the 1st century AD, but stylistically this is not possible. As F.L. Bastet has pointed out in his 1968 article, there are too many 4th century elements in the composition. For example, the paratactic placement of the chariot's wheels is awkward and the shaft connects the chariot with only one of the centaurs. Bastet mentions the reliefs on the sarcophagus of Helena in the Vatican as a parallel for the cameo. On this monument, the galloping horses have the same 'floating' attitude as the centaurs (*fig.* 2). The paratactical way in which parts of the chariot are connected with each other finds parallels in the chariot-scenes on the mosaics of the 4th century villa in Piazza Armerina (*fig.* 3).[8] Furthermore the 'swimming' attitude of the Vic-

Fig. 2. Sarcophagus of Helena, ca AD 330, Vatican Museums (photo Musei Vaticani).

Fig. 3. Circus Maximus mosaic (detail with chariots), Piazza Armerina, ca AD 440-460 (photo Museo Regionale della Villa Romana del Casale, Piazza Armerina).

Fig. 4. Victoria on the Arch of Constantine, Rome, AD 312-315 (photo Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma).

toria can be compared with the 4th century Victoriae on the Arch of Constantine in Rome (*fig. 4*). The gaze of the emperor with the pupil high in the eye is furthermore reminiscent of portraits of Constantine the Great.[9]

The Chariot

If we identify the emperor with Constantine, then the identification of the other figures is to a certain degree possible. After his relation with a certain Minervina Constantine was married to Fausta Flavia Maxima (AD 289-326), daughter of emperor Maximianus. The marriage took place in AD 307, after Constantine's elevation to the rank of *Augustus*. Fausta wears a wreath or diadem, is depicted *capite velato* and is holding a corn-ear and a poppy head in her left hand, alluding to Ceres' gifts of nature. Her appearance finds a parallel in a cameo in Rome (*fig. 5*).[10] On this cameo Livia is depicted in a *capita opposita* scheme with (probably) Augustus. Her head is ornated with a wreath consisting of corn-ears, leaves of olive and laurel, and capsules of poppy: the *corona spicea*, the attribute of Ceres as bringer of prosperity, fertility and peace. The veil gives her the solemn attitude of a priestess. Fausta is also depicted with an corn-ear and a poppy head in her hand, which make an identification of the headgear as (originally) a cereal wreath a possibility.

The little boy, to whom both women are pointing, must be Crispus (ca AD 305-326), Constantine's son from his earlier engagement with Minervina.[11] As a little Mars he is wearing military gear. His posture, especially the backward reaching arm, is strongly reminiscent of the young princeps Gaius on the *Grand Camée de France* (*fig. 6*). The second woman in the chariot has a hairstyle with a bun in the neck and a ringlet. These traits have reminiscences of the elder Livia and especially of Agrippina Maior (*fig. 7*).[12] She might be identified with Constantine's mother Helena.[13] If this is the case, there are some problems of chronology, to which we will come back later. All in all, the chariot group glorifies the imperial family, comparing the emperor with Jupiter, his wife with Ceres and

Fig. 5. Cameo with a representation of a veiled Livia, wearing the corona spicea (cereal wreath), Rome, Medagliere Musei Capitolini (photo Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini).

Fig. 7. Sestertius with representation of Agrippina Maior, Rome, AD 37-41 (photo Nationale Numismatische Collectie, De Nederlandsche Bank, inv.1970-0169).

Fig. 6. 'Grand Camée de France', ca AD 20, Cabinet des Médailes, Paris (photo Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

the young heir to the throne with Mars. The formal, elevated style and the hairdos allude to the reign of Augustus, which brought the peace and prosperity of the *aurea aetas*, mentioned by poets like Vergil and Horace. If we identify the second woman with Helena, then we have three generations, together in triumph. The new dynastic rule is emphasized, which was an important issue at the time, as we read in the eulogy on Maximianus and Constantine of AD 307. It was the year of Constantine's marriage to Fausta:[14]

> '*Maximas itaque vobis, aeterni principes, publico nomine gratias agimus, quod suscipiendis liberis optandisque nepotibus seriem vestri generis prorogando omnibus in futurum saeculis providetis ut Romana res […] tandem perpetuis domus vestrae radicibus convalescat, tamque sit immortale illius imperium quam sempiterna suboles imperatorum.*'

> 'Thus we bring you, eternal emperors, the greatest praise in the name of the people, because by having children and by hoping for grandchildren, by prolonging the line of your dynasty, you are concerned that the Roman state will finally gain in strength through the continuous roots of your family and that her immortal power is as perpetual as the offspring of the emperors.'

Centaurs, Soldiers and Barbarians

Regarding the centaurs we are again reminded of the *Grand Camée de France*, in that the wild hairstyle and beards are very similar to those of the defeated barbarians sitting in the left corner of this cameo (*fig. 6*). The centaurs are connected with the cult of Bacchus. In this victorious setting one is reminded of Bacchus' triumph from India to the west. A connection between Constantine and Bacchus is to be found in another eulogy, written in Trier in AD 310 to celebrate Constantine's *Quinquennalia*. Triumphant gods come from far places, is the general idea of the following passage. We find Bacchus (and Ceres) in Britannia, the land where Constantine was first acclaimed as emperor:[15]

> '*O fortunata et nunc omnibus beatior terris Britannia, quae Constantinum Caesarem prima vidisti! Merito te omnibus caeli ac soli bonis natura donavit, in qua nec rigor est nimius hiemis nec ardor aestatis, in qua segetum tanta fecunditas, ut muneribus utrisque sufficiat et Cereris et Liberi. […] Di boni, quid hoc est quod semper ex aliquo supremo fine mundi nova deum numina universo orbi colenda descendunt? Sic Mercurius a Nilo, cuius fluminis origo nescitur, sic Liber ab Indis prope consciis solis orientis deos se gentibus ostendere praesentes. Sacratoria sunt profecto mediterraneis loca vicina caelo, et inde propius a dis mittitur imperator ubi terra finitur.*'

> 'Oh lucky Britain, more blessed than any other country, you who first saw Constantine as emperor! Nature has rightly given you all things good from heaven and earth, where there is not too much cold in winter, and not too much heat in summer. Here is so much fertility of the crops, that it is sufficient for the good gifts of both Ceres and Liber. […] Good gods, what is the secret that a new majesty of the gods always emerges from one or the other corner of the world, to be venerated by the whole universe? Thus Mercurius came from the Nile, a river whose origin is still unknown, and Liber came from India, a place that almost witnesses the rising of the sun, and both have shown themselves to the countries as truly present gods. Places near to the heaven are certainly more sacred then those in the middle, and it is therefore fitting that the gods send an emperor from where the earth ends.'

The two fallen enemies beneath the centaurs' hooves need a closer look (*fig. 8*). The left one wears only a tunic. Maybe his shield and armour have been used to dress up the *tropaeum*, which is carried by the right centaur. The other crouching figure leans on a shield and wears a cuirass. The tunic and the

Fig. 8. Leiden Cameo (detail): defeated enemies (photo National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden).

cuirass identify the enemies as Romans, but the long hair, covering their ears, places them in the realm of the barbarians.[16] On the cameo Roman soldiers and barbarians are merged.[17] In texts of the period a comparison is made between the 'soft' eastern and the 'tough' western enemies of Constantine. In the west he waged war against barbarians and Romans alike:[18]

> '*Facile est vincere timidos et imbelles, quales amoena Graeciae et deliciae Orientis educunt, vix leve pallium et sericos sinos vitando sole tolerantes et, si quando in periculum venerint, libertatis immemores, ut servire liceat orantes. Romanum vero militem, quem qualemque ordinat disciplina et sacramenti religio confirmat, aut trucem Francum ferina sola carne distentum, qui vitam pro victus sui vilitate contemnat, quantae molis sit superare vel capere! Quod tu, Imperator, et nuper in Italia et in ipso conspectu barbariae paulo ante fecisti!*'

> 'It is easy to beat fearsome and cowardly enemies, such as sweet Greece and the lovely Orient create, those who must wear the flimsy *pallium* and silken draperies to avoid the sunshine, those who suddenly forget everything about freedom once they are in danger, begging to be led in slavery. But take the real Roman soldier, who is ordered by discipline and confirmed by his solemn oath, or the gruesome Frank, filled with meat from wild animals, whose life is as unimportant for him as the vile food he eats, what a burden it is to be the victor or conqueror of them! And you, emperor, have done just that, recently in Italy and before that in the barbarian lands, eye to eye with the enemy!'

Constantine and his Victories

Before we turn our attention to earlier interpretations of the cameo, a closer look at some details of Constantine's rise to power can be helpful. During the first decade of his rule he managed to combine a skilful diplomatic attitude with a ruthless way of dealing with his adversaries. After the death of his father Constantius in York in AD 306, he was hailed as *Augustus* by the troops who had served under his father during the campaign in Northern England. The senior *Augustus* Galerius did not comply with this sudden rise to power, and demoted him to the rank of *Caesar*, giving the rank of *Augustus* to Flavius Valerius Severus. Constantine settled himself for the time being as *Caesar* in the imperial palace in Trier. Maxentius, son of the former *Augustus* Maximianus, proclaimed himself *Augustus*, and took hold of Italy and North Africa. Maximianus joined forces with his son and together they managed to slay the forces of the rightful *Augustus* Valerius Severus. Galerius came to Severus' rescue, marched west and tried to take Rome, but to no avail. Maximianus later fell out with his son and went to Trier, to join the camp of Constantine, whom he raised to the rank of *Augustus*. When Maximianus committed treason hostilities broke out between Constantine and his father-in-law. Maximianus was captured in Marseille and executed by Constantine in AD 310; the scales of power in the west were divided between Constantine and Maxentius.

In AD 312 Constantine attacked the Italian territories of Maxentius with astonishing speed. In a series of battles and sieges the towns of Susa, Turin, Brescia and Verona fell one by one. The rest of the Italian cities surrendered, until Constantine, in October AD 312, found himself in front of the walls of Rome. Maxentius left the safety of the city and opposed Constantine near the Milvian bridge, north of Rome. It is said that on his way to Rome Constantine had a vision, seeing the Christian *chi-rho* symbol in the sky with the words 'In this sign you shall conquer'. The vision was followed by a dream, in which Christ admonished him to use the sign during the impending battle.[19] On 28 October he won a decisive victory over Maxentius, his troops sporting the Christian symbol on their shields. Maxentius drowned in the Tiber. Constantine entered the city with his triumphant soldiers and was hailed as liberator and restorer of peace. During the march Maxentius' head was carried around on a spear and ridiculed by the people of Rome. Everybody wanted to see the new emperor, and when Constantine finally ascended the Palatine to enter the palace there were shouts that they had not seen enough of him yet:[20]

> '*Ausi etiam quidam ut resisteres poscere et queri tam cito accessisse palatium et, cum ingressus esses, non solum oculis sequi sed paene etiam sacrum limen inrumpere*.'

> 'Some people even dared to demand you to stop and to complain that you went so fast to the palace, and once you were inside, they dared to follow you not only with their eyes but nearly invaded the sacred area.'

Even some ten years later, in AD 321, the memory of this glorious *adventus* was still fresh in the memory of the orator Nazarius:[21]

'*Nullus post Vrbem conditam dies Romano inluxit imperio, cuius tam effusa tamque insignis gratulatio aut fuerit aut esse debuerit. Nulli tam laeti triumphi, quos annalium vetustas consecratos in litteris habet*.'

'There was no day after the founding of Rome, illuminating the Roman Empire, of which the eulogy has been, or should have been so outspoken and so extraordinary. There are no triumphs so happy, which the antiquity of the annals keeps immortalized in writing.'

It was Constantine's first visit to the legendary city, which had given its name to the empire, but was already for decades overshadowed by the four new capitals, which were created during the tetrarchy.[22] Constantine managed to gain the confidence of the senate, especially by means of diplomacy and by sparing most of the former supporters of Maxentius. Constantine, now the sole *Augustus* in the western half of the empire, stayed a short time in Rome, during which he erased all memories of Maxentius, and managed to restore the food supply.[23] After two months he left Rome, with the promise to return in AD 315 for the celebration of the *Decennalia*, his first ten years in power.[24] Preparing for this event, the senate of Rome undertook various enterprises to honour the new emperor, in public and more private spheres. The most influential man in Rome at the time was a certain Gaius Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, *praefectus urbi* between AD 313 and AD 315 and consul in AD 314.[25] He placed a statue of Constantine on the *Forum Traiani*, with an inscription, which is very similar to that of the arch of Constantine.[26] Volusianus is a likely candidate to be the senator in charge of the festivities of the *Decennalia* and the honours bestowed on the emperor.

The Arch of Constantine was dedicated in 315 by the Senate and People of Rome to hail the 'restorer of peace' and the 'saviour of the city'. The main inscription states that Constantine's triumph was caused by 'the inspiration of divinity and the greatness of mind' (*instinctu divinitatis mentis magnitudine*). The inscription is ingenious in its linguistic duality, befitting a senate which is honouring its new emperor but wondering at his intentions with the Christian symbolism.[27] A second monument was put up in the new basilica on the *Forum Romanum*, built by Maxentius and completed after his death in AD 312. This *Basilica Nova* was mainly used by the senate as a tribunal, with an apse designed for the official sittings and hearings.[28] Between AD 312 and AD 315 the *Basilica* was stripped of its Maxentian connotations and dedicated to Constantine's merits. A new apse was constructed in the northern wall of the building to house the tribunal. In the vacated western apse a colossal statue of Constantine was erected, demi-nude, sitting, holding a sceptre and globe in his hands. Recent reconstructions state that the statue represented Constantine as Jupiter.[29] The statue had been constructed as an acrolith: the body parts were made of marble, the garments of metal. Constantine's face has reminiscences of the Julio-Claudian emperors: clean shaven and hair in curls around the forehead: a clear break with the grim, austere military portraits of the tetrarchs.[30]

According to Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, during the *Decennalia* a third, more personal gift was offered by the senate to the emperor: a large cameo with the triumphant imperial family in a chariot, carved in 1st century style, reminiscent of the *aurea aetas* and the *Saturni regna* which began with Augustus.[31] Zadoks-Josephus Jitta' hypothesis is attractive: the cameo combines the triumph over the troops of Maxentius, symbolized by the 'barbaric' Roman soldiers lying on the ground, with the new era of Constantine after the decade of war. Augustus had ended the civil wars of the 1st century BC, and Constantine had done the same with his victory over Maxentius. With these thoughts in mind, let us now turn to some of the alternative theories concerning the date and interpretation of the cameo.

Triumph and Defeat

I think that all attempts to date the cameo in the 1st century AD can be left aside.[32] The cameo certainly attempts to reproduce the first century atmosphere in the portraits of the imperial family and the 'citations' from other 1st century cameos, but the 4th century stylistic elements speak clearly for a 'revival' of the Augustan style, rather than for a less well succeeded product of the 1st century itself. If we assume that on the Palatine a treasure gallery was present, then it is likely that the cutter used elements from the earlier gemstones for his inspiration. This might explain the likeliness between 'Crispus' and 'Gaius' and between the 'Centaurs' and the 'Barbarians' on the *Grand Camée de France*. The Livia-Ceres cameo in Rome, mentioned earlier, could have been the model for Fausta-Ceres on our stone.

The allegation made by Möbius that the cameo is a 17th century fake deserves attention.[33] The fact that the emperor is sitting in his chariot (and not standing as a *triumphator*) does not need to disturb us. In AD 312 Constantine entered the

city sitting in a carriage, emphasizing that he was celebrating an *adventus*, and not a formal *triumphus* over a foreign enemy.[34] On the cameo the chariot and the fallen soldiers are triumphal elements, but the sitting emperor places the iconography in line with the *adventus* decoration on the Arch of Constantine.

Möbius is right in seeing parallels between the Leiden cameo and the *Grand Camée de France*, but as is said above, the 'copying' of parts of the stone could well have been done in the 4th century AD. With the feeling in 4th century Rome of a new 'Augustan' age, the technique of cutting grand imperial cameos was reintroduced, and took its inspiration from the examples of the past. If (as I believe) Fausta is carved after the Livia-Ceres cameo in Rome, then the whole allegation of a forgery crumbles, as the Livia-Ceres cameo was only discovered in 1874.[35] Möbius' observation that the emperor does not look like Constantine is only partly true. He looks like Augustus, but the position of the pupil high in the eye identifies him as Constantine. The most compelling argument against a 17th century fake lies outside these observations. The quality of 17th century imitations and forgeries of ancient gems and cameos is well-known. With utmost dexterity new creations 'à l'antique' were made and were esteemed as 'catching the true antique spirit.'[36] If a 17th century educated forger with enough finances would have liked to add a third to the two already known great cameos, with a very precious agate of extreme size in his hands, would he not have chosen a very able stone cutter, who could work in the desired style? And would the design of the cameo not be more in line with the already known examples, without the confusing mixture of 1st and 4th century elements?

G. Bruns[37] dates the cameo in the year AD 324 after Constantine's victory over Licinius. The little boy would be Constantinus II, the eldest son of Fausta. On the occasion of Licinius' defeat both Fausta and Helena were raised to the rank of *Augusta*. This might explain the laurel wreath in the hair of Helena, but poses more problems than solutions. The overall pagan iconography of the cameo is plausible as a gift from the senate to the emperor in AD 315, but if we are to believe Eusebius, even as early as AD 315 Constantine objected to his being portrayed as Jupiter in the *Basilica Nova* on the Forum. He replaced Jupiter's sceptre by a cross, and added an inscription, in which he stated that

> 'By this salutary sign, the true proof of bravery, I have saved and freed your city from the yoke of the tyrant and moreover, having set at liberty both the senate and the people of Rome, I have restored them to their ancient distinction and splendor.'[38]

In a way this inscription elaborates on the *instinctu divinitatis* on the arch. It repeats the elements of 'freedom' and 'tyranny', but links the victory and bravery directly with the 'salutary sign' of the cross. It is unlikely that the text is part of Eusebius' Christian propaganda, because the cited inscription refers to a real statue, which stood in the *Basilica Nova* and was visible for everyone.[39] If there would be no cross and no inscription in sight, Eusebius' text would have undermined all his other eulogies on Constantine.[40]

It is not very likely that ten years later, in AD 324, anybody would have thought of depicting Constantine as Jupiter. In AD 324 Constantine had three sons by Fausta. Would it have been likely that he depicted Constantinus II as his sole heir, with Crispus in full vigour, successful admiral of the fleet and adorned with the title *Caesar*?

Finally we will look at Bastet's suggestion that the cameo has to be dated in the year AD 310, after Constantine's victory over his father-in-law Maximianus.[41] Was this a real victory? We could say that a battle was won, but that the war was not over, with Maxentius in full power over Italy and Africa. If we date the stone to AD 310, he must have been carved in Trier with incredible speed, by a carver who had no access to the imperial cameos in Rome. Where would he have seen the Julio-Claudian examples, with their specific hairstyles? The most important argument against the earlier date is that the capture and forced suicide of Maximianus in Marseille had more aspects of a tragedy than of a victory. Constantine's father had served as *Caesar* under Maximianus, and had married his daughter Theodora. Constantine had been promoted to the rank of *Augustus* by Maximianus and had married another daughter, Fausta. The treason of Maximianus in AD 310 was a black page in the history of the family, and in the words of the panegyrist not one worthy to be celebrated 'with too many details'. Maximianus' treason was seen as a pitiful misjudgement of an old, once powerful man.[42]

Lectio Difficilior Potior?

All earlier 'lectures' of the cameo present difficulties. The date suggested by Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, AD 315, is attractive, if we look at the imperial cameo as one of the gifts from the senate to its

new emperor. Between AD 312 and AD 315 there was time in Rome to build the arch, time to erect the colossal statue, and time to think about the appropriate message the senate would convey to Constantine: the return to the *aurea aetas*, to the reign of Saturnus, with an emperor, powerful as Jupiter, wise as Augustus, with a young wife and an heir to the throne. If we identify the woman behind Constantine with Helena, there remains a problem. The fact that she is pointing at Crispus suggests a position of equality to the emperor's wife, who is making the same gesture.[43] An identification with already deceased empresses (Augustus' wife Livia,[44] or Constantine's presumed grandmother Claudia[45]) seems to me the *lectio difficilior* of the picture. Helena, Constantine's mother who took care of Crispus' education, seems to be the best candidate. She was present at the court around the time her son became *Augustus* in the west. Her 'Livia-Agrippina Maior hairstyle' places her in line with prominent and influential ladies at the court of Augustus. But what about the laurel wreath, to which she was entitled only after AD 324? To answer this question, let us first examine the wreaths of both Constantine and the presumed Helena in more detail (*fig. 9*). Constantine's wreath is carved with much accuracy. The leaves unfold themselves regularly and blend in with the hair. At the nape of the neck the wreath is bound together by a double ribbon, which falls down on the right shoulder. If we compare this wreath with the headgear of Helena, there are certain differences. The wreath on Helena's head has been cut straight into the hairs, with no 'unfolding' leaves as in the emperor's wreath. A ribbon, to tie the wreath on the backside of the head, is missing. It seems strange that two imperial wreaths are cut with such differences.

If we compare the modelling of the hair with the other figures on the cameo, then another observation can be made. While all the figures, from the solemn emperor to the excited centaurs, have an elaborate haircut, with curls, locks or twirls, Helena has to be content with only five parallel cuts on the upper side of her head, and some indentations below the wreath. Also the volume of her head seems to be incongruous with the persons surrounding her, making her look smaller and therefore younger. Her fine profile does not match the unrefined hairdo. If we try to seek an explanation for these internal anomalies, we might reach a conclusion on the identity of the imperial lady in the chariot and the date of the cameo.

As it is widely known, the reuse and reworking of portraits, reliefs and statues during the 3rd and 4th century AD was common practice.[46] The reliefs on the Arch of Constantine are for the most part reused from earlier monuments of the emperors Trajan, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. If this was due to scarcity of time to complete the monument, the lack of competent artists or the

Fig. 9. Leiden Cameo (detail): Constantine and Helena (photo National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden).

desire to compare the new emperor with illuminating predecessors, is still a matter of opinion.[47] The fact is, that on the arch the portraits of the original emperors are reworked, in order to portray and honour the *Augusti* Constantius, Constantine and maybe Licinius. The head of the colossal statue in the *Basilica Nova* might have been reworked after AD 325-326 in order to add the *diadema* around the head, the new official headgear of Constantine.[48] In my opinion a comparable action took place on our cameo in AD 324, to congratulate the *Augustae* with their new rank. The cameo could have been reworked in the wake of the *Vicennalia* of AD 325-326, with the imperial family approaching Italy.

In my view the cameo in its original form was a present from the senate to the imperial family in the year AD 315, designed in its mythological complexity and Augustan allegory by the *praefectus urbi* Volusianus.[49] The three generations in the chariot are a symbol of the continuity of Rome's power, as celebrated on earlier dynastic cameos from the Julio-Claudian era. The cameo is thus a strong statement that good times have arrived and that all the new 'members of court' stand in the tradition of a grand age. The original agate will have shown Helena as the epitome of a loyal wife, mother and grandmother, by giving her the hairdo of Augustus' wife Livia and Germanicus' spouse Agrippina Maior.

The cameo, with its pagan iconography, will have raised imperial eyebrows, but it could only be seen in the private sphere of the palace and was of no influence on Constantine's public image: for the time being it remained as it was. In AD 324 Constantine reached new heights of power. With the fleet under the command of Crispus he defeated the eastern *Augustus* Licinius and became the sole ruler of the Roman Empire. As mentioned earlier his mother Helena and his wife Fausta were elevated to the rank of *Augustae*. From this year on, they appear on coins with the new title and wearing a wreath or diadem (*fig. 10*).[50] It is my hypothesis that the Leiden cameo was recut in view of the new iconography of the years after AD 324. The original hairdo of Helena was reworked in order to insert a somewhat mechanical laurel wreath. A considerable portion of the original coiffure had to be removed, to give the wreath the desired relief. This might explain the lack of volume on the backside of the head, and the weak lines, cuts and indentations, which, after the insertion of the wreath, took over the original waves of the Livia hairstyle. The headgear of Fausta also suggests reworking. If originally she wore the *corona spicea*, in line with representations of empresses as Ceres, then it is likely that this wreath has been recut into a not too convincing diadem.

Fig. 10. Follis of Flavia Helena Augusta with diadem, Trier, AD 327-328 (photo Nationale Numismatische Collectie, De Nederlandsche Bank, inv. RO-10385a).

Epilogue: *sunt haec gemmea sed Neroniana*

The creation and early history of the Leiden cameo remain full of assumptions. One of these is the presence in Rome of a gallery, in which the imperial cameos were kept and seen by selected visitors. In Bastet's 1968 article a very interesting fragment is cited from a letter, written around AD 470, by Sidonius Apollinaris (ca AD 430-489). Sidonius was a bishop, diplomat and poet, living in the centre of France. In the letter Sidonius praises the poetic talent of his friend Secundinus, but reproaches him that he is withholding his 'genius and irony' out of respect for 'certain persons'. He writes that a certain Flavius Ablabius, who held the consulate in AD 331 and was a close acquaintance of Constantine, did not have any scruples, even towards the emperor:[51]

> 'What fine malice I found in [your poem]; what style, what pungent eloquence! it was impossible for me to keep my enthusiasm to myself. As for your subjects, you were fearless; only the necessity for respecting persons seemed to check somewhat the lightning of your genius and the free course of your irony. I think the Consul Ablabius never thrust more

brilliantly at the family life of Constantine with a couplet, or gave more stinging point to the famous distichon secretly appended to the palace gates:

Saturni aurea saecla quis requirat?
Sunt haec gemmea, sed Neroniana.

You remember that, when this was written, Constantine had done to death his consort Fausta in a hot bath and his son Crispus with cold poison. I would not have you deterred by anything from your bold and vivid use of satire. You will find the flourishing vices of our tyrant-ridden citizens a rich mine to exploit.'

Ablabius was present in Rome during the *Vicennalia* of AD 325-326. The events mentioned in the letter are the executions of Crispus and Fausta, ordered by Constantine in AD 326, just before the end of the solemn festivities in Rome.[52] Facts and fiction surrounding the reasons for these deaths are difficult, if not impossible, to discern. Maybe the popularity of Crispus after his military achievements against Licinius in AD 324 became a source of concern for Fausta, in view of the dynastic possibilities of her own children.[53] She may have started rumours about Crispus' political aspirations, or may even have accused him of sexual harassment. Fact is that Constantine felt himself forced to put his son to death.[54] The execution of Crispus eventually cost Fausta her own life.[55] After the *Vicennalia* Rome was left in gloom. Helena left Italy on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and Constantine went east, to Constantinople. He never visited Rome again, not even to bury his mother in ca AD 330. The hopeful *aurea aetas* was over.

For the history of our cameo Ablabius' distichon is important. The two lines may be translated as:

'Who still wishes those golden ages of Saturn?
They exist only on a gem, but this is very Neronian…'

The distichon refers to the 'golden age', as depicted on a carved stone. A stone, which recalled the Julio-Claudian dynasty, especially its last emperor Nero. A dynasty which began full of hope with Augustus, but ended with the tyranny and suicide of Nero. Constantine's early reign had started with prospects of a new era, and ended with the emperor putting to death his own son and wife. The Leiden cameo matches the atmosphere of the consul's distichon strikingly. If our assumption of an art gallery in the palace of the emperor is true, then people like Ablabius must have seen the collection of imperial cameos, with all their political meanings. Ablabius understood the message of the cameo as a symbol of the rebirth of the glorious Augustan past. It inspired him to write two pungent lines, hinting at the end of dynastic promises. His distichon became so popular, that in the 5th century AD it was still in circulation in France, cited by Roman intellectuals some 150 years after the dynastic tragedy in Italy.

Notes

1 The Royal Coin Cabinet was founded by King Willem I in 1816, with the collection of coins, medals and carved stones of the House of Orange. The king bought the cameo in 1823 for 50.000 guilders and placed it in the Royal Coin Cabinet. The Cabinet was moved to Leiden in 1986, and merged with the collections of the Dutch National Bank and the Dutch National Mint in 2004 to form the Money Museum in Utrecht. The carved stones comprise Mesopotamian cylinder seals, Egyptian scarabs, Greek and Roman gems and cameos and engraved stones of later periods. See Groen-Van Andel 1986; for the Greek and Roman gems: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978.

2 Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1951b. The cameo was owned by Peter-Paul Rubens in Antwerp. In 1629 it sailed on board of the VOC vessel *Batavia* to the Dutch Indies. The *Batavia* shipwrecked off the coast of Australia, but the cameo was salvaged. For more than 20 years attempts were made to sell the stone to local rulers in the East Indies, India, Persia and Thailand, but to no avail. The cameo returned to Amsterdam. Its last private owner was King Willem I.

3 The *Gemma Augustea* measures 23 cm x 19 cm. The dimensions of the *Grand Camée de France* are 31 cm x 26.5 cm.

4 The Flemish-Renaissance style of the frame points to the first known owner of the cameo: Peter-Paul Rubens in Antwerp.

5 A fallen vessel is often used in scenes with a suggestion of speed or violence. See for an early example the shoulder scene of an Attic black figure hydria, ca 510 BC, Munich, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, inv. 1722 (Achilles pursuing Troilus, http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/cas/ashp/NEWhp252/portnov/troilus.html).

6 See for example the cameo with Livia and Augustus (or Tiberius) in the Musei Capitolini in Rome (La Rocca et al. 2013, cat. nr IX.4, p. 320) and the *Gemma Claudia* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Inv. IX A, nr. 63).

7 Cf. Martin Henig's remarks on the cameo: 'The manner in which the dynasty has been placed in a mythological context deliberately recalls the cameos of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period, but the unevenness of the gem and the much later style of the carving leave little doubt that this is a work of Constantinian date and can probably be placed around the time of his *decennalia* in 315.' (M. Henig in Hartley et al. 2006, 139).

8 Bastet 1968, 6. On the sarcophagus we find similar movement of the galloping horses, which trample enemies. See for this sarcophagus: Drijvers 1991, 74-76. See

for the chariots of the Piazza Armerina villa complex: Dunbabin 1999, 133-135 and fig. 136.

9 Apart from the well-known colossal head in Rome, see for example Hartley et al., 2006, 141 (gold medallion, Nationale Numismatische Collectie, De Nederlandsche Bank, inv. AM 11094).

10 Rome, Musei Capitolini, Medagliere, inv. AC 12067. See Megow 1987, 255-256; Bartman 1999, 292, nr. 104; Sena Chiesa 2004, 793; La Rocca et al. 2013, cat. nr IX.4, p. 320. For the iconography of Livia as Ceres: La Rocca et al. 2013, 165, 205 (III.5).

11 Odahl 2004, 72-73.

12 Most recently on Livia's portraits: Jessen 2013, Figs. E 15, E 17, E 21 (posthumous portraits). See also Bartman 1999, fig. 6.

13 The fact that Helena is depicted smaller than Constantine and Fausta does not need to confuse us. The same difference in scale is apparent on the so-called Ada Cameo in Trier, dated AD 316: 'It is interesting to note that the heads of Constantine and Fausta are of equal stature, and rise above those of Helena and her two grandsons.' (Odahl 2004, 124). See also Hartley et al. 2006, 73.

14 *Incerti Panegyricus Maximiano et Constantino Dictus* (= *Panegyrici Latini* VII (6), II, 2, translation by author).

15 *Incerti Panegyricus Constantino Augusto Dictus* (= *Panegyrici Latini* VI (7), IX, 2-5, translation by author).

16 The Roman dress of the enemies has also been observed by Martin Henig in Hartley et al. 2006, 138-139. He mentions the 'clean-shaven' faces of the soldiers, but does not comment on their long hair. See for 'typical' barbarians: A. Chauvot, Roman representations of the Barbarians, in Aillagon 2004, 156-159; Y. Rivière, Sarcophagi with battle scenes, in Aillagon 2004, 166-169.

17 'È ancora il panegirico più volte citato a insinuare che Massenzio non fosse figlio legittimo di Massimiano e che i suoi soldati "erano stati fino a poco prima romani", intendendo così che a causa dei loro crimini si erano trasformati in barbari contro cui combattere una guerra era non solo lecito ma addirittura giusto, come eventualmente celebrare un trionfo.' Tortorella 2013, 640. The cited panegyrist is: *Incerti Panegyricus Constantino Augusto Dictus* (= *Panegyrici Latini* XII (9), 5, 3).

18 *Incerti Panegyricus Constantino Augusto Dictus* (= *Panegyrici Latini* XII (9), 24, 1-2, translation by author).

19 Odahl 2004, 94-95.

20 *Incerti Panegyricus Constantino Augusto Dictus* (= *Panegyrici Latini* XII (9), 19, 3, translation by the author). Odahl (2004, 111) is wrong in reading this passage as pagan criticism on Constantine for not ascending the Capitol in order to sacrifice to Jupiter. Constantine's glorious arrival in Rome was not a formal triumph after the defeat of a foreign enemy (Demandt/Engemann 2007, 86). The complaint of some of the onlookers was that they wanted to see more of the liberator of their city.

21 *Panegyricus Nazarii Dictus Constantino Augusto* (*Panegyrici Latini* IV (10), 30, 4-5, translation by author).

22 'In the new order the real centres of power were the places where the emperors and their courts resided; but Rome was still the official capital of the Roman Empire.' Odahl 2004, 69.

23 *Nam quidquid mali sexennio toto dominatio feralis inflixerat, bimestris fere cura sanavit.* 'All things that the lethal reign [of Maxentius] had done wrong during six whole years, were set right in about two months by [Constantine's] care.' (*Panegyricus Nazarii Dictus Constantino Augusto*, *Panegyrici Latini* V (10), 33, 6, translation by the author). See about the erasing of Maxentius' memory in Rome: Kähler 1953.

24 He had to leave Rome to meet emperor Licinius in Milan. In that city Licinius married Constantia, a half-sister of Constantine. Together they drew up the Edict of Milan, which ended the persecutions of Christians and granted them priviliges. Odahl 2004, 116-117.

25 Ceionius Rufius Volusianus held the position of *Corrector Campaniae* and *Corrector Italiae* for eight years. He became *Proconsul Africae* and *Praefectus Praetorio* under Maxentius. In the latter position he defeated the usurper Domitius Alexander in Africa. He was promoted by Maxentius to *Praefectus Urbi* and held the consulate in AD 311. Constantine kept him in honour and appointed him *Praefectus Urbi* for the years 313-315 and consul in 314. He fell from grace and was exiled in 315 for unknown reasons, cf. this article, note 38. See Barnes 1975; *Der neue Pauly*, s.v. Ceionius [8], 1046-1047. See for his involvement in the building of the Arch of Constantine: Chenault 2008, 27-28, 113.

26 The inscription (now lost) honoured Constantine as 'The restorer of the human race, enlarger of the Roman empire and dominion, and founder of eternal security.' See Bardill 2012, 131.

27 The questions about the triumphal character of the arch and its ambiguous inscription are answered very strongly by Stefano Tortorella: 'L'arco si caratterizza indubitabilmente come un arco trionfale, quand'anche il trionfo non fosse stato celebrato. Il riferimento alla divinità (*instinctu divinitatis*) è sufficientemente vago per poter essere letto e interpretato sia in senso pagano che cristiano.' Tortorella 2013, 640.

28 Kähler 1953, 6-7. Odahl 2004, 111.

29 Demandt/Engemann 2007, 130: 'Der Kaiser ist nach hergebrachter heidnischer Tradition im Typus des sitzenden Jupiters dargestellt.'

30 Demandt/Engemann 2007, 98.

31 Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1951a. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta does not see a specific triumph in the scene, but a general 'Victoria Perpetua'. She elaborated on her theory in later articles, see for example: Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1951b; 1966; 1967.

32 For example Furtwängler 1900, 304; Vollenweider 1964, 7. Vollenweider explains the anomalies on the cameo by assuming a return to an Italic-Etruscan style under Claudius: 'Dies sind alles Anzeigen für eine unter Claudius begünstigte Rückkehr zu alt-Italisch-Etruskischem Stil und Kunst!'.

33 Möbius 1948-49, 102; 1966, 91.

34 Odahl 2004, 142. Stefano Tortorella suggests that even a formal triumph might be celebrated sitting on a cathedra: Tortorella 2013, 640.

35 See La Rocca et al. 2013, 320.

36 See for example Willers/Raselli-Nydegger (eds.) 2003, 204-221. This sentiment lasted for a long time. Johann Heinrich Meyer wrote to Goethe in 1796: 'Das Gute und Schöne bleibt immer der wahre Prüfstein, und wenn diese ersten Bedingungen erfüllt sind, so fragen wir auch nicht weiter nach Alterthum oder Neuzeit.' (Ibidem, 62).

37 Bruns 1948, 8.

38 Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 9, 10-11. If Volusianus as *Praefectus Urbi* AD 313-315 and consul in AD 314 was responsible for these honours bestowed on Constantine, the 'pagan' connotations of the gifts could be one of the reasons for his fall from grace in AD 315: 'Beim Rombesuch Constantins 315 scheint C. in Ungnade

gefallen und ins Exil geschickt worden zu sein.' (*Der neue Pauly*, s.v. Ceionius [8], 1047).

39 Cf. Kähler 1953, 29: 'Wenn die Stelle bei Euseb nicht überhaupt Erfindung ist, was anzunehmen um so weniger Veranlassung ist, als er ja, da es sich um eine Realie handelt, durch jeden seiner Leser ohne weiteres hätte Lügen gestraft werden können und seinem Werk mehr geschadet als genützt hätte (…).'

40 'Nur die Inschrift scheint ihm [= Eusebius, RBH], dem Sammler und Gelehrten, wörtlich bekannt gewesen zu sein.' Kähler 1953, 28. Kähler follows Eusebius literally in assuming that Constantine ordered the cross and the inscription already before the statue was erected, and sees an incongruity between the mortal 'Christian' emperor and his depiction as a superhuman god (Kähler 1953, 29). As said before, Constantine was only two months in Rome in 312. In my view, after Constantine attended the more urgent matters of state, the full preparations for his *Decennalia* were put into motion by the senate after he left. When he returned in 315 and saw himself depicted as Jupiter, he took action, replaced the sceptre by the cross and deflected the pagan associations by honouring the cross in the inscription.

41 Bastet 1968.

42 The anonymous orator ascribes Maximianus' treason to an *error iam desipientis aetatis* ('an error due to his already debilitating age'). See *Incerti Panegyricus Constantino Augusto Dictus* (= *Panegyrici Latini* VI (7), IX, 15,2).

43 'The fact that Helena was not only the grandmother, but also the surrogate mother of Constantine's son, may have elevated her position at court, and reminded Fausta of her failure so far to give her husband other children' (Odahl 2004, 124).

44 Bastet 1968 sees in the woman a reincarnation of Livia, giving approval to the new dynasty of Constantine.

45 Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1966 identifies her as Claudia, the grandmother of Constantine. She was the daughter of Crispus (Maior), who in turn was the brother of emperor Claudius II Gothicus. Hence the Claudian hairstyles.

46 See for example: J. Engemann, Der Konstantinsbogen, in Demandt/Engemann 2007, 85-90; N. Hannestadt, Die Porträtskulptur zur Zeit Konstantins des Grossen, in Demandt/Engemann 2007, 96-117. Tortorella 2013, passim.

47 J. Engemann, Der Konstantinsbogen, in Demandt/Engemann 2007, 88-89.

48 See Kähler 1953, 24.

49 It can be compared with the message of the arch, which 'presented the pagan senatorial view of the first Christian emperor' (Odahl 2004, 141). Volusianus was well versed in religious matters: he held the priesthood as a *Quindecimvir Sacris Faciundis* and was one of the *Septemviri Epulonum*, see: Martindale/Jones 1971, 978.

50 See for a diademed draped bust of Fausta for example: RIC VII, 162, B; RIC VII, 162, G (AE, folles, from Thessalonica, 326-8).

51 Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulae* 5.7 (translation by O.M. Dalton).

52 Odahl 2004, 204: 'Constantine undoubtedly wanted Crispus to join him for the festival to be staged in Rome celebrating the end of his Vicennalia and the beginning of his son's.'

53 Fausta gave birth to a daughter Constantina in AD 315 and to a son Constantinus II in 316. Constantius II followed in 317. The last son, Constans, was born in AD 320. Before 326 a second daughter Helena was born.

54 At the same time that Crispus fell out of grace Constantine was revising and introducing laws concerning sex, adultery and marriage. Abduction and rape were dealt with very severely. One of the theories concerning Crispus' execution presumes that he tried to rape his mother-in-law. This could have been staged by Fausta, who also produced 'witnesses'. See Odahl 2004, 204-205.

55 Odahl 2004, 206: 'Irrational fears, craving for power and maternal instincts thus induced Fausta to devise a plot to get rid of Crispus late in the spring of 326.' Crispus was forced to take poison. Fausta was locked inside the *sudatorium* of the palace's bath complex in Rome until she died.

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A note on the Constantinian Cameo, now in Leiden

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Abstract

This paper offers a response to a new interpretation of the Constantinian cameo, which until recently was kept in Utrecht and is now in Leiden. It focusses attention away from the imperial adults depicted, a man and two women, and onto the cameo's key figure, a boy, whom the adults frame, and at whom both women point. The boy is wearing a helmet and cuirass, clutching a sword hilt with his left hand and with his right hand acknowledging the viewer.

A large cameo formerly in the collection of Peter-Paul Rubens and until recently held by the Geldmuseum in Utrecht, was in 2013 added to the collection of the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. Once known as the Hague Cameo (*Haagsche Camee*), more recently as the Great Cameo (*Grote Camee*), it is generally agreed that it depicts the emperor Constantine joined on a chariot by his wife Fausta, one of their sons, and Constantine's mother Helena.

The cameo is fully described in the established literature, including in this fascicule of *BABESCH* by its most recent commentator.[1] I would draw attention to the following details: Constantine embraces his wife, and although her right hand cannot be seen presumably she embraces Constantine in return. Husband and wife face each other, Constantine looking to the front of the chariot but not at his wife. Rather, he gazes to the heavens, his left arm resting on her shoulders. The shoulder-clasp is reminiscent of the embrace of the porphyry Tetrarchs, once erected in Constantinople's Philadelphion, and later taken to Venice. Here the four colleagues, warrior emperors grasping the eagle-hilts of their swords, have been replaced by four family members, two of them women, one a young boy. Over Constantine's right shoulder stands Helena, his mother, who points under the emperor's raised right arm to the boy. Fausta, Constantine's wife, also points to the boy, who is wearing a cuirass, helmet and sword, and raises his right hand in a gesture of acknowledgment. It is on this boy I shall focus, as I believe he is the key figure in the ensemble, and therefore the key to determining the occasion for which the cameo was produced.

The young boy could be any one of Constantine's sons, and a consensus has formed around the person of Crispus, because the cameo is widely held to have been carved between AD 312 and 315, the period immediately after Constantine's victory at Rome's Milvian Bridge in 312 and before his *triumphus* in Rome in 315. However, Constantine's focus on family, which is driven home by the presence of the matriarchs, is suggestive of a new imperial style, which was not well developed as early as 312-315. Moreover, there would be no reason in that period to place emphasis on Constantine's son, who in 312-315 could only be Crispus, rather than the victorious emperor. Yet both women point their fingers clearly at the boy, who is the central figure in the family group, not the father, the emperor, who with the mother frames the son. The framing and the pointing both show us that he, the boy, his hand raised in acknowledgement, is to be the focus of the viewer's gaze. The setting is triumphal, certainly, although aspects suggest it is not intended to illustrate a formal *triumphus*. Instead, the cameo alludes to the celebration which attended the promotion of one of Constantine's sons to the rank of Caesar. Moreover, the presence of Fausta suggests it is one of her sons by Constantine, and not Crispus, Constantine's first-born son by Minervina. Fausta bore Constantine three sons: Constantine II (born August 316), Constantius II (August 317), and Constans (probably 323, although possibly as early as 320).[2] All of Constantine's sons were raised to the rank of Caesar. However, Crispus and Constantine II were raised to that rank together in 317, along with the son of Licinius, and Constans was elevated long after Fausta's death. Therefore, the solitary young boy can only be Constantius II, and the original carving of the cameo can be dated rather precisely to within two years of September 324, for by the end of 326 Fausta was dead.

For this reason, I would endorse the suggestion of Gerda Bruns that the boy is Constantius, who was born in 317 and was named Caesar aged seven, a month after the Battle of Chrysopolis, which took place on 24 September 324.[3] Following Bruns, but for different reasons, I suggest the

months after this victory in 324 as the most likely context for the production of the cameo, contrary to the preferred date of Annie N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta and others, including that of R. Halbertsma, who has argued that the cameo was produced in 315 in Rome. Halbertsma presents an excellent overview of the most important scholarship to date, endorsing the original dating by Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, but adding important original insights. He views the cameo as a gift offered by the senate to Constantine as a private token to balance the rather more public arch erected to celebrate his victory in 312 over the 'tyrant' Maxentius. He posits that it was later recut to add a diadem reflecting Helena's status as Augusta, conferred shortly after Constantine's victory over Licinius at Chrysopolis, in September 324. Support for recutting is found in the thinning of the stone at Helena's head. These are important observations. However, the centrality of the boy, whom Halbertsma views as Crispus, is not adequately addressed.

Some minor points raised by Halbertsma provoke further reflections. First, Halbertsma identifies the fallen enemies as both Romans and 'barbarians', which he uses to imply identification with a war in the West. However, long-haired barbarians fought for Constantine and his enemies in all the wars fought between Tetrarchs. Among the most prominent of Licinius' officers was the Gaul Amandus, who Zosimus calls Abantus. Licinius fought the battle of Chrysopolis with the assistance of a force of Goths under Alica. Second, Halbertsma suggests that 'the gaze of the emperor with the pupil high in the eye is furthermore reminiscent of portraits of Constantine the Great'. I agree with this entirely, but would problematize the statement as follows. Constantine's heavenward gaze is not secure dating evidence nor at all unique to the emperor. Contrary to Eusebius' claim, it was not an indication of Constantine's Christianity, nor does it indicate that the cameo is of the 4th century. The gaze was well-established rather earlier, in emulation of Alexander. Septimius Severus had reintroduced the pose in the early years of the 3rd century, but it had still earlier Roman precedents, on the coins of Nero, where the emperor also wore the crown of his Sun god, and on Republican coins struck for Pompey and Scipio Africanus. If a portrait bust of Philip the Arab, now in the Vatican Museum, has been used to support suggestions that he was a crypto-Christian, the same has not been said of Caracalla, who also favoured the pose. An excellent example of a heavenward-gazing Caracalla can be seen near Constantine at New York's Metropolitan Museum, where one might also turn to the oversize bronze of Trebonianus Gallus, the only large-scale bronze to survive from the 3rd century, to see the same upwards gaze as that favoured by Constantine's portraitists. Even in Tetrarchic art, where one discerns a clear break in many other ways, emperors frequently gaze to the heavens, for example all four of the aforementioned porphyry Tetrarchs now at San Marco, Venice.

More substantially, Halbertsma's interpretation of the date for the cameo's initial manufacture is compelling, but it rests on a predicate that I find unconvincing, namely that Constantine would object to being represented in a classical manner, as Jupiter, after 315. If this were true, then why would he consent to have the gem recut in this way, when surely he would not wish to be reminded of the fact that he appears as Jupiter? If Constantine was as troubled as Halbertsma suggests, might he not have had a cross incorporated during the posited recutting, replacing his thunderbolt, just as his colossal statue in Rome was shown grasping the 'saving sign'? Crosses were cut into many 'pagan' works later, without substantial additional reworking, although these were not attempts to Christianize images, but rather the cross was employed as an *apotropaion*, a mark intended to protect the image from any demonic force that might enter it or, if that had already happened, to defend the viewer from the evil that might venture forth from within it. However, I do not propose that a cross would have been carved on this gem, either in the emperor's hand or elsewhere, as I am not convinced that Constantine would have had any objection to being represented as a 'pagan' god after 315, or even as late as 324. Indeed, if Constantine objected to being depicted as Jupiter it is as likely to reflect an established devotion to Apollo-Sol-Helios or a wish to distance himself from the patron of the Jovian (Diocletianic) line within the Tetrarchy as it is to demonstrate his devotion to the Christian god.

The suggestion that Constantine did not want to be shown as Jupiter is supported by a quotation from Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, which Halbertsma translates thus:

> By this salutary sign, the true proof of bravery, I have saved and freed your city from the yoke of the tyrant and moreover, having set at liberty both the senate and the people of Rome, I have restored them to their ancient distinction and splendor.[4]

Eusebius revised this reflection and expanded it greatly in a later work, the *Life of Constantine*. But both accounts of the statue and the 'saving sign' post-date 325, when Constantine felt quite differently about his victory of 312. While it is true that in this case the bishop of Caesarea could not misrepresent what anyone visiting Rome could see when viewing a colossal statue in a large public building, this can itself be used to contradict Halbertsma's interpretation. As he notes, the cameo was a small private work, intended to be viewed by a select few, not a colossal statue erected in a very public place. An objection which Eusebius claimed Constantine raised to being shown as Jupiter in the public sphere cannot be applied to such a portrayal on a private work of limited exposure. Audience matters.

There is too much evidence for Constantine's continued interest in 'pagan' imagery to take Eusebius' objection seriously. A second colossal statue, which stood outside the Flavian Amphitheatre and gave its familiar name, the Colosseum, reveals Constantine's feelings upon entering the city of Rome in triumph in 315 did not preclude his presentation as a 'pagan' god. The Colossus was made for Nero, and its head was his on the body of the Sun god. It had been altered several times over the centuries, most recently to resemble Maxentius' dead son Romulus. In 315 it may even have sported the head of Constantine himself.[5] After 324, the emperor decked out his new city, Constantinople, with 'pagan' statues brought from across the empire, including the much-discussed statue of Constantine that stood atop his porphyry column. Constantine held a globe in his left hand, a spear in his right (until it fell down and was replaced by a sceptre in the 6th century), and on his head the radiate crown of the Sun god. The statue was believed to have come from Phrygia, and a tradition held that it was the work of Phidias, the great sculptor of the 5th century BC, suitably modified. Evidently, this offended nobody, for it stood in place for more than seven centuries until, in 1106, it was brought down by a fierce storm. Later attempts to purify the statue insisted that Constantine had inserted a fragment of the True Cross within the globe. But the discovery of the True Cross by Constantine's mother, Helena, emerged as a legend only in the later years of the fourth century. Before that the message of the statue was mixed, and as Garth Fowden has observed this was quite deliberate, 'an intended polysemy'.[6]

Looking at the Constantinian Cameo, now in Leiden, one might wonder at the nature of Constantine's Christianity. Was it not as yet incompletely conceived, laced with traditional 'pagan' sensibilities, offering no sanction for extreme violence such as the killing of his wife and first-born son? The issue of Constantine's Christianity will never fully be resolved, and each scholar and reader is able to reach his or her own determination based on the inconclusive evidence. Whichever one's solution, in interpreting the cameo all might consider observations by Peter Brown on a slightly later work, the illustrated Calendar of 354. 'The more we look at such art,' Brown suggested,

> 'the more we are impressed by the way in which the parts that we tend to keep in separate compartments, by labelling them "classical", even "pagan", as distinct from "Christian", form a coherent whole; they sidle up to each other, under the subterranean attraction of deep homologies. The classical and Christian elements are not simply incompatible ... Rather, the classical elements have been redeployed. They are often grouped in such a way as to convey, if anything, an even heavier charge of meaning. The gods make their appearance, now, as imposing elements of power and prosperity... they add a numinous third dimension to the solidity of a *saeculum* restored to order by Constantine.'[7]

How else was an emperor to display his conception of power than in the language of images with which all Romans were familiar, whether they were pagans or Christians? There were more overtly Christian models, for example that of Moses and the drowning of Pharaoh, but these were only now emerging and had never been a feature of imperial art and the language of power. In short, we cannot believe that Constantine would truly have been offended by his portrayal as Jupiter. But even that may be irrelevant, since we cannot be sure that Constantine ever saw the cameo at all, and even if he did, we can never know how he reacted to its imagery.

Halbertsma favours a suggestion, attractive but far from certain, that the cameo remained in Rome, initially in 'the private sphere of the palace' and then in a 'gallery' accessible to 'selected visitors'. If this it true, which can never be ascertained, then the emperor himself could have seen the cameo only briefly. As such, focusing on the emperor's anticipated desires and responses in positing a date is problematic. The best evidence we have, therefore, is internal. The most compelling evidence is not the recutting of Helena's headgear,

which seems perfectly possible, but which could have resulted from a mistake by the original artist or the nature of the stone. As Halbertsma also observes, the surface of the cameo is uneven following the bands of white and colour within the stone. The most compelling evidence is the centrality of the boy, wearing his helmet and cuirass, clutching his sword hilt with his left hand and with his right hand acknowledging the viewer, surely therefore waving to a cheering crowd that honoured him on the occasion of his elevation to the rank of Caesar. This is Constantius II, which allows us to date the cameo to the last months of 324.

Notes

1. Halbertsma 2015, to which this is a response, provides a full list of references, most notably Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1966; Bastet 1968.
2. It has been suggested that Fausta was not the mother of Constantine II, although this does not receive much support among experts. For an analysis of the historical context for the cameo's production, see Stephenson 2009, 215-235.
3. Bruns 1948, 8.
4. Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 9.10-11.
5. Marlowe 2006, presents a compelling view of the significance of Sol Invictus to Constantine as he entered Rome, identifying the alignment of the colossal statue with the Arch of Constantine.
6. Fowden 1991. On Helena and the True Cross see Drijvers 1992.
7. Brown 1995, 12-13.

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Reviews

Frank Vermeulen, Gert-Jan Burgers, Simon Keay & Cristina Corsi (eds), *Urban Landscape Survey in Italy and the Mediterranean*. Oxford/ Oakville: Oxbow Books, 2012. 239 pp., richly illustrated; 28.5 cm. – ISBN 978-1-84217-486-9.

The application of large scale sophisticated geophysical prospection in Mediterranean archaeology has revolutionized our methods for investigating classical 'urban landscapes'. This is a conclusion we can draw from even a superficial scrutiny of the contributions in this benchmark publication on 'urban landscape survey in Italy and the Mediterranean'. Whilst survey publications on urban surveys formerly featured above all distribution maps of archaeological surface materials, we are nowadays treated to images of subsurface archaeological features as well; a very welcome opportunity to investigate the relationship between surface observations with what is below the ground, is now possible on an unprecedented scale. No longer are we dependent on long and necessarily partial excavations of ancient urban environments targeting the monumental features only, in principle it is within reach to map entire urban landscapes by means of geophysical prospection. Having said this, it is opportune to start with B. Slapšac's contribution (chapter 6) 'Towards Integrated Non-invasive Research on Complex Urban Sites: Ljubljana Research in Tanagra and Beyond', a key methodological contribution to the volume. Integrated non-invasive research is defined by Slapšak as the application of a wide range of prospecting techniques resulting in an overall methodology that 'will envisage a reasoned deployment of them all, or of a choice of them for systematic data acquisition at the site studied, by testing, sampling or total coverage. It is typically applied on complex sites such as ancient cities, but also on lesser sites, and on archaeological landscapes' (p. 55). Furthermore he states that 'where applicable, survey may be further enhanced by excavation programs, but it is important to bear in mind that it is the non-invasive techniques that will permit us to capture data on the totality of the site, and that, as a matter of rule, it is the proper deployment of these techniques that will enable us to meaningfully identify and formulate the questions, which the site can *realistically* (my italics) answer, with or without the use of invasive techniques.' Slapšac advocates the creation of a so-called base- document, as was done for Tanagra in John Bintliff's Ancient Cities of Boeotia project. Here the ancient city's surface was mapped with magnetometry revealing the site's street grid that, interestingly, appeared to extend beyond the fortification. On the basis of such a base document decisions for further research can then be made using appropriate techniques.

Urban Landscape Survey in Italy and the Mediterranean is divided in two parts that are thematically ordered. Part I is dedicated to intra-urban survey and contains 17 case studies. With two papers on the theme 'pre-Roman site planning' by Attema & De Haas and Burgers on protohistorical settlements in Lazio and South Italy respectively, research on early urban sites is underrepresented in this volume. Currently much work, including non-invasive mapping, is being carried out on protohistoric urban sites in Italy and this topic will in future deserve attention in a separate volume, given the specific methodological problems proto-urban sites pose for surface survey and geophysical prospection. All other papers in part I concern the classical, Hellenistic and Roman period under 'Towns in a transitional phase' and 'The Roman approach to townscapes'. The reader interested in classical and Roman city planning will find much of interest here.

Cities explored under the theme 'Towns in a 'transitional phase' are Amiternum (Heinzelmann and Jordan), Roman Paestum (Cipriani and Santoriello), Thespiae (John Bintliff), Ephesus (Stefan Groh), Hierapolis in Phrygia (Scardozzi) and Sagalassos (Mertens, Mušič, Poblome and Waelkens). A constant factor in the methodology is the combination of intensive surface artefact survey and geophysical prospection methods, yielding data on function and chronology through survey on subsurface structural features rendered visible in the geophysical mappings. At times this leads to unexpected observations, as in the case of Amiternum where it appeared that in places surface observations from surface artefact survey did not correspond at all to any subsurface features. The researchers had to conclude that such concentrations of artefacts must have resulted from soil spreading from former excavations. On the whole it is however clear that the combination of surface artefact survey and geophysical work adds considerably to our knowledge of these cities.

Cities explored under the heading 'The Roman approach to townscapes' concern mainly Roman colonies and cities, Aquinum (Ceraudo), Teano (Hay, Keay and Millet), the Vesuvian cities (Ogden et al.), Suasa (Desro and Giorgi), Classe (Boschi) and Pisa and surroundings (Pasquinucci et al.). Two cases appear outside Italy: Ammaia in Portugal (Corsi) and the Roman castrum of Burnum in present-day Croatia (Boschi, Giorgi). Again, the detail with which monumental architecture, street plans and houses are made visible without traditional excavations is amazing, improving not only our knowledge of the physical appearance of ancient cities but also potentially aiding their preservation and valorization by heritage institutions.

Part 2 of the book is dedicated to `Inter-urban relationships', with four papers that take a broader view on urban archaeology. De Ligt discusses Urban networks and Population Dynamics in Roman Italy offering a concise analysis of urban networks in three districts of early Augustan Italy with varying urbanization rates (Campania and Picenum with dense urban networks as opposed to Samnium & Sabinum with a very low urbanization rate). De Ligt evaluates the data in light of the ancient historical debate on demography in which high counters (16 million inhabitants in Italy in 28 BC) oppose low counters (5.9 million) concluding

that his data match the predictions of the low count, which sees the first 180 years of the Principate as a period of substantial population growth in Central and North Italy. This stands in contrast with the high count that sees the period of 225 BC to 28 BC as the period of substantial growth. Needless to say, the intensity with which Roman towns are now being investigated will in the future help simulate urban population levels with greater precision.

Grazia Semeraro discusses the settlement pattern of the Murge plateau in the Salento (Apulia) in the Archaic period for which the archaeologists of the University of Salento have created a detailed database. She singles out the 8th century BC as a decisive moment 'for the consolidation of a new system of settlement that was to last at least until the Archaic period', a pattern that she analyses utilising GIS employing various tools (viewsheds and cost surface analyses).

Vermeulen and Mlekuz deal with 'Early Urbanization Processes in Northern Picenum' based on settlement data of the Iron Age and Roman periods. Their contribution constitutes a first and important step by the Belgian equipe of the Potenza Valley Survey towards synthesizing old and new data from both periods to inform a long term analysis of early urbanization in this region. Part 2 concludes with a paper by Stoddart and Opitz on Forms of Urbanism in the Ager Faliscus in which the use of LIDAR/ALS (LIght Detection And Ranging or Laser Imaging Detection And Ranging / Airborne Laser Scanning) is advocated to improve our understanding of ancient micro-topography and therefore, for instance, ancient accessibility of the hilltop settlements surrounded by deep ravines and other features (such as tombs) that are hard to detect on account of heavy vegetation on the rims and slopes of the Faliscan settlement plateaux.

The book ends with two comment chapters by Neil Christie and Filippo Coarelli with Christie emphasizing the crucial role of urban landscape survey to make heritage managers aware of the huge 'buried urban heritage' and Coarelli, though showing enthusiasm for the new methodological advances, advising (most of the) authors not to juxtapose traditional methodology (= negative) and new methodology (= positive) and to take stock of Italian urbanization studies that combine archaeological and historical perspectives on many of the 'urban landscapes' presented in this book.

Peter Attema

DELPHINE BURLOT (avec une préface de François Baratte et une postface d'Hélène Eristov), *Fabriquer l'antique. Les contrefaçons de peinture murale antique au XVIIIe siècle*. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 2012. 347 p.: ill. en noir et en coul.; 24 cm (Mémoires et documents sur Rome et l'Italie méridionale, N. S. 7). – ISBN 978-2-918887-15-7.

Le sentiment de honte associé au dévoilement des contrefaçons de matériel archéologique a longtemps laissé ces objets dans l'ombre; il s'agit pourtant de documents historiques précieux, qui en disent long sur la vision de l'Antiquité et le rapport au patrimoine à une époque donnée. Tel est le constat dont part Delphine Burlot dans ce bel ouvrage consacré aux contrefaçons de peinture murale antique au XVIIIe s. Après une préface de François Baratte, l'étude s'ouvre par une longue introduction qui permet de définir le faux et les enjeux de sa fabrication : quels sont les différents types de faux ? qui se trouve concerné par les supercheries? quelles sont les motivations des faussaires? qu'advient-il du faux une fois dévoilé? Autant de questions auxquelles l'étude, découpée en deux grandes parties accompagnées d'un catalogue et de planches d'illustration, apporte des éléments de réponses précis.

La première partie nous plonge dans le milieu des antiquaires et amateurs d'antiquité du XVIIIe s. en Europe. Elle est organisée en 7 chapitres consacrés chacun à une supercherie, certaines connues et reconnues, d'autres dévoilées par l'auteur. Sans détailler les 7 chapitres les uns après les autres, nous soulignerons ce qui constitue selon nous les principaux intérêts de cette partie. Un des premiers est sans aucun doute de faire apparaître différents cas de figures - de l'œuvre fabriquée sans intention délictueuse et détournée par la suite à la véritable production organisée -, différentes méthodes et différentes motivations - appât du gain, de la gloire, expérimentation, etc. -, dessinant ainsi une véritable typologie du faux et nous montrant la complexité et la diversité des rouages en jeu dans la naissance d'une contrefaçon.

Partons de la fraude qui occupe le plus de place dans l'ouvrage : celle de Giuseppe Guerra (chapitre 2), sur laquelle l'auteur s'arrête plus longuement dans la seconde partie. Il s'agit ici d'une production de masse : le faussaire se faisait passer pour restaurateur et vendait, en quantité, de soi-disant peintures antiques soustraites clandestinement aux fouilles d'Herculanum, en réalité toutes des œuvres de sa fabrication. Ce cas de figure se distingue des autres par son ampleur et sa complexité: l'auteur montre en effet que Guerra devait disposer d'un complice à Naples à qui il envoyait ses productions ; celui-ci les renvoyait quand le faussaire devait les vendre afin de donner davantage de crédibilité à leur prétendue provenance. Guerra alla jusqu'à s'associer à un orfèvre qui fabriqua de faux bronzes ornées du même type d'inscriptions que celles présentes sur les peintures. Les motivations d'une entreprise aussi bien organisée sont évidemment avant tout lucratives, mais pas seulement: selon Burlot, il s'agissait sans doute aussi, pour ce peintre de réputation médiocre, de trouver une reconnaissance que ses contemporains lui refusaient. L'auteur émet enfin l'hypothèse intéressante que la fraude ait pu avoir une dimension politique, dirigée contre les anti-jésuites. Il semble en tout cas assuré que le faussaire ait été protégé en haut lieu car il fut très peu inquiété et continua d'exercer même après sa condamnation.

Tout à fait différent est le cas de la *Muse de Cortone* (chapitre 3): loin de tout marché, il s'agit ici vraisemblablement d'une commande unique destinée à venger l'orgueil blessé de l'antiquaire Marcello Venuti. Telle est la reconstitution, tout à fait convaincante, proposée par Burlot. Un temps à la tête des fouilles d'Herculanum, Venuti avait fini par se retirer, s'estimant trop peu payé et méconnu. Or il préparait un ouvrage sur la décou-

verte du site, que le roi de Naples lui interdit de publier après son départ. L'antiquaire passa outre et inséra dans sa publication une notice sur la *Muse de Cortone*, une peinture de chevalet sur ardoise, de grande qualité, retrouvée selon lui dans sa ville d'origine. C'était une double vengeance vis-à-vis du roi: publier des peintures d'Herculanum en dépit de l'interdiction et présenter une œuvre qui dépassait par sa rareté (aucune peinture de chevalet n'avait été retrouvée dans les fouilles) et par sa qualité les fresques de la ville ensevelie. Des doutes sur l'authenticité de l'œuvre émergèrent cependant assez rapidement et elle finit par être reconnue comme un faux, vraisemblablement commandé par Venuti.

C'est encore une tout autre motivation qui suscita la création du *Jupiter et Ganymède* (chapitre 4), pseudo-peinture antique à fresque qui dupa Winckelmann en personne. La prudence est néanmoins de mise car la reconstitution proposée par l'auteur nous semble, bien que séduisante, plus fragile que la précédente. Concernant l'auteur de la contrefaçon, les arguments semblent solides pour affirmer qu'il s'agissait du peintre Anton Raphael Mengs. Selon Burlot, Mengs aurait réalisé cette peinture d'une part pour se confronter aux peintres antiques, d'autre part pour prouver à Winckelmann que les peintures d'Herculanum étaient réalisées à fresque et non à la détrempe comme le pensait l'antiquaire. Cependant, devant l'enthousiasme de ce dernier face à l'œuvre, Mengs n'aurait osé avouer la supercherie et se serait trouvé pris à son propre piège. On aurait donc affaire à une expérimentation, une tentative de preuve par l'exemple devenant un faux malgré son auteur. Ainsi, l'ouvrage nous apprend que les contrefaçons ne sont pas toujours conçues dans un but délictueux dès l'origine, comme le montre également le cas de la *Cléopâtre* (chapitre 7), peinture à l'encaustique que des marchands firent passer pour antique afin d'en tirer un plus grand bénéfice.

Il est également intéressant de constater, à la lecture de cette première partie, que les faux apparaissent dès que des peintures murales commencent à circuler dans le milieu des collectionneurs, au début du XVIII^{e} s. Dans le premier chapitre, Burlot dépeint en effet une situation de marché où la demande est beaucoup plus importante que l'offre, à une période où l'on n'a pas encore découvert les cités ensevelies du Vésuve et où Rome demeure le principal centre d'intérêt des voyageurs du Grand Tour. Le faux vient alors occuper un créneau commercial tout à fait intéressant. Par la suite, la découverte d'Herculanum et de Pompéi joua bien sûr un rôle décisif que la présente étude permet de bien mesurer : l'exclusivité et le secret dont furent entourées les découvertes ne firent qu'exciter les convoitises, ce dont beaucoup profitèrent.

Le mérite de cette première partie est également de dévoiler ce que ces faux nous disent de la vision de l'antiquité qui se construisait à cette époque et des attentes que les fouilles suscitaient. Burlot montre à quel point les peintures retrouvées à Herculanum décevaient les amateurs d'art, qui n'y retrouvaient ni la perspective, ni l'harmonie des tons, ni les compositions au goût du jour à cette période. Des faux comme la *Muse de Cortone* viennent alors combler les attentes déçues. A cet égard, le cas de la fouille de la Villa d'Hadrien (chapitre 6) est particulièrement significatif. Le milieu des antiquaires s'étonne en effet que dans un complexe au décor si fastueux on ne retrouve aucune peinture de grande qualité ; l'artiste Marco Carloni a alors l'idée de créer ce que tous désiraient trouver : une série de grands tableaux à sujet mythologique sensés décorer les *Hospitalia*. A l'exception d'un tableau, elles circulaient sous la forme de reproductions qui se sont avérées être des inventions de l'artiste, largement inspirées de scènes pompéiennes.

Ces différents cas de figures permettent enfin de mettre en lumière l'évolution de la discipline archéologique, qui devient progressivement, au cours du siècle, une véritable science. Ainsi la *Cléopâtre* (chapitre 7), qui suscita des débats houleux, fit l'objet d'études stylistiques poussées, d'analyses diverses dont des analyses de pigment et circula avec divers certificats d'authenticité.

La seconde partie de l'ouvrage est consacrée à l'exemple de Guerra et permet de mettre à nu les rouages de la création des faux. A partir d'un catalogue constitué des œuvres qu'elle a réussies, avec plus ou moins de certitude, à attribuer au faussaire (chapitre 8), Burlot explore tous les aspects de la fabrication d'un faux:

- les aspects techniques (chapitre 9) : choix des matériaux, aussi bien pour le support et la couche picturale que pour la patine;
- les aspects iconographiques (chapitre 10) : choix des modèles;
- les aspects extérieurs à l'objet, nécessaires à rendre crédible son antiquité et, en particulier, l'invention du récit de sa découverte (chapitre 11).

Ces trois éléments sont cruciaux. En effet, si l'on pense surtout de prime abord à l'importance de l'iconographie choisie et du style, le choix des matériaux n'en est pas moins fondamental : ainsi l'utilisation d'un pigment moderne qui n'existait pas dans l'Antiquité peut dévoiler une supercherie aussi bien, voire plus sûrement qu'une maladresse stylistique. A cet égard, Guerra va jusqu'à appliquer sur l'enduit une patine qui donne à ses œuvres l'aspect terreux et concrétionnés des peintures sorties de terre. Et le pseudo-restaurateur de pousser la rouerie jusqu'à proposer de nettoyer les peintures pour un supplément financier! Enfin, une incohérence dans le récit accompagnant la provenance de l'objet peut susciter des doutes fatals à la supercherie. La fable a également un rôle «commercial» important, l'objet ayant davantage de valeur si sa provenance est attractive. Burlot note d'ailleurs que pour une même œuvre, Guerra peut inventer différentes histoires : si dans un premier temps Herculanum excitait toutes les convoitises et semblait le meilleur choix, l'on finit par mieux en connaître la peinture et se rendre compte du décalage avec les œuvres de Guerra, de telle sorte que le faussaire se tourne, par exemple, vers des destinations plus reculées comme Palmyre. L'«invention de la fable» s'avère dès lors décisive et c'est selon nous un des grands intérêts de cette seconde partie que de le mettre en lumière.

On pourra regretter en revanche l'absence de développements plus approfondis sur le style de Guerra. De très nombreuses notations sont dispersées dans le texte et dans le catalogue mais l'on aurait aimé les trouver ras-

semblées dans une partie spécifique, afin de pouvoir comprendre plus finement ce qui permet à l'auteur de reconnaître une œuvre du faussaire.

Ces deux parties sont accompagnées d'un catalogue des œuvres mentionnées ainsi que de planches noir et blanc et couleur. Si le catalogue est bien conçu, apportant des descriptions et analyses approfondies qui permettent de ne pas alourdir le texte de la synthèse, on regrettera parfois la faible qualité des illustrations, en particulier pour les enduits de Guerra.

La présence d'un glossaire guide le lecteur dans la compréhension du vocabulaire technique; on aurait peut-être également apprécié l'équivalent pour les noms des principaux protagonistes des supercheries évoquées, parmi lesquels le lecteur ignorant de cette période risque parfois de se perdre.

Au total, l'auteur, à la fois restauratrice et historienne de l'antiquité et de sa réception, nous offre une étude fine, tant sur les plans historique, stylistique que technique; elle nous plonge, à travers le prisme des contrefaçons, à un moment décisif de l'histoire de l'archéologie: la découverte des cités ensevelies du Vésuve et l'affirmation d'une nouvelle discipline scientifique. Les analyses sont très stimulantes, regorgeant d'hypothèses personnelles et intéressantes - bien qu'elles ne soient pas toutes aussi solidement étayées. Soulignons enfin la justesse des choix narratifs de l'auteur: elle commence en effet, pour chaque cas, par présenter les faits tels qu'ils sont apparus à l'époque avant de démonter (ou de tenter de démonter) les rouages de la supercherie, avec un sens du récit qui rend la lecture aussi plaisante qu'instructive.

Un bel ouvrage donc, qui apporte une pierre importante tant à la connaissance des mécanismes et des enjeux de la contrefaçon, qu'à l'histoire du XVIII^{e} s.

Mathilde Carrive

Charalambos Tsochos, *Die Religion in der römischen Provinz Makedonien*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012. pp. 235, 5 maps, 3 plans, 58 ills, 24 cm (Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 40). – ISBN 978-3-515-09448-1.

Die vorliegende Monographie ist zugleich die Habilitationsschrift des Autors, die er 2007 an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Erfurt eingereicht hat. Es handelt sich um eine religionswissenschaftlich-historische Untersuchung zu Makedonien in römischer Zeit. Den Ausführungen der einzelnen Orte ist eine Einleitung vorangestellt (S. 11-14), in der die Zielsetzung formuliert wird. Demnach will der Autor den religiösen Wandel in Makedonien in der Zeit vom 1. Jh. v.Chr. bis zum frühen 4. Jh. n.Chr. beleuchten. Mit diesem Anliegen betritt er weitgehend Neuland, da Untersuchungen hierzu fast vollständig fehlen. Schon aus diesem Grund ist die Arbeit ein wichtiger Beitrag. Im ersten Teil stellt Tsochos die Fallbeispiele vor: die drei großen Heiligtümer Dion, Philippi und Samothrake. Im zweiten Teil der Untersuchung werden die Einzelergebnisse miteinander verglichen und gegeneinander abgewogen.

Der erste Teil des Buches beinhaltet folgerichtig die ausführliche Darlegung der archäologischen Befunde der ausgewählten Heiligtümer. Als erstes Hieron wird für Dion die archäologische Situation erläutert und die Befunde dargelegt (S. 16-29). Es folgt im Anschluss eine Aufzählung der epigraphischen und numismatischen Funde aus der Stadt wie dem Heiligtum (S. 30-33), die das archäologische Bild ergänzen. Als zweites Beispiel stellt er Philippi vor und nach einem kurzen historischen Abriss (S. 39-40) folgt eine Beschreibung des bislang bekannten archäologischen Befundes (S. 40-135). Teil dessen ist auch eine Auflistung der für die Sakraltopographie relevanten Inschriften. Als letztes Beispiel zieht er das Kabirenheiligtum auf Samothrake heran, dessen Befund er ebenfalls darlegt (S. 136-177), wobei er auch hier das Bild durch die schriftliche Überlieferung bereichert. Obgleich keines der genannten Heiligtümer abschließend und umfassend publiziert ist und in allen Fällen nur vorläufige Grabungspublikationen oder auch kurze Grabungsnotizen bekannt sind, gelingt es dem Autor für alle drei Orte ein sehr konkretes Bild zu rekonstruieren, das auch für künftige Untersuchungen herangezogen werden muss. In einigen Fällen kann er das Bild zusätzlich durch die mündlichen Mitteilungen der Ausgräber ergänzen.

Der zweite Teil (S. 178-195) ist eine vergleichende Auswertung aller drei Heiligtümer nach übergeordneten Fragestellungen, wobei die Einzelergebnisse im Schlusskapitel zusammengeführt werden. So formuliert er das Ergebnis, dass Dion in vorrömischer Zeit vor allem administrative Funktion besaß, eine Aufgabe, die in römischer Zeit an das nahegelegene Beroia übergegangen war, das hierfür auch die Neokorie verliehen bekommen hatte. Die axiale Machtverschiebung zu Gunsten Beroias - und damit die drastische Reduzierung der Bedeutung der Stadt wie des Heiligtums von Dion erklärt der Autor primär durch die günstigere Anbindung der Stadt Beroia an die zentralen Verkehrswege der Römer. Denkbar wäre aber auch, dass die städtischen Eliten von Dion stärker in ihrer Tradition verhaftet blieben und somit eine weniger pro-römische Einstellung hatten, so dass diese Verlagerung der Verwaltung notwendig war. Ob dies ein Erklärungsmodell sein könnte, bedarf weiterer Untersuchungen (S. 186). Samothrake klassifiziert er als Pilgerort, der kaum Veränderungen unterworfen wurde (S. 187). Das Fehlen römischer Kulte sieht er als Zeichen einer Unabhängigkeit des Gemeinwesens, das sich gegen römischen Einfluss wehren konnte, wie auch die Römer offensichtlich kein weitergehendes Interesse den Kulten der Inseln entgegenbrachten. Im Gegensatz dazu zeigt die Auswertung der archäologischen Denkmäler aus Philippi, dass diese verstärkt von Römern aufgesucht wurden und auch, dass römische Kulte ein wichtiger Teil des religiösen Geschehens darstellten (S. 187-190).

Ein weiteres Kapitel beleuchtet die sozialen Gruppen, die die Kultorte aufsuchten, die Kulte pflegten und weitere einführten (S. 191-195). Tsochos kommt zu dem Schluss, dass das Kultgeschehen grundsätzlich geprägt ist von sehr vielen und ebenso unterschiedlichen Bevölkerungsgruppen, die an den genannten Orten ansässig waren und '*dass Makedonien nie tiefgreifend romanisiert wurde, wie es auch nicht griechisch geblieben ist …. Vielmehr sind es die dauerhaft zugewanderten, sesshaft gewordenen Bevölkerungsgruppen, die Neues einführten und Altes annahmen*' (S. 198).

Es folgt ein Literaturverzeichnis (S. 200-208), das eine gute Auswahl der bekannten Einzelstudie zu den Orten darstellt, sowie ein Inschriftenkatalog (S. 209-223), der die relevanten epigraphischen Zeugnisse auflistet; außerdem ein Quellenverzeichnis (S. 224-225) wie auch ein Register (S. 227-236). Als Anhang ist ein Karten- und Abbildungsteil zu nennen. Das Buch ist wichtig, da es eine Region untersucht, die in der deutschsprachigen altertumswissenschaftlichen Forschung bislang kaum Beachtung gefunden hat. Es leistet echte Grundlagenforschung, da es vermag, die verstreuten Grabungsberichte und Grabungsnotizen zu einem umfassenden Bild zusammenzusetzen. Die Monographie zeigt auch, dass die Auseinandersetzung mit Makedonien grundsätzlich lohnenswerte Ergebnisse bringt und das Bild Griechenlands in römischer Zeit bereichert.

Maria Deoudi

V.N.H. Correia / M. Conceição Lopes / M. Pessoa / C. Fernandes De Oliveira (eds), *O Mosaico Romano nos Centros e nas Periferias. Originalidades, Influências e Identidades.* Actas do X Colóquio Internacional da Associação Internacional para o Estudo do Mosaico Antigo (AIEMA), Museu Monográfico de Conimbriga (Portugal), 29 de Outubro a 3 de Nevembro de 2005. Conimbriga: Museo Monográfico de Conimbriga, 2011. 955 pp., num. ills b/w and 32 colour pls, 30.5 cm. – ISBN 978-972-776-441-9.

Das 10. Internationale Colloquium über antike Mosaiken fand im Herbst 2005 im portugiesischen Coimbra - Conimbriga statt, das selbst in reichem Maße mit Tessellatböden römischer Zeit gesegnet ist. Im vorliegenden Band werden in 74 Aufsätzen auf 955 Seiten von Ausgräbern und Spezialisten aus 16 Ländern Funde der jüngeren Vergangenheit und neue Interpretationsansätze der Fachwelt vorgelegt.

Den Anfang des Bandes machen einige personelle Informationen, ein Vorwort und ein Inhaltsverzeichnis (1-21). Es schließen sich die Artikel an, denen jeweils eine Zusammenfassung in zwei Sprachen vorangestellt ist. Die Reihenfolge der Aufsätze entspricht der Einteilung in sechs Sektionen während des Kongressverlaufs. Demgemäß bilden die Mosaikkunst im Allgemeinen, Ateliers und entsprechende Handwerker das Thema des ersten Kapitels (25-133). Der zweite Abschnitt informiert über chronologische Probleme und geht ikonographischen Fragen auf regionaler Ebene nach (137-378), im folgenden Teil werden Pavimente der Spätantike besprochen (381-454). Das vierte Kapitel ist Mosaiken aus dem Westen des römischen Imperiums mit Ausnahme Spaniens und Portugals gewidmet (457-616), der fünfte Abschnitt denen der östlichen Regionen (619-701) und der letzte Teil den Böden der iberischen Halbinsel (705-955). Im Anschluss an jeden Artikel finden sich die zugehörigen schwarz-weißen Abbildungen, die durch insgesamt 32 Farbtafeln guter Qualität inmitten des Bandes ergänzt werden.

Wie üblich liegt der Schwerpunkt der behandelten Themen auf Funden des Gastgeberlandes und der benachbarten Regionen, im vorliegenden Fall also auf Pavimenten der iberischen Halbinsel, von der auch die Mehrheit der Kongressteilnehmer stammt; bedauerlicherweise sind daher Studien zu Funden der Länder Resteuropas, Klein- und Vorderasiens sowie Nordafrikas nur vereinzelt oder gar nicht vertreten. Neben einigen wenigen Neufunden (Portugal: Ansião bei Coimbra; Frielas bei Lissabon; Porto. - Spanien: Ecija; Pujolet de Santa, Castellon) stehen - wie in der spanischen Mosaikforschung überhaupt - ikonographische Untersuchungen im Vordergrund, z.B. Labyrinth mit und ohne Theseus, Jupiters Liebschaften, bacchische Szenen, Okeanos, Nilszenen (zweimal), ländliche Szenen, Jahreszeiten (zweimal). Dieses Übergewicht Iberiens hat jedoch den Vorteil, dass neben einigen unpublizierten Mosaiken nun auch Böden dieser Region vorgestellt und abgebildet werden, die oft nur in den zahllosen lokalen Publikationen erscheinen und somit von der internationalen Forschung nur sehr schwer oder gar nicht zur Kenntnis genommen werden können. Zwar sind für die Mosaiken Portugals und Spaniens Corpuswerke begonnen (*Corpus dos Mosaicos Romanos de Portugal* I-II; *Corpus de Mosaicos de España* I-XIII), doch machen diese nur schleppende Fortschritte. Die Diskussionsbeiträge nach den einzelnen Referaten konnten wegen technischer Schwierigkeiten nicht abgedruckt werden. Dies ist bedauerlich, hätten in ihnen doch Ergänzungen oder abweichende Meinungen festgehalten werden können, die möglicherweise die wissenschaftliche Diskussion belebt hätten.

Zu einigen Artikeln seien ergänzende Bemerkungen beigetragen:

- M.J. Maciel (35-40) nimmt die vor allem bei Vitruv und Plinius d.Ä. überlieferte lateinische Terminologie antiker Bodentypen ins Visier. Dabei vereinfacht er die Problemlage stark, da er die in der Forschung oft kontrovers verlaufene Diskussion hinsichtlich einzelner Fachausdrücke nicht hinreichend zur Kenntnis genommen hat.
- L. Passi Pitcher (53-63) identifiziert ein Atelier in Oberitalien, dem sie überzeugend die Mosaikausstattung je eines Fundkomplexes in Cremona und in Piacenza zuweist. Die starke Übereinstimmung vor allem einzelner Rosettentypen impliziert auch eine nahezu identische Entstehungszeit. Unter dieser Prämisse erhärtet sich die vom Rez. vor knapp 30 Jahren für Cremona vorgeschlagene Datierung ins letzte Viertel des 1. Jhs. n.Chr. (nicht in die antoninische Zeit, wie die Autorin S. 56 fälschlich angibt; nicht ins 3. Viertel des 1.Jhs.: dies. in *Atti del XVIII Colloquio AISCOM*, Cremona 2012, Tivoli 2013, 16 Anm. 21), da ein Ansatz des großen Piacentiner Mosaiks in die spätrep.-august. Epoche, wie er für den Cremoneser Komplex vorgeschlagen worden ist (S. 56), stilistisch ausgeschlossen erscheint.
- A. Ovadiah (65-72) beschäftigt sich mit Mosaiken Israels, die inschriftlich den führenden Handwerker oder Atelierbesitzer überliefern. Der Text entspricht mit Ausnahme der nur hier erscheinenden Wiedergabe der griechischen Texte Wort für Wort dem ersten Teil eines längeren Aufsatzes, den der Autor in doppelter Ausführung bereits vor seinem Kongressvortrag publiziert hat: Artisans and workshops in ancient mosaic pavements in Israel, in *Studi di archeologia in onore di Gustavo Traversari* II, Rom 2004, 693-715 = S. Mucznik

/A. Ovadiah/Y. Turnheim, *Art in Eretz Israel in late antiquity, Collectanea*, Tel Aviv 2004, 85-96. Außerdem versäumt der Autor, die einschlägige Monographie des Rez. zu zitieren, in der die Mehrheit der Signaturen mit ausführlicher Bibliographie behandelt ist: *Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung*, Erlangen 1989, Nr. A 1.24.25.30; C 1. Vgl. inzwischen auch dens., *Die Mosaizisten der Antike* II, Erlangen 2008, Nr. a 4; b 3.5.

- M. Grandi und A. Lugari (89-98) versuchen, Kriterien vor allem technischer Art zu erarbeiten, die sie in die Lage versetzen, sowohl geometrische als auch figürliche Mosaiken bestimmten Ateliers zuzuweisen. Grundsätzlich sind die Überlegungen zutreffend, doch es bleibt die Frage, wie Abspaltungen und Filialbetriebe fassbar sind, die gleiche technische Eigenheiten aufweisen wie das Mutteratelier. Das S. 93-94 Abb. 3 herangezogene schwarz-weiße Rautensternmosaik in Rom (s. auch R. Paris/M.T. Di Sarcina, *Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme. I mosaici*, Mailand 2012, 82-83 Nr. 84 Farbabb. mit falscher Herkunftsangabe) stammt nicht aus der Villa della Farnesina, sondern besitzt keine sichere Provenienzangabe: K. Parlasca in W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* III[4], Tübingen 1969, 112 Nr. 2188 (Lit.).

- R. Hanoune und Chr. Kondoleon (283-286) besprechen kurz ein Mosaik ungesicherter Herkunft in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, das einen Teil einer Eselin und zwei säugende Löwenjungen zeigt; intendiert ist offensichtlich eine Mythentravestie; s. dazu H. Kenner, *Das Phänomen der verkehrten Welt in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Klagenfurt 1970. Allerdings wird das Bostoner Fragment, das bisher als antik galt (vgl. C. Vermeule, *Roman art. Early republic to late empire*, Boston 1979, 176. 203 Taf. 193; dens., *Jewish relationships with the art of ancient Greece and Rome*, Boston 1981, 44-45 Abb. 33; C. Dulière, *Lupa Romana. Recherches d'iconographie et essai d'interpretation*, Brüssel/Rom 1979, I 194.259; II 58 Nr. 148 Abb. 127) von den Autoren zu Recht als modern verdächtigt. Übrigens hatte der Rez. schon vor mehr als 30 Jahren den antiken Ursprung in Frage gestellt: *ByzZ* 74, 1981, 106.

- L. Cuppo Csaki (415-424) will in einer Mosaikinschrift in Vicenza als Dedikanten den Senator Carpilio erkennen, den Schwiegervater des spätrömischen Feldherrn und *patricius* Aëtius, woraus eine Datierung des gestifteten Paviments in die erste Hälfte des 5. Jhs. n.Chr. erwächst. Entscheidend ist, dass der Name keinen Mosaizisten meint, wie man lange geglaubt hat. - Vgl. auch Rez. a.O (1989) 135-136 Nr. C 16; R. Vollkommer in *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* I, München/Leipzig 2001, 128 s.v. Carpilius; F. Rinaldi, *Mosaici e pavimenti del Veneto*, Rom/Venedig 2007, 364. 366 Taf. 97, 3.

- A.-A. Malek (515-529) geht bei der Besprechung der Böden der algerischen Stadt Lambaesis auch ausführlich auf das Mosaik mit Darstellung eines Meerthiasos ein. Bezüglich der Inschrift (*Meerwesen des Aspasios*) lässt sie offen, ob mit der genannten Person der Schöpfer der Vorlage oder der Mosaizist gemeint ist. Da keine Parallele für eine in die Mosaizistensignatur integrierte Themennennung vorliegt, muss es sich bei Aspasios um den Künstler des Originalgemäldes handeln, da Maler nach Aussage literarischer Quellen oftmals neben ihrem Namen das Thema des Gemäldes angaben: K. Gschwantler, *Zeuxis und Parrhasios*, Wien 1975, 101-106.

- J.M. Blázquez (705-717) diskutiert zahlreiche Mosaiken Spaniens und Portugals mit mythologischen Szenen, darunter auch ein in der Deutung umstrittenes Paviment aus Santa Vitória de Ameixial (709-711), das er zwischen 268 und 330 n.Chr. datiert. Nicht beachtet wird dabei jedoch, dass einzelne Bildfelder gesondert gearbeitet und dann eingesetzt worden sind, so dass sie nicht unbedingt mit dem restlichen Boden zur gleichen Zeit hergestellt worden sein müssen: Rez., *BACT* 28, 2001, 129 mit weiterer Lit.

- M. Novello und F. Rinaldi (569-579) besprechen nochmals (*Eidola* 2, 2005, 143-177 Abb.; vgl. auch Rinaldi a.O [2007] 371-373 Farbtaf. 98. 99) etwas komprimiert das spätantike Mosaik aus Vicenza mit Szenen der Mythologie. Neben Darstellungen von Herakles und Bellerophon ergeben sich Interpretationsprobleme beim dritten erhaltenen Bild mit Eberjagd: Meleager oder Adonis, lautet die Frage, die von den Autorinnen offen gelassen wird. Die drei Szenen werden als vorbildhafte Exempla für die Virtus angesehen, die in der römischen Kunst durch Jagddarstellungen ausgedrückt wird. Hier sind jedoch weder der Kampf gegen den nemeischen Löwen noch der gegen die Chimaira als Jagden im eigentlichen Sinn zu verstehen, es muss vielmehr die Überwindung des Bösen durch das Gute gemeint sein, eine Interpretation, die von Novello immerhin als Möglichkeit erwogen wird (574). Dann aber kann die Deutung auf Adonis, der im Kampf sein Leben lassen musste - auch wenn er es temporär zurückerhielt -, nicht zutreffen, zumal es bisher offenbar nur eine einzige, allerdings inschriftlich benannte Darstellung des Adonis - ohne Aphrodite - bei der Jagd auf einen Eber gibt (vgl. *LIMC* I [1981] 226 Nr. 32 s.v. Adonis Taf. 165 [B. Servais-Soyez]), doch sind auch etliche andere mit Namen versehene mythologische Personen auf diesem antiochenischen Mosaik in Aktionen wiedergegeben, die nicht der Sagenüberlieferung entsprechen: D. Levi, *Antioch mosaic pavements*, Princeton 1947, 337-345 Taf. 77. 78; W. Raeck, *Modernisierte Mythen. Zum Umgang der Spätantike mit klassischen Bildthemen*, Stuttgart 1992, 74. Entsprechend hat die Namensvertauschung wohl auch für Adonis zu gelten. Gemeint sein kann in Vicenza daher nur Meleager, auch wenn seine hier dargestellte Verletzung am Bein weder in der literarischen noch in der materiellen Überlieferung eine Parallele findet.

Abschließend noch ein Wort zum Druckbild der Akten. Viele, zu viele Seiten sind unbedruckt, die Größe etlicher Abbildungen und ihr Layout sind unbefriedigend. Entweder hätten sich Kosten sparen lassen oder der vorhandene Platz hätte effektiver genutzt werden können. Die Kopfzeilen und Seitenzahlen erscheinen in grauer Farbe so kontrastarm, dass sie nur allzu schwer zu lesen sind. Trotz dieser marginalen Mängel darf man den vier Herausgebern dafür dankbar sein, dass sie die sicher nicht geringen öffentlichen Zuschüsse für die Publikation der Akten trotz der prekären finanziellen Lage des Landes auftreiben konnten, so dass der Band nach sechs Jahren doch noch erscheinen konnte. Angesichts dieser Umstände wird man die Druckverzögerung verschmerzen können.

Michael Donderer

Alessandra Bravi, *Griechische Kunstwerke im politischen Leben Roms und Konstantinopels*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2014. XII+358 pp., 22 figs, 24,5 cm (Klio – Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Beiheft, Neue Folge Band 21). – ISBN 978-3-05006458-1.

Die vorliegende Monographie stellt die erweiterte Habilitationsschrift der Verfasserin dar, die im Wintersemester 2012-2013 von der Universität Heidelberg angenommen worden ist. Ziel der Arbeit ist es, auf der Basis epigraphischer, vor allem aber literarischer Quellen die Wirkung griechischer Kunstwerke nach ihrer sekundären Aufstellung in Rom auf die unterschiedlichen Schichten der städtischen Bevölkerung vom ausgehenden 3. Jh. v.Chr. bis in flavische Zeit zu untersuchen; der gleiche methodische Ansatz gilt auch für die griechischen Monumente der constantinischen und theodosianischen Epoche in Konstantinopel. Auf Danksagung und Inhaltsverzeichnis (I-XII) sowie auf eine kurze Einführung in das Thema (1f.) folgen elf Kapitel (3-299) unterschiedlicher Länge, die zumeist noch starke Untergliederungen aufweisen; angeschlossen ist außer den Abbildungsnachweisen (358) eine lange, aber unvollständige (s. unten) Literaturliste (301-357).

Das erste Kapitel (3-14) ist den Beurteilungen griechischer Kunst in Rom während der Antike und der Neuzeit gewidmet. Die Monumente, sehr oft Kriegsbeute, die von B(ravi) jeweils in einen geschichtlichen Kontext gestellt werden, vermittelten einem gebildeten Römer aufgrund des Aufstellungskontextes verbunden mit der abweichenden Gesellschaftsstruktur und einem entsprechenden historischen Hintergrundwissen natürlich eine andere Botschaft als dem ursprünglichen griechischen Betrachter am originalen Aufstellungsplatz. Die auf reine Ästhetik beschränkte Wirkung - wie in den heutigen Museen - greift nach Bravis Aussage in der Regel zu kurz.

Im zweiten Kapitel (15-21) definiert die Autorin anhand zweier Beispiele - des ohne Begründung als Originalwerk des Praxiteles angesehenen Cupido des C. Claudius Pulcher auf dem Forum und einer Hermathena für eine Villa Ciceros; beide im 1. Jh. v.Chr. wiederverwendet - die Angemessenheit von Motiv und Aufstellungsort. Betreffs der letztgenannten Plastik begründet B. die Wahl des Themas fälschlich damit, dass 'Cicero während der Niederschlagung der Catilinarischen Verschwörung die Göttin zu seiner Schutzpatronin erwählt (hatte)' (19 ohne Belegstelle). Die den Kauf betreffende Korrespondenz mit Atticus ist jedoch in die Jahre 67 und 66 datiert und liegt somit vor Ciceros Consulat im Jahre 63 v.Chr.

Das Thema des folgenden Kapitels (23-66) ist die Kunstbeute der Feldherren der Republik vom späten 3. Jh. bis ins ausgehende 2. Jh. v.Chr. An acht Beispielen wird demonstriert, welche Assoziationen die geraubten Kunstwerke besonders bei den römischen *nobiles* ausgelöst haben dürften. Meist wird man den Interpretationen zustimmen können, doch einmal erscheint die Deutung sehr weit hergeholt (29-30), ein weiteres Mal ist die Argumentation der Autorin nicht stringent: Plin. *nat*. 36.26 berichtet von der Statuengruppe eines Skopas, bestehend aus Neptun, Thetis, Achill, Nereiden, Tritonen und Seegetier, die ein Gn. Domitius (Ahenobarbus) in einem Heiligtum am Circus Flaminius hat aufstellen lassen (57-59). Nach Aussage einer Inschrift (*CIL* VI 8423), die B. übergeht, handelt es sich in der Tat um einen Tempel des Neptun. Der Stifter wird mit dem Consul des Jahres 122 v.Chr. identifiziert, der 120 einen Triumph für den im Vorjahr errungenen Sieg über die Allobroger und Arverner gefeiert hat. Die Autorin vermutet nun, Anlass für die Weihung an Neptun sei die Tatsache gewesen, dass der Sieg am Zusammenfluss von Isère und Rhône stattgefunden habe. Daraus wird dann umgehend ein Seesieg (59), der nach Vell. 2.10.2 mitnichten vorlag; abgesehen davon ist Neptun natürlich kein Fluss-, sondern ein Meeresgott. Eine Gruppe der oben geschilderten Thematik passt hervorragend in ein Neptunsheiligtum und kann nur auf den Seesieg dieses Domitiers 129/128 v.Chr. bei Samos über Aristonikos anspielen, vorausgesetzt die Zuschreibung des Tempelbaus und der Skulpturenausstattung an ihn ist zutreffend.

Der folgende Abschnitt (59-66) trägt den Titel: 'Eine phidiasische Athena zwischen *sapientia, virtus* und *fortuna*.' Zusammen mit einer bronzenen Athena des Pheidias befanden sich nach Plin. *nat*. 34.54. 60 sieben nackte Bronzestatuen und die eines Greises - alle von der Hand des Pythagoras aus Samos - vor dem Tempel der *Fortuna huiusce diei*; in der Cella standen mit Mänteln bekleidete Bronzestatuen (*signa palliata*) und ein nackter Koloss. Betreffs der Athena lässt B. offen, ob sie bewaffnet oder unbewaffnet wiedergegeben war, doch geht aus Prok. *Goth*. 1.15.12 eindeutig hervor, dass sie gewappnet war. Die sieben nackten Statuen (*signa septem nuda*) werden als die Sieben gegen Theben interpretiert, was möglich, aber nicht sicher ist (64 mit Anm. 271); allerdings werden daraus dann plötzlich 'nackte Krieger' bzw. Kriegerhelden (64). Unter *palliati* wurden bisher immer griechische Philosophen oder Denker im Mantel verstanden - so auch B. (64), doch liegt bis heute kein Beleg für eine derartige Gruppe in einem Tempel vor (Th. Lorenz, *Galerien von griechischen Philosophen- und Dichterbildnissen bei den Römern*, Mainz 1965; Nachträge bei E. Bielefeld, *Gymnasium* 74, 1967, 86; H. Wrede, *Die spätantike Hermengalerie von Welschbillig*, Berlin 1972, 87-88 Anm. 325). Ist der Begriff *palliata* in der plinianischen Formulierung *duo signa ….. palliata et alterum colossicum nudum* (34.54) vielleicht ein Schreibfehler für *palladium*? Ein solches hat sich nach Prokop a.O. noch zu seiner Zeit vor dem Tempel befunden. Eine derartige Interpretation als Begriff im Singular wird sprachlich auch durch die Verwendung des Pronominaladjektivs *alterum* gestützt, das nur eine von zwei Möglichkeiten meint. Demnach bliebe von Bravis Schlagworten in der Überschrift nur *fortuna* übrig.

Im vierten Kapitel (67-110) werden griechische Bildwerke in der ausgehenden Republik behandelt. Hier erscheint die umfangreiche Statuenausstattung des Atrium Libertatis, gestiftet von C. Asinius Pollio, deren vorgeschlagene Interpretation angesichts ihrer starken Heterogeneität in ihrem Bezug auf den Stifter und den Aufstellungsort nicht überzeugt.

Im anschließenden Kapitel (111-183) geht B. den griechischen Bildwerken im Rom des Augustus nach. Nach zwei Tafelbildern in der Curia Iulia wendet sich

B. weitschweifig der Beschreibung der Bauten auf dem Palatin zu, besonders den Problemen um die Galerie der Danaiden in der Porticus Phoebi (127-131); diese aber gehören allein schon wegen ihrer Hermenform nicht direkt zum Thema dieser Studie. Anschließend werden die allerdings schon bekannten Verbindungen dargelegt, die zwischen der griechischen Ausstattung des Apollo-Tempels zur augustischen Religions- und Kulturkonzeption bestehen; die Behandlung der in der angeschlossenen Bibliothek stehenden Statue des Augustus als Apollo sprengt wiederum das Thema (139-140). Nach den einschlägigen Beispielen an Skulpturen und Gemälden in Bauten nahe dem Circus Flaminius, deren Interpretation zu manch neuen Einsichten führt, folgen Monumente des Marsfeldes, deren Aufstellung größtenteils auf Agrippa zurückgeht, und das Forum Augustum mit seinen nun gesicherten vier halbrunden Exedren. Aber auch hier beschäftigt sich B. neben der kurzen Diskussion der am Forumszugang stehenden Elfenbeinstatue der Athena Alea aus Tegea (175-176) entgegen ihrer eigenen Themensetzung mit den Kopien der Karyatiden am Attikagebälk, mit der Galerie der *summi viri* (zuletzt J. Geiger, *The first hall of fame*, Leiden/Bosten 2008) und mit Bildnissen des Princeps (176-183).

Im sechsten Kapitel (185-201) werden die zahlreichen von griechischen Künstlern stammenden Skulpturen und Tafelbilder in der Aedes Concordiae auf ihre Botschaft an die zeitgenössischen römischen Betrachter befragt (vgl. schon A. Bravi, Tiberio e la collezione di opere d'arte dell'aedes Concordiae Augustae, *Xenia-Ant* 7, 1998, 41-82). Allerdings vermisst man die Diskussion der in der plinianischen Aufzählung von B. genannten (192-193) Gemälde des Nikias (Liber Pater) und des Theoros (Kassandra); wurden sie vergessen oder passten sie nicht ins Bild?

Kapitel 7 (204-226) hat das Templum Pacis zum Thema (vgl. schon Verf., Immagini dell'identità giudaica a Roma in epoca flavia. Il Templum Pacis e la Menorah sull'arco di Tito, *MedAnt* 9, 2006, 449-461; Immagini adeguate. Opere d'arte greche nel Templum Pacis, in F. Coarelli [ed.], *Divus Vespasianus. Il bimillenario dei Flavi*, Mailand 2009, 176-183). Der Reihe nach werden die dort lokalisierten Statuen und Gemälde mit einem Kulturprogramm verbunden, das Vespasian zugeschrieben wird. Unter ihnen ist auch Myrons *bucula*. Nach B. (220) muss diese von der Domus Aurea auf das Forum Pacis, wo sie Prok. *Goth*. 8.21.11 noch im 6. Jh. gesehen haben will, übergeführt worden sein, da Plinius sie zwar erwähnt (*nat*. 34.57), doch nicht ihren römischen Aufstellungsort nennt. Dies war jedoch kaum möglich, da das plinianische Gesamtwerk zwei Jahre nach Eröffnung des Forums im Jahre 75 erschien und der Autor nachträglich nur eine allgemeine Würdigung des kaiserlichen Bauwerks eingeschoben hat (M. Pape, *Griechische Kunstwerke aus Kriegsbeute und ihre öffentliche Aufstellung in Rom*, Diss. Hamburg 1975, 181); nur für eine einzige Plastik (Aphrodite) gibt er diesen Aufstellungsort *expressis verbis* an (Bravi 224-225). Die Herkunft aus Neros Palast ist zwar wahrscheinlich, doch nicht zwingend. Vom Forum Pacis stammt auch eine Statuenbasis, auf der ein Ganymed des Leochares genannt ist (*Der Neue Overbeck* [= *DNO*] III, 2014, Nr. 2045); dieses Werk wird nämlich zusätzlich in der antiken Literatur erwähnt (223-224). Im folgendem Kapitel (227-236) werden die bisherigen Ergebnisse resümiert.

Der letzte Teil der Studie ist den griechischen Kunstwerken Konstantinopels gewidmet, die hier größtenteils in mindestens tertiärer Aufstellung erscheinen (dazu schon A. Bravi, Ornamenta, monumenta, exempla. Greek images of gods in the public spaces of Constantinople, in J. Mylonopoulos [ed.], *Divine images and human imaginations in ancient Greece and Rome*, Leiden/Boston 2010, 289-301). Das neunte Kapitel (237-247) enthält eine Übersicht über die momentane Forschungslage auf diesem Feld, während im anschließenden Kapitel (249-278) die Situation direkt nach der Neugründung und in Kapitel 11 (279-299) zur Zeit Theodosius des Großen analysiert wird. Aufgrund der andersartigen Sozialstruktur und des neuen Glaubens kommen deutliche Unterschiede zur alten Reichshauptstadt zum Tragen. Dabei werden jedoch viele Skulpturen besprochen, die wiederum nichts oder nicht viel mit dem Thema der Studie zu tun haben. Leider fehlt zu diesem Teil des Buches eine entsprechende Zusammenfassung.

Zum Inhalt insgesamt: Durch die Auswertung vieler Schriftquellen und umfangreicher Sekundärliteratur kommt B. zu manch neuen Interpretationen, von denen etliche nachvollziehbar, andere weit hergeholt und damit wenig überzeugend sind, wieder andere entbehren jeder Grundlage. Nirgendwo wird begründet, warum sich die Auswahl auf die vorgelegten Belege beschränkt, denn viele andere Befunde bleiben unerwähnt (s. Pape a.O. 247-249; *DNO* IV, 2014, 726-728). Außerdem geht die Autorin stillschweigend von der Grundannahme aus, dass alle Quellen, in denen Monumente einem bestimmten Künstler zugeschrieben werden, sowohl den berühmtesten Vertreter des Namens meinen - was zumindest größtenteils zutreffen mag - als auch Bezug auf das Originalwerk nehmen – was nicht *a priori* für alle Fälle gelten muss (vgl. E.I. Faulstich, *Hellenistische Kultstatuen und ihre Vorbilder*, Frankfurt/M. u.a. 1997, passim).

Historische Fakten werden gelegentlich nicht so genau genommen: Napoleons Kunstraub wird in die Jahre zwischen 1796 und 1817 datiert (4), doch hatte der Kaiser bereits 1814 der Krone entsagt. - Catos Selbstmord fand nicht in Philippi (86), sondern nach der Schlacht bei Thapsus (nicht Tapsus, 97) statt. - Der Gründungsvorgang für Konstantinopel liegt mal fälschlich im Jahre 325 (237), mal richtig ein Jahr zuvor (252).

Zur Form: Während der Sprachstil - nicht zuletzt durch die eingestreuten rhetorischen Fragen - ausgesprochen angenehm und flüssig ist, erstaunen in einer Arbeit, deren Grundlage Schriftquellen bilden, zahlreiche Fehler in Zitaten, transkribierten Wörtern oder im Geschlecht derselben: Statt *cives* (9.173.197.200) lies *civis*; statt die *honos* (29) lies den *honos*; statt Ketoi (57) lies Kētē; statt *senes* (61, Legende zu Abb. 6) lies *senex*; statt *methis* (63) lies *metis*; statt er verfasste ein Liber (65) lies einen Liber; statt Ponthinos (87) lies Potheinos; statt den *facinus* (90) lies das *facinus*; statt Euthychides (106) lies Eutychides; statt *spectari* (110) lies *spectare*; statt *ante aedes* (114) lies *ante aedem*; statt den *nefas* (116) lies das *nefas*; statt *inpressit parietis* (121) lies *parieti*; statt Iapoden (151) lies Iapyden; statt *communis* (171) lies *communis;* statt Heleios (220 Anm. 875) lies Eleios. Während die griechischen Quellen in

deutscher Übersetzung wiedergegeben sind, werden die lateinischen Autoren im Original abgedruckt; allerdings finden sich auf den ersten 50 Seiten in den entsprechenden Passagen nicht weniger als elf Abweichungen von den maßgeblichen Textausgaben - willkürliche Ergänzungen oder Schreibfehler (S. 18 [3x].19.23.34.35.37.42.49.50).

Zusätzlich sei auf ein merkwürdiges Faktum hingewiesen: Von B. stammt ein Buch in italienischer Sprache, das in weiten Teilen den gleichen Inhalt - allerdings ohne die letzten drei Kapitel zu Konstantinopel - aufweist (*Ornamenta Urbis. Opere d'arte greche negli spazi romani*, Bari 2012, mit einem panegyrischen Vorwort von T. Hölscher, 7-8). Dieses Werk wird weder im Vorwort noch in der Bibliographie genannt, genau so wenig wie die oben angeführten Aufsätze der Autorin. Gibt es einen Grund dafür? Äußerst ärgerlich ist schließlich die Tatsache, dass B. - wie auch im italienischen Buch - auf jeglichen Index verzichtet hat, nicht einmal ein Stellenregister hielt sie für nötig! Dies stellt nicht nur eine Zumutung für jeden wissenschaftlichen Benutzer dar, sondern führt den Arbeitsaufwand der Autorin *ad absurdum*, da viele der gewonnenen Erkenntnisse für mögliche Interessenten kaum auffindbar sind. Unverständlich bleibt, warum die Herausgeber der Reihe dieses Vorgehen akzeptiert haben.

Michael Donderer

Nicolas Monteix, *Les Lieux de Métier. Boutiques et ateliers d'Herculanum*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2010. 478 pp., 228 figs; 29 cm (Collection des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 344). – ISBN 978-2-7283-0891-0.

This weighty volume presents the reader with an exceptionally thorough and detailed study of the evidence for retail and crafts in Herculaneum. It is a highly relevant monograph, for generalists studying urban economic history in the Roman world, and, particularly, for anyone working with (any) material evidence from the Vesuvian cities. Monteix sketches a largely credible picture of the economic history of Herculaneum between the late Republic and the AD 79 eruption of Mt. Vesuvius, and, highlighting all the problems and nuances of the evidence, presents a powerful showcase of how scholars should approach and analyze the complex archaeological record of Herculaneum and Pompeii on the micro-level.

The book is well-structured and addresses all important aspects of its subject. After an introductory chapter, which familiarizes the reader with the excavation history of Herculaneum, and the enormous impact of Amedeo Maiuri on 20th century thinking about the social and economic history of the city, the volume is divided into two parts, consisting of four and three chapters respectively. The first part looks at the layout and equipment of shops and workshops and tries to understand the uses of commercial space; the second part looks at the development of commercial space in a more abstract way, by studying the building history of the complexes to which shops and workshops belonged.

The four chapters of the first part of the book focus on Herculaneum, but use the evidence from Pompeii to provide a background against which the material from Herculaneum can be understood. The first chapter focuses on the anatomy of shops. It analyzes the links between the material and the written record, and introduces the reader to the archaeology of the *taberna*. Chapter two discusses the retail of food and drink in *tabernae* equipped with a masonry counter and *dolia*. Monteix proposes a refined typology distinguishing between 'restaurants', shops serving hot food and drinks, shops serving unprepared food, and 'bars', serving only drinks. The subsequent chapter three zooms in on the bakeries of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and on the commercial manufacturing of bread. Monteix analyzes, to great detail, the production process of bread, and the equipment and layout of bakeries in the two Vesuvian cities, though with a clear emphasis on the Pompeian material. Finally, chapter four analyzes the evidence for textile production. Like chapter three, it is strongly centered around the evidence from Pompeii - the both qualitatively and quantitatively limited evidence from Herculaneum suggests that the local textile economy was operating on a smaller scale, and more locally oriented than that of Pompeii (see, for recent debate about the Pompeian textile economy by the present author and Monteix, *JRA* 26, 2013, 53-87). A brief discussion concludes the first part of the volume.

The chapters of the second part focus more on the material remains of Herculaneum alone, but look beyond the shops and workshops to the physical context in which they were constructed. Chapter five is, essentially, an introduction to the study of building materials and techniques in Herculaneum, relying on (but also refining) the classification of Thomas Ganschow (*Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte in Herculaneum*, Bonn 1989). It lays the basis for the subsequent two chapters, which discuss the building history of, respectively, the large complex in the Insula Orientalis II (chapter VI), and the houses with commercial facilities in the four completely excavated *insulae* of the city (chapter VII). The three chapters serve to prepare a lengthy discussion of the historical development of the town's economy (pp. 349-370), which is perhaps the most widely relevant part of the book, as it is able to feed directly into debates about Roman urban economies.

Overall, Monteix sketches a rather nuanced picture of the economy of Herculaneum. Monteix does not engage explicitly with the wider debate on urban economies in the Roman world, but he does stress that, at least as far as the known part of town is concerned, commerce and manufacturing seem not only rather small-scale, but also primarily locally oriented. Moreover, Monteix argues that the urban elite played a very central role in the world of manufacturing and retail because it dominated the market for commercial space. Indeed, to judge from its manufacturing and retail landscape Herculaneum, as Monteix depicts it, would have made quite a good Finleyan consumer city. One thing that one might want to discuss however is whether the owners of the medium-sized houses with shops along the *decumanus* really belonged to the 'elite'. After all, the largest and wealthiest houses of the town were clustered on the

sea side, and never had shops. Households investing in retail and manufacturing may actually have had a slightly less elevated social position.

Yet more relevant than this basic sketch of the nature of the city's economy is the way in which Monteix discusses its historical development, arguing not only for a slight increase in commercial space during the 1st century AD, but also for a change in the way it was managed: more and more of it was rented out instead of directly managed by the owner of the property. Apparently, a true market for commercial space emerged in this period - a trend that according to Monteix can be traced from the Augustan period onwards, though it became much stronger after the earthquakes that hit the city in the last decades of its existence. This is an interesting argument, which is not without its impact for our view on the town's urban community: to which extent is a commercializing market for shops and workshops reconcilable with a small-town society based on ties of dependency between free-born, freed and slaves? In other words: to which extent might this change in elite economic strategies reflect wider changes in the urban community? Given the thorough and detailed analysis of the material evidence, Monteix can hardly be blamed for not developing this point, but it is a question that deserves to be addressed by the scholarly community, especially in the light of recent work by L. De Ligt and P. Garnsey on the implications of the so-called 'Album' of Herculaneum (*JRA* 25, 2012, 69-94) for the social structure of the urban community.

In short, there is no doubt that Monteix has produced a work that sets the standard for both future studies of the evidence from Herculaneum, and for archaeological approaches to urban manufacturing in the Roman world.

Miko Flohr

BARBARA F. BORG, *Crisis and Ambition. Tombs and Burial Customs in Third-Century Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 308 pp., 140 figs, 10 pls; 25 cm. – ISBN 978-0-19-967273-8.

In this monograph, Barbara Borg describes and analyses the funerary habits of the inhabitants of Rome and Ostia during the 3rd century AD, which is a very ambitious but also laudable project, since few of the discussed funerary monuments have been explored and dated seriously and most studies on Roman burial customs concentrate on either the funerary monuments of the late Republic and the early Empire or late-antique Christian practise. In the introduction to this extremely well written and thoroughly researched study, the author gives some specific topics to be discussed, e.g. the reason why there were so many sarcophagi, the category of tombs belonging to non-elite persons, and the rise of Christianity as evidenced (or not) in the hypogaea (commonly called catacombs). A good introduction to the main objectives of the monograph is Borg's paper Bilder für die Ewigkeit oder glanzvoller Auftritt? Zum Repräsentationsverhalten der stadtrömischen Eliten im dritten Jahrhundert n.Chr., in F.A. Bauer/C. Witschel (eds), *Statuen in der Spätantike*, Wiesbaden 2007, 43-77.

Borg observes a clear continuation of existing forms of monuments and habits of deposition from the 2nd century into the 3rd century, e.g. the uninterrupted exploitation of the tombs under St. Peter and in the other Vatican necropolises. In Ostia, the funerary monuments of the 'Via Ostiense' and the 'Isola Sacra' provide evidence of a similar continuity. In these necropolises there are tombs of the elite next to house-like buildings of smaller dimensions erected by freedmen or their descendants, and court yards with *fossae*, organized by guilds or *collegia*, in which the number of deceased buried in the same complex often increased in respect to older monuments. The practice to call such tombs 'temple tombs' is not a lucky choice, as we hope to demonstrate in a forthcoming article. The names gleaned from the epigraphical material in the latter complexes are those of freedmen or free men who reached a higher social and/or financial level during their lifetime. Chapters 2-4 are on architecture and shape of tombs. Borg gives a handy gazetteer of the principal shapes (freestanding sarcophagi, round, cross-shaped and square tombs etc.). The continuation Borg observes here and in other 'Gräberstrassen' or sets of monuments is likely, but we must honestly confess that we sometimes cannot follow the way how monuments are dated, since, as has been said already, many phenomena did not radically change over time and, to give one specific example, the chronology of several black-and-white floor mosaics, seen by Borg as 3rd-century products, is not as clear as one might wish. Therefore, one may ask whether the morphological developments are good clues for dating funerary monuments. There is the risk of circular reasoning, when one proposes that since a specific architectural form is 3rd-century, a tomb displaying this form should be dated to the 3rd century (e.g. p. 56, absidal tombs). Therefore, this chapter 3 is less convincing than what follows about the hypogaea (chapter 4).

Hypogaea became popular from the early 3rd century; good examples of family tombs are the tombs of the Nasonii and of the Octavii. While dearth of burial grounds *sub divo* at reasonable prices, might be a reason, we suggest that the property of the soil and the relevant area are at stake, as well as their exploitation by means of tunnel-like space compartments (see fig. 47: anonymous hypogaeum on Via Triumphalis and the senatorial Tombs of the Sempronii, pp. 126-130, 224, fig. 74, in the Vigna Casali formerly Volpi on Via Appia). Their interiors contained imitations of the house tombs of the 'Gräberstrassen' of the 2nd century. People entered them through a staircase and arrived in complexes composed of corridors, sometimes in more than one storey. A long section of this chapter is devoted to the Christian origin (or not) of these hypogaea. As nowadays luckily seems to become common knowledge, like others Borg argues that the attribution to Christian communities is based on circular reasoning: the presence of Christian imagery demonstrates the presence of tombs of Christians, but does not prove that the entire hypogaeum system was Christian. We must rather assume that imperial administration or

collegia which were responsible for the creation and maintenance of these mass burial spaces had members who were Christians. Some *collegia* consisted of specific groups like the Jordanians or Jews; other depended from imperial *familae* or professional guilds. The suggestion of large cobweb-like uniquely Jewish or Christian catacombs is still more unlikely, when we take into account that various sets of corridors changed into ensembles of Christian catacombs in later times. Especially activities during the 4th century, with its rapidly growing number of Christians, were the principal reason for this christianisation of the underground burial places. The presence of papal tombs leads to the question if the popes had some greater power than their colleague-bishops. There seems to have lacked an overarching hierarch at the head of the church.

A striking issue is the 'long-term use and re-use' (chapter 5), which is not a consequence of impoverishment of the people in the alleged century of crisis that was the 3rd century, but could happen out of tradition, respect, and practical reasons. Borg explicitly observes that there is little evidence of destruction. If people rearrange funerary chambers, they try to keep in order the existing monuments or store them in an orderly way elsewhere, so that new space is made free. In a series of examples, tombs of various types and of different social classes Borg makes her point and sets a new standard of looking at the development of funerary monuments.

Chapters 6 and 7 are dedicated to sarcophagi, one focusing on the 'artistic' development, the other on the context in which they were exposed, a topic that came to the fore in previous chapters as well. As to the iconography, Borg makes clear that iconography did not reflect a belief of afterlife until the arrival of Christian themes. 'Pagans' wanted to show the successful careers of their deceased family members by displaying traditional virtues, education, as well as the suggestion of bliss by adopting Dionysiac, bucolic, marine, and similar motifs. Christians made use of the same motifs and added Biblical themes. Borg also discusses the hypothesis of 'Entmythologisierung', that is the diminishing use of mythical stories in the run of the 3rd century. This might be true, but cannot be interpreted as a token of impoverishment rather than as expression of scepsis about afterlife and the help of the gods. Some themes still occur but gradually adopt the qualities of the deceased, who themselves are portrayed as mythical figures (e.g. Endymion, Meleager, Hippolytus). They may even change into reflections of the *vita humana*: the mythical hunter becomes a 'normal' hunter. In sum, apparently, there existed a less gloomy image of funerary imagination, with an accent put on *felicitas temporum* and continuity of life.

In some cases sarcophagi were exposed *sub divo*: most were placed within the tomb chambers in a visible position. Borg gives the various alternatives. A peculiar thing is the concealment of lavishly decorated caskets underground, behind walls and the like (see chapter 7). Borg argues that these concealed sarcophagi had had a clear function during the funeral. Moreover, the visibility was also less favorable within the tomb chambers for practical reasons. In all these cases the phenomenon of 'conspicuous consumption' could be important. As chapter 6 already announces, Borg clearly does not believe, as some scholars do, that the images on the sarcophagi had no sense at all.

Chapter 8, finally, brings together all decorative elements of tomb chambers and hypogaea. Here all topics discussed in the previous chapters are reunited in a masterly synthesis. An important conclusion is that both formulae of inscriptions and imagery reflect ideas that were common in both traditional Roman practices and in those of the Christians. Borg warns against the categorization of specific features, often seen as Christian expressions, such as 'symbols' (fish, anchor, ship) and phrases ('live long' etc.). 'Pagans' and Christians sought eternal rest in a similar manner and could be inspired reciprocally. This chapter leads to the brief Conclusions of chapter 9. Borg has set a monument in analyzing the 'funerary landscape' (p. 271) of the 3rd century. This was not the depressed and impoverished era we use to imagine, at least as long as the cure of the dead is concerned. Of course, there remain several open ends, and Borg's last pages are dedicated to suggestions for further research. She has announced a study on the 2nd century burial monuments. Let us hope that this will be as captivating and thrilling as *Crisis & Ambition*.

The book is edited splendidly and has no disturbing flaws or printing errors. The lavishly inserted illustrations are well chosen, rich in number and well reproduced. One detail: Fig. 21 (p. 39) is mistakenly seen as element of the 'Triopion' of Herodes Atticus (cf. H. Kammerer-Grothaus, *RM* 81, 1974, pl. 88, 2-3). The drawing, attributed to Canina and his colleagues, represents the monument of Maxentius (H. Rasch, *Das Maxentiusmausoleum an der Via Appia: Spätantike Zentralbauten in Rom und Latium*, Mainz 1984). There is an index of names, while the funerary monuments are included in the general Index. These small things of course do not detract from the importance of this monograph as a hallmark in research of Roman funerary monuments.

Helke Kammerer-Grothaus & Eric M. Moormann

MARIO LOMBARDO AND FLAVIA FRISONE (eds), *Colonie di colonie: le fondazioni sub-coloniali greche tra colonizzazione e colonialismo. Atti del convegno*. Lecce: Congedo Editore, 2009. 276 pp. 48 figs; 29 cm (Università del Salento, Dipartimento di Beni Culturali, Collana del dipartimento, 16). – ISBN 978-88-8086-699-2.

This volume is the result of a conference organized in 2006 by the Università del Salento at Lecce on the subject 'sub-colonies', colonies founded by Greek *poleis* which themselves had been founded as 'colonies' or *apoikiai*. I will here concentrate on discussing the research tradition which this work is a part of, rather than to discuss the individual contributions in detail.

Lombardo in his introduction divides the sub-colonies in two different phases: those which were founded within a few generations of the founding of the mother

apoikia, and those which were founded a century or more later. As such, this latter category can be regarded as clearer examples of organized settlement foundations than the earliest 'sub-colonies', since urbanization and the *polis* had often reached a more developed level. But can settlements which within few generations were completely independent be called 'colonies' at all? In a work with a title where the word 'colony' features so prominently as here, one would expect a profound discussion of the meaning of this term. Unfortunately, this is not the case, since there is clearly a problem both with the term 'colony' and 'sub-colony'. Whether the former, with all its imperialistic and anachronistic overtones, should be applied on the settlements or *apoikiai* founded by Greeks in the early Archaic period has recently been intensely debated. Already in the foreword by Emanuele Greco the stance becomes clear: questioning the term 'colony' and its use in this context, as for example has been done by Franco de Angelis, is regarded as a somewhat extreme position. In the case of some of the later 'sub-colonies'of the Classical period it is perhaps slightly more relevant to speak of 'colonies' in terms of urban planning and organization, but on the other hand, they were often independent already from the outset.

The volume has in all 15 contributions, and in addition a section with the summarizing discussion from the conference. The focus is on Magna Graecia and Sicily, which is natural given the place of the conference. Two studies deal with the Black Sea area (A. Avram and G.R. Tsetskhladze) and one with Libya (M. Giangiulio). However, although the volume has a clear geographical and chronological focus, the impression of the total volume is not very unitary. In fact, too few contributors seek to answer the questions posed by the conference, and the lack of a concluding discussion is a clear disadvantage. Instead of including the contributions into an analytical conclusion and discussing the problems posed at the outset, the case studies remain isolated. Per se many of them are excellent texts for any scholar who wants further knowledge of that particular 'sub-colony' and how it was founded. But there is little or no connection between these texts on the one hand, and the more analytical and general texts on the phenomenon by Lombardo and Frisone (the latter on territorial strategies) on the other.

Apart from the two analytical texts on the subject mentioned above, there are four articles with a clear literary/epigraphic focus (M. Moggi on the colonies founded by Thoukles; F. Aversa on citizenship in colonies and sub-colonies; S. Coccioli on Thucydides and the foundation of Epidamnos; M. Bats on the Massaliote colonies) and seven studies of specific geographic sites or areas (G. Cordiano and C. Isola on Metauros; M.E. de Luna on Camarina as sub-colony of Syracuse; M. Giangiulio on the Greek foundations at Cyrenaica; M. Lombardo on colonial models in the Adriatic; H. Tréziny on the urban planning of colonies in Sicily; A. Mele on Neapolis; A. Avram on Herakleia Pontica and her colonies; and G. R. Tsetskhladze on sub-colonies in the Black Sea).

The overview of the subject by Lombardo is no doubt the most rewarding text, giving a good exposé of the phenomenon and the current debates going on in this field of research. However, apart from this and the foreword by Greco, the contributions have the character of topographically specific case studies, which end up with giving a very detailed picture of certain historical contexts, but often do not try to answer the many questions connected with 'sub-colonies' posed in the foreword. This focus on specific context and historical detail is a consequence of the methods used: they lean to a great extent on literary (and epigraphic) sources. Greco emphasizes how important it is to consider the unique context of each individual case and not adhere to rigid theoretical models, which he considers as too generalizing. The question is: why one thing should exclude the other? It is certainly possible to combine the detailed perspective and combine it with observations of a more generalizing kind. It is in any case clear that while in the field of Greek colonization studies the very limited written source material has been stretched to its utmost limit of potential, the archaeological source material is growing incessantly, and awaits new methodical approaches in order to be able to maximize its potential.

It is true that the events which were already three centuries old when they were recorded by authors like Thucydides, may go back to older sources which were still available in Classical times. Nevertheless, from a source-critical perspective the value of these sources is clearly relative, to say the least. It is important that the archaeological data also are allowed to speak for themselves. The focus on texts and historical events makes it more difficult to intercept patterns over longer periods of time, where archaeology is more at its ease. For instance: following the ancient sources, it is easy to get the impression that the colonial expeditions were controlled by the mother cities in a certain 'colonial' fashion, whereas the archaeological perspective would emphasize the economic interests among individuals rather than states. R. Osborne has pointed out how the ceramic evidence shows that Archaic trade was not directed by the city states, but rather organized on an individual level.

There are many examples of settlements where the label 'colony' is indeed very doubtful, even among those founded in more recent periods. To only mention one example: in Lombardo's otherwise excellent contribution, Issa in the Adriatic can hardly be regarded as a 'colonial' settlement or even *emporion* founded by Dionysius I, since no archaeological trace of settlement exists prior to the last third of the 4th century BC. Rather, there is a great probability that it was one of those military outposts, *epicheismata*, mentioned by Bats in his contribution, which only later gradually developed into a *polis* independently. The labels 'colony' or 'sub-colony' lose their meaning in such a context. We are here also, as in many other cases, touching upon the interesting problem which has been debated intensely the last years: whether to regard a 'colonial' settlement as founded as an urban entity from the very first moment, or if it developed only gradually. This interesting question is, however, not discussed.

The volume reviewed here, written by a number of distinguished scholars, is a substantial and useful work for anyone who wants an overview of the subject and

delve deeper into the *Stand der Forschung* of the history of the foundation of the individual 'sub-colonial' settlements discussed, especially in Magna Graecia and Sicily. However, anyone who is looking for an analytical, modern and open-minded approach to the phenomenon of Greek 'colonization' and 'sub-colonies' will not find it here.

Adam Lindhagen

AURELIO BURGIO, *Il paesaggio agrario nella Sicilia ellenistico-romana. Alesa e il suo territorio*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2008. 277 pp, 186 figs, 2 pls; 30 cm (Studi e materiali 12. Dipartimento di Beni Culturali, Sezione Archeologica, Università di Palermo). – ISBN 978-88-8265-483-2.

The book under scrutiny here is a welcome contribution to the rural archaeology of ancient Sicily, which for long has been neglected, but in the last decade has experienced a revival. The study concerns the Greco-Roman city Halaesa (It. Alesa) on the north Sicilian coast, near Tusa. It was founded by Archonides, a Sikel ruler, in 403 BC, subsequently surrendered by free will to the Romans in the beginning of the First Punic War. As a consequence, the city experienced fast growth and economic prosperity in the late Republican period. Although the urban settlement is now relatively well known through the recent publication of the excavations by G. Scibona and G. Tigano, *Alaisa-Halaesa (Scavi e ricerche 1970-2007)* (Messina 2009), the surrounding territory of Halaesa has remained almost completely unknown. This work is the fruit of a field survey of the territory of Halaesa carried out over a period of several years by the University of Palermo, which has thorough experience of this method from the pioneer fieldwork at Himera in the 1970's and 1980's. The volume is the result of several contributors, but the lion's share of the text departs from the PhD dissertation by Aurelio Burgio. It is somewhat odd, however, that a book which in fact has several contributors is published under the name of one author, but not as editor.

The study commences after the introduction with an analysis of the sources and historic general framework, including a general discussion of the so-called *Tabulae Halaesinae* (by Oscar Belvedere) and a useful overview of the current status of research on this intriguing piece of evidence and how it can add to our knowledge of rural Halaesa. The survey has resulted in a number of very detailed GIS-based maps: apart from the maps of the identified rural sites, also maps with such relevant features as visibility and the geophysical character of soils. Departing from the settlement data, interesting new information has also been obtained on the communication arteries, leading to the probable identification of the area of the harbour and the *Meilichieion* sanctuary, the latter mentioned by the *Tabulae*. The major part of the work consists of an archaeological map of the territory of Halaesa (by Burgio together with Antonio Di Maggio and Gabriella Tigano). The map is organized in individual sites with extensive discussions of the topographic setting, finds and their dating. Many finds are illustrated and described in detail in a catalogue containing 155 items. Since the major part consists of coarse wares, amphorae and building materials and the share of fine wares is low, this constitutes a methodological problem, and complicates the dating of the settlements.

The discussion of the development of the territory and the settlement patterns through time, from the prehistoric to the Arab periods, is the undoubtedly central and most interesting part of the volume. Due to the methodological problems mentioned above, only major changes in numbers of rural sites can be considered as reliable, but the data shows as many as four major watersheds in the settlement pattern over time. The first rise in number of sites from the middle of the 3rd century BC and throughout the Late Republican period is not surprising given that this was the apex of Halaesa's economic and political influence in the capacity of ally of Rome, exempted from tax and possessing a port for the grain from the inland of Sicily directed towards Rome. Less expected is the marked decline in settlements already in the Augustan period, lasting until the 4th century AD. It is suggested, feasibly, that this recession in the Augustan age which cannot be detected on other sites on the north coast, was due to the probable loss of the status as *civitas libera et immuna*. The low number of identified settlements with material dating to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD is considered as a sign of a profound agricultural crisis. This fits well with the data from the neighbouring settlement of Caleacte (Caronia; see A. Lindhagen, *Kale Akte the Fair Promontory. Settlement, trade and production on the Nebrodi Coast (Sicily) 500 BC-500 AD*, (forthcoming), where a prospering wine eport seems to have ended in the late 1st century AD and resumed only in the late 3rd or early 4th century. The reasons for such an agricultural crisis in the Nebrodi area are of course complex and difficult to grasp. A suggestion could be that both the demand from Rome for grain and wine in this period shrunk, due partly to a satisfied market and the diminished role of Sicily as supplier of grain to Rome, especially in the mid-Imperial period. Another explanation may be the ruralization of Sicily beginning in the 2nd century AD, which would have lead to a crisis for the *polis*, and with it also its entire system for production and export. The third clear trend is the very marked increase in number of settlements in the 4th and 5th centuries AD. This is in line with what we know of the flowering of Sicilian agriculture in this period, partly due to the renewed importance of the island as grain supplier of Rome after the grain from Egypt and Africa Byzacena had been redirected towards the new capital Constantinople. However, I would like to stress the important economic role of Sicilian wine next to grain. The Sicilian wine industry prospered in this very period, probably due to the tax on wine which was directed from Calabria and Sicily towards Rome. Many smaller centres on the north and eastern coasts produced and exported large quantities of wine and it is probable that Halaesa also contributed with its own production. Finally, the data indicate a very strong decline in agricultural settlements after the Byzantine conquest. This may have been a consequence of the demographic crisis in Rome and Italy and their shrinking markets in the

aftermath of the Gothic Wars, although this is not suggested by the author. The trends in agricultural settlements at Halaesa illustrate well how economically dependent on Rome and Italy the agricultural production and export on the north Sicilian coast were.

To sum up, the high quality of the fieldwork and its methodology makes this volume an important point of departure for further topographic studies of the territory of Halaesa, as well as for other sites on the north coast and in Sicily in general. The authors of this work are to be congratulated for an important contribution to the vast and still very incomplete puzzle which the rural archaeology of ancient Sicily presents.

Adam Lindhagen

LORENZA GRASSO, *La Stipe del Santuario di Alaimo a Lentini. Un'area sacra tra la* chora *e il mare*. Con appendici di W. De Leonardis, C. De Santis, G. Ferrauto, G. Fichera, A. Zizza e B. Wilkens. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2008. 175 pp., 41 figs, 68 pls; 30 cm (Monografie dell'Istituto per i Beni Archeologici e Monumentali – C.N.R., IBAM 2. Catania). – ISBN 978-88-89375-04-4.

The salvage excavation on the western edge of modern Sicilian Lentini furnishes a corpus of potential comparative and statistical evidence for the analysis of Greek colonial cities and cults. Finds of Protocorinthian vases north of the ancient city of Leontinoi led to Giovanni Rizza's 1987-88 partial excavation of an extra-urban sanctuary, part of a chain of cults marking the city's borders (others include Hera and the indigenous *Palici*). In an area approximately 15 x 50 m, at a depth of 2.6 m, Rizza exposed foundations of a precinct wall, rubble platform and, within the walled temenos, small piles of burnt debris, stones and crushed animal bones (also a *chytra* and frying-pans) from ritual meals and sacrifices, predominantly sheep-goat. No temple or other structures were found, but the numerous Archaic votives illustrate a wide assortment of worshippers and vows.

Grasso has posted the introductory material, conclusions and an abbreviated bibliography from this volume on *Fasti Online* (www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2009-142.pdf), including color photos of the site and several objects. A catalogue including drawings, profiles and black-and-white photos forms the central portion of this book. Appendices give results from the team's pollen analyses, and Wilkens's study of the animal bones. A few details of excavation and context are clearer in Rizza's preliminary article (*RendLinc* 14, 2003, 537-567); background on Leontinoi is found in M. Frasca (ed.), *Leontini. Il mare, il fiume, la città,* Catania 2002.

Most finds were imported and locally produced tableware and small unguent flasks, especially Late Protocorinthian, with linear or scale decoration, or running hounds and hares. A few sherds attest transport amphorae and utility wares. Most objects were late 7th-early 6th-century with a few obviously later vases, including Attic, found within upper layers of fill. Inside a square masonry receptacle ('*recinto quadrato*,' hereafter *recinto*, 3.5 x 3 m) most vases were packed, often upended, over a layer of burnt matter with animal bones, the deposit capped with a layer of crushed sherds. Late Protocorinthian *aryballoi* (660-650 BC) are the earliest goods; the original deposit was closed by 600-590 BC. Two Hellenistic coins are Punic and Syracusan; one coin and an amphora fragment are Roman; an unfinished lump of metal containing iron (385 grams) was in the Archaic deposit

The incised dedication of an Attic RF krater (no. 301) to the Dioskouroi is attributed by Grasso to a later version of the cult. Despite 24 local *kalathiskoi*, she rejects Demeter and Kore as less popular in Chalkidian colonies and proposes Artemis, citing a few wild animal sacrifices - or deerskins - among the finds. In view of the phenomenon of 'visiting gods' and given the small extent of the excavated area, it may be too soon to identify all its patron gods.

All diagnostic and better preserved vases (over 600) are catalogued. Fabrics include Corinthian, East Greek, Attic and locally produced wares; sherds from four Etruscan *bucchero kantharoi* (nos. 281-284) are attributed to Caeretan commercial distribution of Etruscan wine. They are attested in domestic and votive contexts throughout Sicily. Two bear dedications in Chalkidian script: '…]εθηκε', and another read as 'Λ]ευκιος μ[ανεθηκε', followed by two broken lines perhaps including '…]ο εχσελ[ευθερος' (if so, the dedicant was a freedman). The only other inscriptions are a Siana-cup sherd, no 287 (…]XIKR[…) and a maker's signature on a model foot, no 616.

Chronology has been linked to the Corinthian imports; figural fragments were attributed by Cornelis Neeft (nos 153-164: Gruppo del Tifone, Ardea Painter, Henderson Painter). Corinthian clearly dominated (234 vases versus 44 East Greek, 17 Attic). Curiously, for this period, there were no Euboean or Pithekoussan vases (as noted in other Chalkidian colonies in Sicily-Campania). The worn fragment No 597 is provisionally identified as a Caeretan White-on-Red conical stand (*holmos*), but, to judge from illustrations, it does not match the profile of this type.

The cult is clearly not a rubber-stamp of Sicilian sanctuaries. A curious genre are the 66 small-scale (6-8 cm high, called *miniaturistici*) *olpai* (nos 498-563), fine colonial copies of Corinthian forms, yet among the Greek cults, particularly Corinth, these are not at all common. Grasso cites parallels in the Samian Heraion; small *olpai* also appear in deposits at Pyrgi. (Cf. several entries in M.P. Baglione/M.D. Gentili (eds), *Riflessioni su Pyrgi. Scavi e ricerche nelle aree del santuario*, Rome 2013, 106, 132; the *olpai* represent libation rituals later in date than the Leontinoi deposit.)

While there are spears and blades, the pottery profile could fit a female cult, with *pyxides*, *kalathiskoi*, 9 spindle whorls, and 8 conical and discoid loom-weights (nos 641-644), perhaps indicating women's different ethnic origins (several are attributed to Corinth). I am uncertain why no. 644, although large, is called an *oscillum* rather than a loom-weight. The set of *astragaloi* imply puberty-offering as at the Selinuntine *Malophoros* shrine.

Fragments of large items are uncommon: architectural terracottas (spout, sima, pan-tiles), rims of transport *amphorai* (2 SOS, 1 East Greek, 2 western Greek, 1 late 6th-c. Corinthian B), a *louterion* fragment; the pieces are abraded on broken edges as if they have been swept about. Even the terracotta figurines are fragmentary and worn, although they were deposited within the *recinto.* One structural element, presumably from a *sacellum*, is a limestone base for a small wooden column. Pollen samples from six Protocorinthian *aryballoi* deposited within the *recinto* are interpreted as evidence of local ecology: riverside trees and weeds that accompany cultivation, but none of the exotics found in perfume. (See catalogue, not palinological report, for precise dates: 635-600 BC.)

The author suggests that the burnt bones in the *recinto* imply its use as an altar, while a platform of rubble with a knife, unburnt bones and tiles was a modestly roofed stage for ritual activity. The fortunes of the little shrine did not really parallel those of the colony; the votives show it waning considerably through the 6th century but visited later by at least some rich donors dedicating Attic vases in the 5th century. Numerous parallels with finds at Naxos, Selinus and Metaponto illustrate a small shrine in the Greek colonial network with hints of local flavor.

Jean MacIntosh Turfa

Luigi Todisco, *Prodezze e prodigi nel mondo antico. Oriente e Occidente*, Roma, «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2013. 176 pp., ill.; 24 cm (Studia Archaeologica 192). – ISBN 978-88-913-0272-4.

Dopo la recente, imponente pubblicazione dei tre volumi de *La ceramica a figure rosse della Magna Grecia e della Sicilia* («L'Erma» di Bretschneider, Roma 2012), L. Todisco e la sua scuola continuano a dimostrare con quest'ultimo contributo fecondità, continuità e varietà di ricerca. Se l'opera monumentale sulla ceramica a figure rosse dell'Italia meridionale, conclusione di una pluriennale e collettiva attività di studio, è rivolta soprattutto agli addetti ai lavori, questo sintetico ma ricco libro sulle *perfomances* spettacolari estranee agli agoni sportivi ed alla drammaturgia propriamente detti (temi quest'ultimi comunque trattati in passato dall'autore – si veda *Teatro e spettacolo in Magna Grecia e in Sicilia*, Milano 2002), vuole certamente raggiungere anche un pubblico più ampio e meno specializzato. Come Todisco sottolinea nell'introduzione, l'obiettivo dell'agile volume è indagare la multiforme e suggestiva attività di «danzatori acrobatici, equilibristi e giocolieri, burattinai, trampolisti e funamboli, prestigiatori e fachiri, domatori e addestratori di animali, financo agli incantatori di serpenti esibitisi, tra pubblico e privato, nell'ambito delle antiche civiltà semitica e ittita, egizia e degli Hyksos, cretese ed ellenica, etrusca, magnogreca e siceliota, romana» (p. 10). Pratiche che potremmo quasi definire senza spazio e senza tempo, e che infatti è possibile ammirare ancora oggi, in molti casi senza marcate differenze rispetto all'antichità, sotto la tenda di un circo itinerante o nei nostri paesi o città durante feste tradizionali dal sapore popolare.

Proprio per tali considerazioni, l'approccio alla ricerca, di indiscutibile attualità, appare solo ad uno giudizio superficiale troppo ampio o generalizzato. In realtà, come è confermato dallo scorrere delle pagine, si rivela criterio di lavoro proficuo, perché dimostra come le stesse *perfomances* non solo siano state trasmesse e risultino analoghe nello svolgimento a più popolazioni del mondo antico, ma abbiano trovato diffusione nelle regioni intorno al Mediterraneo per più secoli, conservando significativamente molti dei tratti formali e funzionali delle origini. Basta pensare, ad esempio, a prassi ludiche come le evoluzioni sul toro, praticate secondo regole analoghe da Oriente ad Occidente, e da una fase molto risalente fino alla fine dell'Antichità. Un Oriente che, con le sue tradizioni, appare fino ai nostri giorni fucina inesauribile di giochi e di capacissimi acrobati e giocolieri, le cui abilità del resto risultano nelle fonti antiche più apprezzate ed accolte rispetto all'Occidente. Al riguardo una contrapposizione - rilevata dall'autore in relazione all'avanzata età imperiale romana (p. 14) - è piuttosto emblematica: «Per aver portato con sé nell'Urbe, di ritorno dalla guerra partica nel 165 d.C., attori, suonatori, pantomimi, buffoni e giocolieri siriani, Lucio Vero veniva aspramente criticato nella *Historia Augusta*…mentre nella corte di Bisanzio alla condanna cristiana del teatro classico fece riscontro il favore ottenuto da danzatori e mimi siriani e arabi, insieme a giocolieri, acrobati, e danzatori provenienti dall'Asia centrale».

Il procedere nella ricerca di Todisco è scandito certo dalla segnalazione di alcune epigrafi ma, soprattutto, dalla continua integrazione tra fonti letterarie ed iconografiche: un orientamento metodologico che, per le tematiche ludiche in generale, risulta efficace proprio per la ricchezza dei *testimonia* superstiti, ben più rari ed avari, come è noto, per altre realtà ed ambiti del mondo antico. Un criterio di cui io stesso ho potuto verificare l'utilità nello studio sul Circo Massimo di Roma, dove ho ugualmente cercato di collegare/coordinare la documentazione scritta e le numerose testimonianze figurative sui *circenses* celebrati nel più grande edificio per spettacoli dell'Impero romano. Proprio dal riesame di una delle tante testimonianze iconografiche raccolte, consegue uno dei risultati più interessanti del lavoro: un'anfora attribuita al Pittore dell'Altalena del 540-520 a.C., ora nella Collezione Logie (G32), attesta infatti l'uso in Grecia di trampoli lignei già nel VI secolo a.C., laddove la tradizione scritta non fa menzione di trampolieri prima del II secolo d.C. (p. 94).

Ora, proprio la ricchezza documentaria superstite dimostra la popolarità e l'importanza di queste *performances* nella quotidianità. Le pagine del libro, dunque, illustrano un aspetto solo apparentemente secondario della vita delle società antiche: in realtà, come l'autore dimostra, questi giochi erano particolarmente diffusi sia in ambito pubblico che privato, e potevano scandire situazioni/momenti importanti nelle dinamiche sociali e religiose delle comunità. Spettacoli, infatti, che venivano realizzati a caro prezzo in occasione di feste e banchetti privati, e che contribuivano alla felice autorappresentazione di fronte al popolo o agli ospiti dei personaggi di alto rango che li offrivano. Tuttavia, per

ricordare solo uno dei casi più significativi, l'intervento di *thaumatopoioi* è attestato a Delo anche in occasione delle feste religiose dell'isola, a riaffermare quindi lo strettissimo legame tra *performances* ludiche in generale e celebrazione collettiva degli dei. Un legame ben leggibile in numerose scene dipinte delle ceramiche attiche o italiote, esaurientemente interpretate dal Todisco, dove evidente, infatti, può risultare «il valore simbolico della giocoleria in relazione alla sfera sacrale» (p. 103).

Soprattutto nel mondo greco, ma non solo, prove di abilità erano collegate a iniziazioni e a passaggi di *status* celebrati nel corso di festività: l'autore, ad esempio, ricorda l'ormai celebre salto dipinto nell'*aryballos* corinzio - verosimilmente votivo - di Pyrrhias (G30) e lega con acume alla *euandria*, uno dei momenti delle Grandi Panatenee, vasi attici e italioti della forma panatenaica nei quali figurano uomini armati su cavalli in movimento (pp. 93-94). Come importanti momenti delle Grandi Panatenee, del resto, vanno ricordate altre prove di abilità quali le lampadedromie e la pirrica, danza quest'ultima strettamente collegata alla sfera bellica. Meno realistica, ma più mediata e simbolica, appare invece la rappresentazione di contorsioni ed equilibrismi, prevalentemente femminili, collegati nelle immagini alle sfere di Eros ed Afrodite, di Dioniso (pp. 96-97). Significati simbolici che, come Todisco sottolinea (p. 97), si affievoliscono a partire dalla seconda metà del V secolo a.C., in concomitanza con la graduale 'professionalizzazione' di queste *performances* e dei loro interpreti.

Un altro risultato della ricerca, infatti, è aver fatto il punto sul ruolo sociale di questi professionisti dell'azione estrema, dell'illusione, del divertimento. Uomini ma anche donne, quasi mai apprezzati dagli autori greci e latini, ovviamente demonizzati dagli scrittori cristiani, erano, tranne rare eccezioni, stranieri itineranti di bassa condizione che si esibivano a pagamento. Del tutto straordinario il caso - ricordato da Ateneo - di Aristonico di Caristo, *sphairistes* di Alessandro, al quale fu concessa la cittadinanza ateniese e il privilegio di una statua; o, per il periodo romano, il caso del *pilarius* Ursus, giocoliere popolarissimo che ebbe l'onore del ritratto durante l'età adrianea (p. 24).

In sintonia con la specializzazione professionale di questi artisti, assistiamo dunque ad un profondo cambiamento dei messaggi sottesi alle rappresentazioni figurative delle esibizioni di acrobati e illusionisti. Come Todisco avverte (p. 106), ormai la produzione artigianale di età romano-imperiale è orientata soprattutto ad evidenziare il puro divertimento e la *liberalitas* di chi questo divertimento promuove, in particolare del *princeps*. È già emblematico il cambiamento avvenuto nella concezione simbolica del binomio prodezza-morte: espressione nelle immagini dell'artigianato preromano di esponenti di una classe dominante che celebra enfaticamente la propria dipartita e/o la propria eroizzazione (tombe dipinte etrusche, ciste prenestine, ecc.); quindi crudele strumento di propaganda dell'onnipotenza dinastica, piegato come le altre forme di spettacolo alle logiche del consenso di massa.

Il circo, tuttavia, come metafora cosmica, non mancherà di celebrare ancora le sue divinità e di veicolare, con i propri monumenti e giochi, significati simbolici connessi all'*Aeternitas* dinastica ed imperiale. Una metafora che risulterà preziosa non solo nella realizzazione dei *coemeteria subteglata* di Roma - dall'allusiva pianta circiforme -, ma che verrà esportata significativamente a Bisanzio, in Oriente, dove la tradizione delle corse circensi resterà viva per secoli, fino al XIV secolo ed al Principato di Kiev. Un percorso dunque inverso rispetto ai tanti *prodigi e prodezze* di origine levantina trasmessi nel tempo all'Occidente, che comunque impiegherà a sua volta, per secoli, quelle antiche immagini di acrobati e giocolieri. Infatti, come scrive Todisco (p. 11), «il Medioevo non dimenticò affatto l'iconografia delle *performances* comprese in questo libro, la quale fu acquisita e utilizzata ampiamente in Europa anche nelle decorazioni di chiese e cattedrali, non di rado interessate da spettacoli cui spesso il clero non si sottraeva dal partecipare. La sua funzione simbolica in questi contesti religiosi è discussa, partendo dall'ambiguità tra condanna e condivisione che traspare dalle fonti scritte in relazione al rapporto instauratosi tra la chiesa medioevale e gli spettacoli di estrazione pagana. Il fenomeno non appare, tuttavia, strano se lo si contestualizza nella prassi del largo riuso medioevale di iconografie e materiali romani, funzionale a propagandare in generale il messaggio simbolico del trionfo del Cristianesimo sulla trascorsa cultura pagana».

Il libro - il cui sottotitolo, Oriente e Occidente, appare per i temi trattati sicuramente efficace - è dedicato al ricordo del grande W. Deonna, studioso attentissimo alle persistenze dell'antichità nella storia europea e nel presente. Autore de *Le symbolisme de l'acrobatie antique* (1953), crediamo che avrebbe letto con interesse le pagine di questo contributo.

Francesco Marcattili

MASSIMILIANO DI FAZIO, *Feronia. Spazi e tempi di una dea dell'Italia centrale antica*. Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 2013. 145 pp, 18 figs; 24 cm. – ISBN 978-88-7140-520-9.

This flawlessly edited and very readable book is the elaboration of studies published by M. Di Fazio in 2012 under the titles 'I luoghi di culto di Feronia. Ubicazioni e funzioni', *AnnFaina* 19, 379-408, and 'Feronia. The Role of an Italic Goddess in the Process of Cultural Integration in Republican Italy', in S.T. Roselaar (ed.), *Processes of Integration and Identity Formation in the Roman Republic*. Leiden/Boston, 337-354. The author tries to reconstruct the original profile of the non-Roman goddess Feronia whose name is of uncertain etymology and to highlight the dynamics of her cult, not by a conventional chronological presentation of all the literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources, but by a topographical approach (p. 14-15). He presumes different depths of cult. Remarkably, he first deals with possible 'secondary' cult places at Rome (*Feronia in Campo* = temple C in Largo Argentina?), Narni, Septempeda, Pesaro, Rimini (?), Bagnacavallo (*Faventia*), Aquileia and Histria, and Strabo's enigmatic *Pheronia polis* on Sardinia. He holds that Feronia was probably introduced in Rome at the beginning of the 3rd century BC (p. 20-21). From there Roman colonists, with or without *Italici*, 'exported' her to places along the direc-

tion of the *via Flaminia* in the third, second and first centuries BC (p. 24). Romans or Faliscans introduced her on Sardinia (Rio Posada). People of low status, for example *ancillae*, worshipped her in Rome. Varro holds that Feronia was 'from the Sabines.' Coins of Petronius Turpilianus showing the head of Feronia with a diadem (not a vegetal wreath! (p. 114)), date to the end of the 1st century BC. Since some Petronii had a Sabine origin, the goddess is argued to have the same roots (p. 23). In the next chapter places of 'primary presence' are dealt with, in other words places where Feronia would have been 'from the beginnings' (pp. 15; 39): Loreto Aprutino and Teramo in the Abruzzo; Amiterno, Aveia Vestina, Rieti in 'Alta Sabina' and Reatino; Trebula Mutuesca, *Lucus Feroniae*; Palestrina and Terracina. Volscians could have introduced Feronia in Palestrina and Terracina in Latium. The author presumes that the *Lucus Feroniae*, judging from its rich literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence, was a cultic epicenter from the archaic period onwards (p. 56). It was a rich multi-ethnic grove, asylum and marketplace visited by Sabines, Romans, Latins, *Capenates,* Faliscans, and Etruscans. A main center, if it existed at all, cannot be identified. Di Fazio concludes that Feronia was an interethnic deity, rather than being only Sabine (p. 91). In the two following chapters he pays attention to Feronia as worshipped in sub- or extra-urban places and her presumed male partners as worshipped on high places, for example, Iuppiter Anxurus on Monte S. Angelo at Terracina, Soranus on Mons Soracte, Iuppiter Cacunus in Trebula Mutuesca, Pater Turpenus in Praeneste, and Pater Reatinus in Reatino. Though these chapters are suggestive, there is no hard evidence for these local 'systems', since no text or inscription mentions the supposed divine couples. In addition, there is no indication that two cults in or near one city or settlement were founded at the same date. The next chapter is dedicated to 'religious ecology' and sacred landscapes, especially groves. The chapter with conclusions is presented according to M. Lipka's concepts of space, time, personnel, function, iconography and ritual (*Roman Gods: A Conceptual Approach*, Leiden/Boston 2009). With regard to space, Feronia's cult places would <u>all</u> be related to *luci* (sacred groves; see below), springs, other clean waters and roads, in boundary areas between different communities (p. 111); with regard to time, it may be no coincidence that her *dies natalis* on 13 November in the calendar of the *Fratres Arvales* coincides with that of Fortuna; with regard to personnel, some titles of priests, priestesses and a *collegium* of *aquatores* are known, but only from the imperial period; with reference to function, the goddess protected nature, waters, markets and slaves, freedpersons, the latter persons, however, only in some places in the later period; with regard to iconography, the sacred places do not show convincing *comparanda* for the coin images mentioned above (*pace* Di Fazio's optimistic identifications); with regard to rituals, inscriptions and texts give little information: in *Lucus Feroniae* the goddess received *primitiae*, probably the vegetal first crops. It appears to be difficult to reconstruct Feronia's original profile.

The book has two appendices, one containing literary sources in chronological order, and one containing thirty three, unfortunately undated, Latin inscriptions in topographical order, regrettably without translation, and an excellent bibliography. An index is missing.

Some other critical remarks should be added. The fundamental problem of this research is that only few of the sacred places mentioned are well documented, so the evidence is unbalanced. Only two places can be called *lucus* with certainty, *Lucus Feroniae* and *Lucus Pisaurensis* (the latter thanks to a terracotta boundary marker with graffito, see E. Peruzzi, *I Romani di Pesaro e I Sabini di Roma*, Rome 1990, 127-133). Di Fazio's suggestion that the trajectory of the *via Flaminia* (made in 220 BC) was important for the colonization of central and northern Italy is questionable since Narnia and Ariminum were already founded as *coloniae* in 299 and 268 BC. The author states that no inscription is older than the second century BC (p. 112). However, some inscriptions from the *Lucus Feroniae* containing the dialectical form Feronea (Appendix 2, nos 1-2, 4-8) probably predate Hannibal's raids in 211 BC. Interestingly, the curious words *af luc(o)* ('[to Feronea] from the grove') in no 5 are also present in an inscription from the *Lucus Dianius* at Nemi (*CIL* I.2444) which dates to the second half of the third century BC. Notwithstanding this criticism, Di Fazio's book is important as it employs a new, unconventional approach which throws some light on the 'birth, growth and death' of a goddess and her cults.

L. Bouke van der Meer

Gareth Sears, Peter Keegan, Ray Laurence (eds), *Written Space in the Latin West, 200 BC to AD 300*. London/New York: Bloomsbury, 2013. 293 pp., 54 figs, 24 cm. – ISBN 978-1-441-2304-6.

This carefully edited volume presents a collection of thirteen case studies dedicated to the concept of written space in the western part of the Roman world from the late Republic until late antiquity. Some were presented at Roman Archaeology Conferences in Ann Arbor and Michigan in 2009 but adapted by request of the editors. The book focuses on monumental Latin inscriptions and non-official graffiti and their text bearers, in other words their material, urban or suburban context. By way of foreword R. Laurence and G. Sears explain the structure and aims of the book: to cast light upon mobility, society (especially the relation between local elites, population and imperial power and the introduction of 'Roman-ness'), buildings (baths, *plateae*), and regions (Italy, Spain, Gaul and Africa). In the section called 'writing, reading, movement and time' M. Corbier presents an excellent, introductory chapter: on writing in Roman public space. It is the English translation of her article in *L'Urbs* in 1987 and the first chapter of her book *Donner à voir, donner à lire* (Paris 2006). P. Keegan deals with inscriptions in funerary space around Rome and near Portus (Isola Sacra). D.J. Newsome studies graffiti as used for advertising, written at night, to be read in the following morning. R. Hannah enlightens the concept of time in written spaces, particularly the oldest calendars (*fasti*).

In the section 'Written space and social groups,' T. Hillard shows that the political graffiti of the Late Roman Republic, containing subversive messages, could influence politicians. R. Senna-Garrafoni and R. Laurence explain the meaning of graffiti in Pompeian buildings, exploring the role of children and gladiators. Columns were preferred text bearers, probably because these were seen as symbols of power. E. Hemelrijk explains how elite women entered written space in the city. She proves that their role was mainly that of benefactors. E. Baldwin, H. Moulden and R. Laurence identify the places of slaves and children in the Villa di San Marco at Stabiae, using the techniques of convex map analysis and terrestrial laser scanning. In the section 'Written space and building type' F. Trifilò explains the meaning of the word *platea* in urban communities. He shows that it changed from broad street to square or a combination of both, used as a place to show deeds of benefaction. A.E. Cooley makes clear that monumental inscriptions in baths mention benefactors, *splendor* and the pleasures of bathing. In the last section 'Regional written spaces?' G. Sears pays attention to Severan inscriptions in North African cities. They testify to the growth of public space in the second and third centuries. S. Esmonde Cleary compares the nature and frequency of inscriptions from three cities of Aquitania, Bordeaux, Périgueux and Saintes. L. Revell shows that the political inscriptions (also on bronze tablets) from *fora* in non-colonial places of Roman Baetica (Munigua, Singillia Barbo and Baelo Claudia) contributed to 'Roman-ness.' In the afterword P. Keegan pays attention to the influence of space on perception and vice versa, based on the outcome of the essays. Bibliography, index and illustrations are useful. The volume *L'écriture publique du poivoir* (Bordeaux 2005) edited by A. Brisson, A.-M. Cocula, and C. Pébarthe is the only one not mentioned. It is impossible to criticize all chapters. In my view the modern concept of written space (not present in Latin texts) is not defined and its use can be disputed. The monumental inscriptions dealt with do not mention or refer to urban spaces, apart from *plateae*. They rather belong to a space, without creating or shaping a space. For example, statue bases with inscriptions were placed in a forum when it once was already there. They rather shed light on the question of for whom a statue was placed. In addition, the graffiti may indicate which space in a building was used by whom but they do not mention – let alone, define - the space itself. Keegan's suggestion that cemeteries are related to centuriation (pp. 52-54) is not proved by any epigraphic evidence. The tomb inscriptions mention widths and depths in feet but not a Latin word for plot. To conclude, the book is a challenging documentation of interdisciplinary research which also casts light upon aspects of power, communication, commemoration, identity, self-expression and self-representation. It will interest not only epigraphers, classicists, and ancient historians but also archaeologists, certainly in view of the spatial archaeological research which was carried out at Pompeii and Stabiae.

L. Bouke van der Meer

Rita Amedick, Heide Froning, Winfred Held (eds), *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm 2014*. Marburg: Eigenverlag des Archäologischen Seminars der Philipps-Universität, 2014. 162 pp., many ills; 30.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-8185-0513-4.

This volume forms the restart of an old prestigious annual series of miscellaneous studies, mainly by archaeologists working at or connected with the Marburg archaeological institute. Since it is a sort of colleague annual of *BABESCH*, there is no need to discuss all texts in detail here. The greater share of this well edited and nicely produced volume is dedicated to one of the editors herself (!), Heide Froning and presents six papers from a 2009 round table organized in her honour, circling around 'Die griechische Polis und ihre Kulte'. Helga Bumke analyses the reason of recycling archaic statues in Miletus and neighboring sanctuaries through the Hellenistic age. This recycling consisted of restoring beheaded statues by the insertion of new heads in new, especially made sockets, and the addition of inscriptions and even from much later date Christian crosses. With good reasons, Bumke argues that the old sculptures conveyed extra prestige to these cult centers thanks to their antiquity. Taner Korkut presents a sound overview of coinage from Tlos from the early classical to the Roman era and focuses on the images of deities: these barely represent cults specifically practiced in this Lycian town, but show gods venerated in entire Lycia. Wanda Papaefthymiou and Rosalia Christodoulopoulou, who work on the sanctuary of Asklepios on the south slope of Athens' Acropolis, present a study of the small temple. On the basis of a meticulous analysis of the preserved building blocks they distinguish three phases. The last one would be after the attack on Athens of AD 267 by the Herulians, which testifies to a continuation of this cult until the domination of Christianity. Semeli Pingiatoglou gives an overview of cults at Dion and makes clear that the concentration of sanctuaries *extra muros*, at the south side of the town, has to do with the existence of pre-urban cults. Although few remains thereof are at hand, this proposal sounds very plausible. Yet, it is strange not to find cult centers within the city walls connected with the same cults. Alan Shapiro seeks correspondences in iconography and composition between early 5th-century Attic vases and later Attic votive stelae, which he consider justified despite the chronological lacuna. Indeed, some comparisons are very convincing and might give clues as to sources and reciprocal influences of the two media.

Most of these contributions are brief and refer to previous studies by the same authors, so that their character is more that of a summary than of original contributions. This is not true for the thorough paper on a vase of the Meidias Painter partly reconstructed from more than 100 small shards found at the sanctuary of the Nymphs not far from the Asklepios sanctuary mentioned before. Michalis Tiverios recognizes scenes from the myth of Phaeton (whose name is preserved next to a radiated crown) and connects this representation with a tragedy by Euripides, also only

known in fragmentary state. In this work Phaeton should marry Aphrodite, who is represented twice on the vase; in a chariot next to Phaeton on side A and as a bride accompanied by Athena below these chariots. The representation would demonstrate that the old reconstruction of Euripides' play by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff was correct. Tiverios observes a continuous narration thanks to a double presence of Phaeton and Aphrodite. There is some confusion in the description regarding the direction in which the chariot of the 'second' Phaeton on side B is moving (p. 71: to the left, p. 78: to the right, but see p. 74, Zeichnung 2).

As to the three other articles, two deal with the Near East. Klaus Stefan Freyberger discusses the architecture of Hellenistic-Roman sanctuaries in the south of Syria and Winfred Held studies Seleucidian temples in modern Syria and Iraq as well as Afganistan (see map at p. 144) formatted after Babylonian architectural rules. The longest paper is editor Rita Amedick's contribution about the alleged 'Small Barbarians', forming the text of her inaugural address as full professor in Marburg. She argues that these sculptures, now scattered over various collections, are no copies of the lost Pergamene anathema on the Acropolis in Athens, as is generally assumed, but were made at the beginning of the 2nd century BC in Rome. These originals may have formed a monument composed on behalf of the Scipio family to commemorate their victories in Carthage and Syria. The *horti Scipionis* at the northern slope of the Quirinal would house these sculpture in a free arrangement, suggesting a full battle in which the Romans would be invisible, while attacking from above, and the victims ('Gauls', 'Amazons' and 'Barbarians', in fact all representing the oriental and/or Punic enemies) lying on the ground. This is a provocative and very attractive reading of these hitherto puzzling sculptures. Amedick sees them as an expression of the increasing Roman self-awareness as conquerors of the Mediterranean world. This genre can be encountered in other branches of art from the same era, e.g. on Etruscan urns, and would vanish after the time of Pompey, to return in the 2nd century A.D. The explanation of the gap as the result of the classicizing trend of the Augustan era (p. 111) does not yet convince me, but the article is true stuff for further discussion.

Apparently there are no editorial rules, which leads to different ways of note references in the single contributions (with/without bibliography, old/new DAI system of references). We wish the editors a prosperous future and hope that the closeness of the circle of contributors may be opened by widening the aim of the series.

Eric M. Moormann

Mathilde Carrive, Marie-Adeline le Guennec, Lucia Rossi (eds), *Aux sources de la Méditerranée antique*. Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2014. 282 pp., ills; 24 cm (Héritages méditerranéens). – ISBN 978-2-85399-928-1.

In this book, fifteen 'jeunes chercheurs en sciences de l'Antiquité' from various countries discuss the question of (material, literary, documentary) sources, their validity, completeness or fragmentary status, the (im)potentiality of reciprocal use, and scholarly approaches. The themes cover a wide array of *Altertumswissenschaft* matters; most paper are on archaeology, which justifies a presentation in *BABESCH*. The book is comparable to J. Hall's *Artifact and Artifice: Classical Archaeology and the Ancient Historian* (Chicago 2014), on the tension between archaeology and ancient history and the employment of sources in these (distinct) disciplines. A.-F. Jaccottet's essay is a theoretical approach of the problem of sources in classical studies: 'sources' don't exist, but are fabricated by ourselves, in which process we model the data according to our own frame. She illustrates this in an analysis of the 'lieu connu' of the Athenian Agora around 337/336 B.C., then shaped on the basis of democratic rules like *isonomia*.

The first section, on the constitution of the 'corpus documentaire', starts with N.V. Hidalgo tackling the fragmentary state of knowledge in her study of fragments of Asclepiades' *Tragodumena* on Neoptolemos in Delphi. This commentary on Pindar's *Nemean Ode* 7.42 has the character of a *scholion* and the question is whether it quotes or reflects Asclepiades' text in a trustworthy way. A. Petrucci analyses Byzantine sources regarding the Hippodrome in Constantinople. These texts never highlight the same elements, but single out historical, archaeological or architectural aspects. A 9th-century *Ecloga* praises its foundation in AD 330, while a 1489 description has interest in the obelisks; Malalas concentrates on other things. Petrucci makes clear how we should filter these different approaches in order to obtain the maximum of information and to understand the choices made in these texts. In a section on post-antique documents, V. Barrière studies 19th-century sources regarding the city gates of ancient Augustodunum and observes that Stendhal copied notes from previous publications in what is a vivid, but mock autopsy of the monument during a trip to Autun he probably never made. The relevance of this discovery for archaeology does not become clear unless one sees Stendhal's brief and 'romantic' 1838 *Mémoires d'un touriste* as a serious source. E. Jerray returns to old excavations in southern Tunisian Zitha (modern Henchir Zian), where various campaigns of research were carried out during the French colonial occupation, exploring ancient roads and borders. Roman interventions were then seen as acts of civilization in a primitive country, quite predictably like those of the French in the 1880s, but also served to establish good places for new agricultural activities in succession of the Romans. Paul Gauckler practiced 'experimental archaeology' (p. 83) in order to reconstruct agricultural systems. Modern research has yielded the existence of 'humble' remains of a Roman amphora factory; 'simple' ceramics did not meet the interest of the old excavators. L. Phialon reviews the early studies on Minoan and Mycenean civilization and their growth to maturity in the run of some 140 years. She demonstrates how some data were manipulated or objects too heavily restored (snake goddess, p. 103 fig. 4). She could have profited from C. Gere's *Knossos and the Prophets of Modernism* (Chicago 2009).

Section 3 is on methodology of how using sources to reconstruct the lost past. B. da Vela examines old and new studies on ancient educational systems, in which archaeology merely serves papyrologists to obtain papyri. A small quibble: the famous representation of a school in Trier is not on a stela (p. 118), but on the side of a huge funerary monument. In her paper on the sanctuary of Santa Venera outside Paestum, C. Grüner asks whether there is hard evidence for attributing it to Aphrodite. She points out that various classes of data like statuettes, coins, inscriptions, ceramics, each have their own bias. Even if the sanctuary was dedicated to Aphrodite, the archaeologist should study all forms of evidence with a critical view and not easily admit that many objects are as 'unmistakable' as they look like. The dossier of the Carthage excavations at the beginning of the 20th century, studied by É. Letellier, makes clear that Gauckler's notes on the excavation of the theater show his sensibility for its position within the urban situation.

The following sections return to literary sources, with contributions by M. Hoohs on the mobility of early Christian lower clerics in northern Africa, and L. Rossi on Roman property in ancient Egypt as gleaned from papyri. Semantic studies on the signification of *stabulum* and *pergula* by M.-A. Le Guennec and J. Schoeaert try to connect these words with buildings in Pompeii and Ostia respectively. *Stabulum* may refer to a stable connected with a modest hotel or bar, *pergula* pertains to first-floor accommodations and/or balconies. Schoevaert extensively analyzes the *Forschungsgeschichte* on *pergulae*. In the last section we return to monuments with the question: Can we look through the ancients' eyes? L. Garnier writes on *prospectus* or view axes in villas and houses, especially studied in combination with house façades. Views, for instance those towards the sea, are framed by doors or windows and domesticate the object or landscape seen. Garnier combines information from texts and architectural evidence and comes to promising results about the significance of views in Roman architecture. Finally, editor M. Carrive sees possibilities in the use of texts to comprehend decorative systems, although never described in detail in any source known to us. While praising Sauron's intellectual and allegorical reading of late Republican murals in the sense of 'archéologie du regard', she pleas for caution in the juxtaposition of (seemingly) similar data from texts and murals. In both texts (e.g. Aulus Gellius and Fronto) and paintings one observes an eclectic combination or juxtaposition of old and new elements, which gives these expressions a characteristic mixture.

Most papers have a high degree of theoretical approach. As the authors state themselves, these are works in progress, from which we may expect a great deal of new stimuli for research. Texts are in English, German, and (mostly) French, abstracts are in French and Italian or English. Unfortunately, illustrations are few, of poor quality, and in some papers they lack, while they would have illuminated the understanding of the author's reasoning. Nevertheless, despite its modest appearance, the book is highly recommendable.

Eric M. Moormann

CHRYSTINA HÄUBER, *The Eastern Part of the Mons Oppius in Rome. The Sanctuary of Isis et Serapis in Regio III, the Temples of Minerva Medica, Fortuna Virgo and Dea Syria, and the Horti of Maecenas.* Rome: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2014. 984 pp, 277 ills, DVD with 18 plans; 28 cm (Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma. Supplementi, 22). – ISBN 978-88-913-0492-6.

This huge volume is the summa of a life-long study on the Oppius-Esquiline in Rome, an area devastated archaeologically at the end of the 19th century, when building houses for the new employees of the young Italian nation was booming business and archaeologists like Rodolfo Lanciani were not able to keep pace with the workmen in recording structures and objects subject to destruction. The former Superintendent of the Communal Archaeological Service of Rome and a great scholar on Roman topography, E. La Rocca, sketches Häuber's *Werdegang*, beginning with a PhD thesis on the topic in 1986 (published in 1991) and followed by many contributions (see bibliography, pp. 907-909). Over the last years, the FORTVNA project, executed in collaboration with Franz Xaver Schütz, has enriched the research with the production of careful maps. Häuber explains her work as "holistic", while taking into account many scholarly disciplines next to archaeology and art history. She hopes to recontextualize old finds from this area by analyzing the 'potential' of texts and maps (pp. 1-27). In the methodological introduction the making of these maps is meticulously explained. The maps are not printed in the volume but can be consulted on a DVD, which is not very practical, when one has no electronic device at hand and considering the rapid outdating of this device.

The book is articulated into two parts: A (with three chapters and ten appendices) being dedicated to the topography, especially of the Horti Maecenatis and some temples, B (with 35 chapters numbered B1 etc.) to selected locations and finds. Two brief contributions on epigraphic matters by E. Gautier di Confiengo and D. Valentino conclude this huge study. There are indices of ancient sources, inscriptions and selected finds, while the author also provides explanations of the plans in a separate section. The enormous bibliography counts 62 pages (pp. 883-945).

The book has a complicated structure and repeats or picks up identical topics at different places. Despite the cross references and repetitions of arguments the reasoning is no easy reading. After perusing the whole book, I think that it is advisable to read the chapters A I-III and their appendices in combination with B1-35, that is, to integrate the second part into the reasoning of the first part at the moments a cross reference is given. Unfortunately, there is no topographical index (but, happily, there are good internal cross references), so that it is not easy for a reader who cannot consult all 900 pages, to find observations on the specific monument she or he is looking for. Of course the four monuments listed in the subtitle are the main foci, but a lot more comes to the fore. One would like a brief overview of the book's structure, and a summary of the

results (but see p. 10 and pp. 228-237). It is clear that the long working process as well as the enormous amount of data to be taken into account have left their traces.

The area studied comprises the former properties of Maecenas known as the Horti Maecenatis, more or less circumscribed by the eastern half of the Oppius and Esquiline, between Via Labicana in the south and Via Napoleone III in the north, and Domus Aurea in the West and Via E. Filiberto in the East (see fig. 23). The author does not define a time frame, but it is clear that the chronological focus lies on the time of Augustus and subsequent phases. Some late-antique phases are discussed as well. There is an ample discussion of the temple of Fortuna Virgo (pp. 130-134 and B11-12). This cult, later equal to that of Minerva Medica, was founded by Servius Tullius, and included ritual baths of brides before marriage. In this context, Häuber refuses to see in the 'Venus Esquilina' a portrait of Cleopatra, and interprets her as a bride preparing for a ritual bath during the festivities for Venus Verticordia or, better and in accordance with the topography, Fortuna Virgo. The attractive point is that some other statues of young women (B29, figs 19-20) and the Knucklebone player (fig. 107) stem from this area and might also refer to the girls' passage to adulthood. She dates the Venus to the Antonine period on the basis of various stylistic criteria, which do not convince me. Personally, I see a Claudian-Vespasian treatment of folds and eyes (cfr. p. 746 note 16). A learned but not entirely relevant section is dedicated to the motif of *diadoumenoi*, nudity, and the meaning of these aspects.

From smaller and larger 'bits' Häuber is able to reconstruct a huge Iseum on the Oppius (the area was called 'Isis et Serapis' and the monument was the largest Iseum in town, p. 228), including the 'Porticus with piscina' (AI.1), the structures in the Via Pasquale Villari, Vigna Reinach, etc. It was located within the pomerium and probably founded by Nero (pp. 6, 184, 230, and AII.6: maybe Neronian). Various Egyptian and eyptianizing columns (granite, coloured marbles), terracotta cult lamps, statues (e.g. those described in Appendix I.5, III, B3) were found there from the Renaissance onwards. It is not the same as the Iseum Metellinum individualized by some scholars in Via Pasquale Villari. According to Häuber, these remains are of the Temple of Minerva Medica (p. 110), her second main monument, whereas the Iseum Metellinum would lay on the Caelius (p. 88; AII.5). The relief of the Tomb of the Haterii showing buildings made by this family, includes, as we know, the *Arcus ad Isis* under which stands a large statue of Minerva. Partly on the basis of older discussions as well as her own detective work, Häuber succeeds in interpreting this image as the entrance to this temple complex from the south (Via Labicana),where it replaced the Porta Querquetulana (cf. p. 790). The statue within the central arch might be connected with that of fig. 118, to be seen as a *synnaos theos* of Isis (B31-32), whereas Isis (right) and Osiris (left) stand in the secondary arches (fig. 117A, Appendix VIII). The 'Porticus with Piscina' dates to the era of Commodus, while other elements are much older (e.g. a round Republican nymphaeum interpreted as the Fons Muscosus, pp. 75, 79). The Forum of Petronius Maximus came on top of the 'Porticus with Piscina' and possibly the Vigna Reinach in 443-445 (pp. 98, 106) and obliterated pagan remains. Isis' husband and principal Egyptian deity Osiris was probably venerated in the same Iseum. A peculiar statue (fig. 111; B19) represents him as *chronokrator*, master of time, with a large snake winding up around the lower part of Osiris' body symbolizing Aion.

Drawings of a stuccoed ceiling from the Flavian period (seen, in accordance with other scholars as Neronian by Häuber, p. 155, fig. 7) iconographically refer to the cult of Isis. Häuber misses important clues as to the Isis cult in these images, but she does not take into account that the drawing only presents half of the ceiling, with the now protruding coffer as the central part. Therefore, it originally might contain many more allusions to the cult. So the absence of Serapis (p. 511) does not say that he was not venerated in the complex at that time.

In B16 Häuber tries to reconstruct the cult statue of Isis, parting from a marble base (fig. 9A). Its reliefs include the virtues of Fortuna and show Roman rather than Egyptian features. In her very learned analysis of the iconography of the reliefs, however, the reader will not find a proof or (at least) plausible hint to the veracity of this hypothesis.

In AII.6 Häuber discusses various female deities venerated next to Minerva and Isis, such as Dea Syria, Astarte and other fertility goddesses. Hitherto Dea Syria was mainly known from a sanctuary in Trastevere. The cult might have been founded by Nero, in the area east from the eastern border of his Golden House properties. Each figure gets its share based on information from various sources, so that the main line of reasoning is heavily obscured by the innumerable details given.

AIII is dedicated to 'less proven' hypotheses, especially to the famous 'Venus Esquilina' and the Commodus flanked by two Tritons. Both were found hidden on purpose. The Commodus bust was a votive offering and 'Andachtsbild' (p. 227; B25) erected by Septimius Severus. Therefore, it was no prey of what we call *damnatio memoriae* as is usually thought. The statues must have had large parts of gilding (there is a very long section on gold and gilding). The apples of the Hesperides should form a symbol of divinization, being objects specific of the gods and not merely one of Hercules' deeds. The chapter gives an exhaustive analysis of all constituents (Amazons, globe, Hercules etc.), which I cannot summarize here. Commodus' commitment with Serapis was known from Alexandria and a huge head of this god might have been part of a statue erected by him in the same Iseum on the Oppian Hill (fig. 10, p. 227). All these statues formed part of the statuary adornment of the Iseum (p. 199) of which many pieces disappeared from Rome towards collections in the USA and northern Europe (e.g. 'Esquiline Group', fig. 67, Copenhagen). Häuber tells us about the scandalous art dealing by men like Lanciani, Paul Arndt and Wolfgang Helbig, which was possible, since the objects belonged to the huge private properties of a certain Mrs Field along nowadays Via Poliziano and Via Merulana, among wich Palazzo Field, nowadays

Palazzo Brancaccio (pp. 207-228). A headless marble statue of a River god (fig. 80A; A II.4; B17) might stem from the pediment of the Minerva temple.

Häuber also reconstructs the track of the Servian Wall at the eastern side of the city of Rome, between the Auditorium of Maecenas' stretch, along the former Via Curva, and down to the Caelius (map 3). She relies on a 1873 report (p. 111-138; discussed in conjunction with the location of various other monuments; Appendix II; cf. fig. 23 and map 17) and improves previous scholarship, especially Säflund's studies. Near the Via Curva, she reconstructs the House of Propertius.

The location of the highly important Fagutal is a hotly debated issue. Häuber summarizes the findings and spots it in the area of the Sette Sale, the highest point of the Oppius, where she also locates the *Turris Maecenatis* (Appendix V). Consequently, there were other prestigious monuments here like the heroon of Servius Tullius and the *figlinae*, before Maecenas established his *horti* in or briefly after 38 (p. 329). Clay pits (*figlinae*), trees (*fagus*, birch, from the *fagutal*) and water conducts provided all material necessary for the production of terracotta objects, both architectural and statuary, during the Republican era.

The infamous *puticuli* or Republican mass graves were allegedly found throughout the area studied, but Häuber makes clear that part of the deep cavities encountered belonged to watering systems of gardens. She has good reasons to argue that vine yards already existed in Maecenas' gardens, and we may refer to their existence in Nero's Golden House (p. 335). Still, Fronto owned them in the 2nd century. That does not mean that there were no graveyards; the find of ceramics allows for the recognition of tombs from the 6th century BC onwards. Maecenas' main *domus* was in the area of the Auditorium, which later became a property of Tiberius. Häuber suggests that his ancestors were active in the terracotta production, having their 'industries' here and in Arezzo (Appendix X).

For many readers the long-winding discussions are no easy reading, since they literally lose their path among the thicket of the hypotheses put forward. These hypotheses show the fascination, but also the futility of some of these aspects of *topografia romana*, a field that has reached a high level, but also leads to nonsensical propositions and ideas, relying on the positivistic reading of ancient sources and (scarce) understudied archaeological remains. Of course, I do not want to blame the author, but signal a difficulty of this field of studies.

Häuber's interest in sculpture is clearly visible on almost all pages and has led to fascinating reconstructions of find spots (and hence antique contexts) and new interpretations and dating proposals of various famous master pieces. Many sculptures were found in 'statue walls', viz. compositions of spolia in late-antique or later constructions. Among them stand out pieces like an Aphrodite head of the type 'Hera Borghese' and a copy of the Arles Aphrodite (B2, figs 61 and 77a), discussed as alternatives of Isis. Even the Augustus Labicana, found not far from it, might stem from the temple's properties (pp. 503-504). Cult statues include the colossal Serapis head and Cerberus, huge copies of prototypes created under Commodus (B3, B26, B28, figs 10-11). Under Commodus would have been invented the Serapis type with the seated Cerberus, but this cannot be substantiated.

Three chapters (B22-24) are dedicated to a series of statues with inscribed bases in Copenhagen, known as the 'Esquiline Group' (figs 67-73). After a discussion of their provenance, which is important for the context, Häuber tackles the problem of chronology. She rejects suggestions about import from Aphrodisias in the early 4th-century AD and connects the high-quality statues with Septimius Severus and his *Ludi Saeculares* of AD 204 or some other event during his empire. There must have been at least eighteen figures (p. 670, inscriptions and fragments lost; five figures exposed). They might have adorned the porticus of the Iseum (so Lanciani and Häuber), or, as suggested by Mette Moltesen and other scholars, a *domus* on top of the Sette Sale (pp. 670-672).

Dionysus and Hercules are his tutelary gods, present in the group (pp. 679-680). As to a colossal head of Isis-Aphrodite-Astarte (B4, fig. 2) Häuber is right in dismissing the identification as Cleopatra, and dates it to the Hellenistic era. She warns us for circular reasoning about chronology and function: since it was in the Iseum of the Oppius and had a dorsal pillar, it should be Egyptian rather than Roman. However, I cannot follow her in refusing a Roman date because of the dorsal pillar, which was imitated in Roman egyptianizing sculpture rather frequently. So, the question of the date is not as easily settled as we may wish.

The reconstruction of the original location of the Laocoon in the House of Titus by Volpe and Parisi (*BCom* 111, 2009 [2010], 81-109) follows Häuber's work on the group (see B17) and has led to a chain of thoughts connected with this presumably Augustan master piece and other statues belonging to the same area which for her is a building within the Gardens of Maecenas. Chapter B17 argues that the Laocoon, the pavonazzetto Marsyas, a baroque portrait of Homer and a head of a Centaur were Augustan creations in a baroque style (figs 15, 81-84) made by the same artists who created the statue groups in Sperlonga. On the basis of her previous research and other studies she demonstrates that these statues decorated in an almost royal (Alexandrinian) way Maecenas' properties. Laocoon is represented as a priest of Apollo with a laurel wreath (fig. 84b), which would imply according to Häuber a fabrication before Vergil's conception of Laocoon as a priest of Neptune. Therefore, we should date him to 38-30 and see him as a reference to the Trojan mythology which was in vigour during the Augustan era. Although this is plausible, this identity is no definitive argument, because Vergil did not cancel previous or other interpretations. Another famous work is the black 'fisher man' in the Louvre (figs 93-94), found before 1594 (p. 538) on the Oppius. Häuber interprets the figure as a votive offering in the sanctuary of the Querquetulanae Virae (next to that of Minerva Media/Fortuna Virgo and the Fons Muscosus); he might represent a person who found health by means of a water cure in these nymphs' realm. Also well-known are the Venus Medici and the Germanicus or Marcellus in the Louvre discussed in B20 (figs 112-113). The Venus was

found in the third quarter of the 16th century near the Baths of Trajan. The man with the tortoise portrayed as a Hermes Logios stems from the Montalto collection, exposed on the Esquiline. Both have signatures by Kleomenos (p. 646) - two different sculptors! - and are Neo-Attic works from the Augustan era. Next to the Venus the already mentioned Osiris chronokrator (figs 111A-B; Appendix IX; B19) came to light. Chapter B18 is dedicated to a relief depicting an egyptianizing sanctuary (fig. 120), which is seen as a possible reflection of the Iseum on the Oppius.

The Augustan painting known as the Aldobrandini Wedding is interpreted as the future partners Helena and Paris in the palace of Menelaos (fig. 156; B30). Aphrodite persuades the not so young Helen to give her love to the Trojan prince. Häuber cautiously proposes a connection with the wedding of Maecenas with Terentia (p. 782), metaphorically set into a Trojan ambience to please the Augustan fashion of the day. Here I think there are no proofs or even indications to assess that. Even if we know the original findspot, we cannot say anything about the original circumstances and setting of the frieze which formed a small part of a grander decoration only.

Finally, a large amount of semiprecious stones and gilded bronze ornaments, known from previous publications, is ascribed to the residence of Maecenas, who was a great lover of gems (Chapter B34). This would imply that they are much older than usually believed and, therefore require a reassessment of interior decoration in the late 1st century BC.

This lengthy, but in respect to the topic still brief review does not do justice to all problems raised by Häuber, but wants to point out the richness of the book. That it is no easy reading (both physically and mentally) should not prevent scholars interested in Roman topography from studying it. It is a highly recommended work that should find a place, despite the high price, in every serious Rome-oriented library.

Eric M. Moormann

Dorian Borbonus, *Columbarium tombs and collective identity in Augustan Rome*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. xvi, 294 pp., figs; 26 cm. – ISBN 978-1-107-03140-1.

This book examines the genesis, development, and use of subterranean tombs which are commonly known as columbaria, since they contain dovecot-like niches for the installment of cinerary urns. The name is ancient, but it is not entirely clear whether it really describes this specific class of tomb buildings, which is rather restricted to the suburbs of Rome (for Ostia, Puteoli, and some other sites, see pp. 146-152). Borbonus makes clear that subterranean columbaria are an Augustan phenomenon as can be concluded from chronological indications at hand in the monuments and their contents They could remain in use until the 2nd century A.D., although visitors of later date sometimes left objects like lamps. The columbaria fascinated renaissance and baroque scholars and artists as dramatic monuments of the glorious Roman past which interest has produced a series of beautiful and sometimes very accurate documentations. Old scholars already made suggestions as to the genesis of the tombs and, as Borbonus makes clear, these hypotheses are so tenacious that they still dominate up to now. The 35 tombs studied in this monograph (Catalog, pp. 163-208) were mainly used by freedmen and slaves and this social delimitations leads to the question whether these people belonged to large *familiae* like those of the emperor (see nicknames like 'Columbarium of Livia') or were erected by *collegia* of people having limited financial means who brought together money for the realization of their ultimate resting places. A peculiarity in comparison with the existing practice is the invisibility of these monuments *sub divo*: their prestige, if there was a matter of prestige, should be sought in other aspects than external monumentality. The introduction addresses these and other questions and clearly opens the contents of the book to the readers.

Chapter 1 contains a thorough analysis of previous studies and interpretations, starting as early as the 15th century (Pirro Ligorio), and comes to the conclusion that all old proposals contain plausible interpretations, such as the importance of economy, the composition of the tombs' inhabitants, and demography as factors that led to their construction, but Borbonus assesses all single arguments. This leads to a valuable study of this limited, but important class of funerary monuments of the Augustan era. Chapter 2 discusses the tombs' topography and architecture. They were situated along *Gräberstraßen*, and accessible from outside via flights of steps. The interior of a columbarium clearly was much more important than the exterior, the latter being barely visible. Borbonus compares the apparent want of intimacy and closure with the architecture of Augustan closed constructions like the *porticus Livia*. The interior wanted to strengthen the 'burial collective' (p. 53). Looking for predecessors, Borbonus makes an excursion throughout the Roman Empire and concludes that the subterraneous tombs of Alexandria and Rhodes are the best candidates. Immigrants could have brought the custom to Rome in the late 1st century B.C. This is plausible, but firm evidence unfortunately lacks. We do not know, for instance, whether members of these specific groups of immigrants were the first and/or principal users of the tombs.

In Chapter 3, Borbonus analyses the use of the columbaria, which provided identical resting places for the deceased only marked by brief epitaphs. Gradually, the tomb chambers got a more varied appearance by the addition of decorations, the extension of niches and the creation of larger funerary monuments like altars and marble urns. This process probably started in the second quarter of the 1st century AD and implied a certain degree of competition. Good - and well analyzed - examples are the Columbarium Codini 1 and 3, and the Columbarium of Pomponius Hylas (see illustration on the dust jacket of the book). Simultaneously, new columbaria were constructed *sub divo*, so that the play of public display in the public domain reached this class of users in the late 1st century.

The epigraphic habits are studied in Chapter 4. Here the advantage of the large number of inscriptions is tem-

pered by the brief and often laconic formula of the texts. However, Borbonus gleans many interesting data, made easily accessible by means of tables, with percentages and main specific details. He observes clusters of families and people belonging to one extended family freed by the same person. Nomenclature, jobs and titles, age and gender mostly confirm data known from other funerary inscriptions as well, so that the columbaria as a rule followed the habits of other funerary monuments. Borbonus warns against a too optimistic use of these testimonies for the study of Roman demography; family bonds can be established in a few cases only. As a sum, epigraphy is less rewarding that one might expect. Egalitarianism apparently asks its price.

The brief Chapter 5 and the Conclusion bring together the various aspects studied and try to define the nature of the occupants of the columbaria. The buildings met the societal demands of the Augustan era and were erected by the groups who buried their members, and not by wealthy elite patrons as is believed by many scholars. Non-elite groups got the possibility to create their own realm, accessible for their peers only, and testified the rigidity of Augustan class society. Inside the tombs, they manifested a great uniformity, expressing unanimity, solidarity and communal feelings, maybe even distinction within the outside class world. *Collegia*, therefore, did not only provide funerals, but gave social shelter to coherent groups of class- and family-related social outsiders. The growing integration of these people in the run of the 1st century caused the disappearance of communal and egalitarian columbaria and the introduction of more individual funerary monuments, either for individuals or smaller groups. At the end of the 2nd century, a new wave of funerary monuments for the non-elite started with the construction of catacombs. Borbonus dedicates some very interesting pages to this last group of communal subterranean burials in Rome. We may compliment Borbonus with this fine and clearly structured study, which brings the modern reader somewhat nearer to a rather anonymous group of socially modest people living and working in Rome at the beginning of the Roman Empire.

Eric M. Moormann

Angelalea Malgieri, *La bottega delle immagini parietali (I sec. a.C. – I sec. d.C.)*. Roma: Scienze e Lettere, 2013. 144 pp., 3 tavole sinottiche, 29 tavole con 75 figg.; 24 cm (Fecit te 3). – ISBN 978-88-6687-0357.

In this book, result of a PhD project realized in Padua under the supervision of Daniela Scagliarini and Monica Salvadori, Angela Malgieri discusses a topic that in recent years has enjoyed great attention, especially in Italy (e.g. D. Esposito, *BABESCH* 82, 2007, 149-164; *Le officine pittoriche di IV stile a Pompei*, Rome 2009). Unfortunately, little attention has been paid to complexes outside the Vesuvian area (for Rome, see N. Zimmermann, *Werkstattgruppen römischer Katakombenmalerei*, Münster 2002; P.G.P. Meyboom/E.M. Moormann, *Le decorazioni dipinte e marmoree della Domus Aurea di Nerone a Roma*, Leuven/Paris/Walpole 2013, chapter 4). Malgieri first briefly summarizes existing studies and criticizes some of them specifically because of the use of the old Morellian method of recognizing individual hands, practiced i.a. in vase painting attributions. She hopes to make clear that a better approach is that of the study of painting techniques and mechanic copying with templates, both in the shape of incision lines (preparatory drawings) and figural schemes.

Chapter II presents a study of the application of some 250 'floating' human figures like Muses, Victories and satyrs (all 4th style). In a considerable amount of these vignettes preparatory drawings in the form of incisions made in the wet plaster can be observed, sometimes indicating parts of the shapes, sometimes entirely outlining the figures and/or giving details within them. She clearly demonstrates the use of templates for the application of these graffiti and recognizes the same templates in different buildings, whereas she also convinces the reader by pointing at mirror images made with one and the same template. There might have been papyri in the form of *Musterbücher* to provide the material for the templates. The graffiti have not incited Malgieri to attribute paintings in different houses to the same painter or painters, which has been considered a valuable method by Esposito. Apart from the graffiti-outlines, she did not study either the painted figures themselves. Interestingly, next to the incisions in the plaster, preparatory drawings were executed with paint, which in general resulted to be of the same pigments used in the final figure.

In chapter III Malgieri discusses *katagraphon*, a *terminus technicus* translated by Pliny as *obliqua imago* (not *katagraphos*; *NH* 35.56 has *catagrapha*, a plural neutrum corresponding with the plural *imagines*). Unfortunately, the many instances of the Greek word and the verb *katagraphein* do not give as much information as one would desire, these words being very general and specific at the same time. There are many misspellings, wrong accents and incorrect *spiritus* in the Greek quotations and the Greek fond is not equal in all texts. The translations are partly indirect versions, made via English editions.

Chapter IV addresses the question of transmission of figural motifs. One case study concerns the stock figure of a standing nude youth used for Pompeian images of Dionysus or Hermaphroditus accompanied by Silenus, Amor or the like. The composition of these images seems to have been a local Pompeian invention, whereas the single figures might stem from different older sources. Malgieri extends her study with an analysis of theatrical scenes, in which research she also involves mosaics. Here only, we have some earlier instances than 4th-style ensembles. She argues that *Musterbücher* provided the models for the painters and mosaic makers. The most famous example is that of representations of Menander's *Synaristosai*, running from the 100 BC mosaic from the Villa of Cicero in Pompeii to the large AD 200 version from Zeugma. Image books rather than illustrated transcriptions of the comedies would be the sources of all versions in the Roman world. Malgieri's hypothesis is not new, but she offers her reasoning rather convincingly by pointing at the vague knowledge of the literary works

themselves. The choice for these themes would be to display the house owners' cultural interests.

The conclusive chapter V brings together the data briefly summarized in this review. It leaves the reader with questions rather than solutions. Malgieri does not formulate her own opinion in the debate on workshops. Why does the title of the book speak about 'la bottega', when the author does not see any specific workshop or team of painters connected with the products discussed? The book's title does not make clear either what she is writing about, whereas the timeframe is suggested to be large. As a matter of fact, almost all studied paintings stem from the 1st century AD. I would conclude that the book contains a limited set of case studies related to the question of workshops and circulation of themes, nothing more, nothing less.

Eric M. Moormann

MARTIN TOMBRÄGEL, *Die republikanischen Otiumvillen von Tivoli*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2012. 255 pp., 139 figs; 29 cm (Palilia 25). – ISBN 978-3-89500-875-7.

This book presents the results of a PhD research carried out in Marburg and finished in 2005. Tombrägel defines an 'Otiumvilla' as a complex *in campagna* for a member of the Roman elite, mainly serving for spending free time (*otium*). He expressively excludes the numerous rustic villas, which had commercial scopes and were often exploited by slaves. The *Leitmotiv* of the monograph is that otium villas did not form a developed or urbanized form of rustic villas, but was a class of its own, responding to specific wishes of the Roman urban elite. The area of Tivoli (ancient Tibur) has a conspicuous number of villas of both categories and is a *Fundgrube* thanks to both the number of 60 otium villas out of 352 villas (see fig. 1) and the excellent preservation of important parts of their substructures and terraces. As for the dossier of the villas studied, Tombrägel refers to a database (as do other volumes in the series, like W. Ehrhardt, *Dekorations- und Wohnkontext* (Palilia 26; Wiesbaden 2012): Arachne.uni-koeln.de - see p. 8).

Tombrägel starts with an extensive discussion of building techniques and masonry work in order to establish a sound chronological basis. He sees a sequence from small farmsteads built in polygonal masonry, followed by large complexes in the same technique, but provided with gardens and *piscinae* in the first quarter of the 2nd century. In the following decades the technique of *opus caementicium* allowed for the construction of galleries, cryptoporticos, façades with arches and the like on properties that often had steep sides. The position on magnificent hill top or extreme parts of rock formations, preferably with a view towards the west (Rome) and in vicinity of Tibur was necessary for these prestigious projects. This section will be of great relevance for students of Republican architecture in Rome and its environments who meet with difficulties when using Giuseppe Lugli's pioneering *Tecnica edilizia* (Rome 1957). Regarding these technical innovations, surprisingly little of notice has come out during the sixty years after Lugli's book, probably since this is a tough and difficult matter to study. Tombrägel has various modes to anchor the development within the 2nd century and starts in a sort of retrograde with the typical grand temple complexes of Praeneste and Terracina erected in the last quarter of the 2nd century (cf. B.D. Rous, *Triumphs of Compromise. An analysis of the monumentalisation of sanctuaries in Latium in the late republican period (2nd and 1st centuries BC)*, PhD University of Amsterdam 2010). Even if his chronological assignment to the last quarter of the 2nd century is not new, Tombrägel's approach is fine, illuminates a lot about these giant Latial sanctuaries - of course the Hercules Victor temple in Tibur itself gets a lot of attention - and gives the reader a thorough understanding of his reasoning. These findings form the basis for a study of public building in Tivoli itself. Notwithstanding the clear composition and way of reasoning, these sections are no easy reading while detailed illustrations to clarify the problems and their solutions are scanty.

The analysis of construction techniques is followed by a study of the architectural features. In most cases parts of the terrace walls, porticoes and traces of the villa building and devices like *piscinae* and *nymphaea* are recognisable, so that it is difficult to discuss features like wall and floor decorations as well as the placing of art works. Tombrägel's ideal villa is (fig. 98) a large complex of two or three terraces not accessible from all sides, but from one or two (monumental) entrances. These terraces were provided with the afore-mentioned devices and luxury gardens. On top of the upper terrace the villa building rose as a monumental residence. Vistas were essential: the less favorable zones around Tibur for that reason had a smaller number of villas than the ideal western side. Water was another important commodity; the erection of aqueducts like the Aqua Marcia in 144, therefore was compulsory. Apparently the people who built these villas did not look for solitude, since they sought locations near other villas. The properties measured thousands of square metres (e.g. villa 17, counting 27.500 m^2; the mentioned farmsteads were some 600-900 m^2) and had no farming scope. A brief, but lucid excursion is made to Sperlonga, with its four or five villa complexes along the sea.

The interpretation of the *otium villa* as a historical phenomenon is the topic of chapter V. Tombrägel sketches the growing importance of the elite's social and economic standing in the run of the 4th and 3rd centuries thanks to constant warfare but also the tension felt by the rich *nobiles* who could not display their status in Rome due to the *mos maiorum* of austerity, virtue and simplicity. To escape the social pressures and tension and the unhealthy circumstances in town, villas became a new important element in these people's lives. Properties bought on conquered land (e.g. the Sabine region from 290 onwards) made these new farmers wealthy men. Tombrägel thinks that the wish to separate economy and leisure started around 200, after the Second Punic War and the first (both bellicose and diplomatic) contacts with Greek courts in Macedonia. Here I would add the encounter with the Greek court culture in Sicily (especially Syracuse, connected

with the first importation of works of art to Rome) as a possible stimulus. He deservedly points at the Punic world as well. His work demonstrates that the notion of otium, not too distant from the political centre, and the display of luxury were phenomena much older than generally assumed, that is aspects of a way of life ordinarily connected with the rich politicians of the late 2nd and 1st centuries, and that they remained out of view. Conspicuous consumption: yes, but in a refined and absconded way (if this paradox may be used). As in the study of masonry technique, Tombrägel's study is innovative in this historical interpretation. Methodologically, all parts stand out for the clear way he discusses extant literature and tries to analyse strengths and weaknesses of these studies. He is also sincere about things he (or maybe other scholars as well) cannot yet solve, e.g. the precise beginning of the otium villa because of the lack of substantiating literary and archaeological sources.

Eric M. Moormann

FRANÇOISE-HÉLÈNE MASSA-PAIRAULT, *Pergamo e la Filosofia*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2010. 155 pp., XXIV pls; 24 cm (Archaeologica 159). – ISBN 978-88-7689-256-1/ISSN 0391-9293.

This book forms a sequel to Massa-Pairault's very sophisticated and difficult monograph *La gigantomachie de Pergame ou l'image du monde* (Paris 2007). In the written versions of papers given in Naples, the author argues that the intellectual and cultural climate in Pergamon under the main rulers in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC gained a very high level and that philosophers and scholars (probably modern distinctions rather than ancient ones) had a strong influence on the production of works of art. In chapter I she evokes in very brief, unfortunately not clearly structured paragraphs these scholars, philosophers and artists active under the Attalids. The lack of clarity of the densely structured information might originate from the scanty knowledge we have about many of these men (no women were involved), who are, among others, the philosophers Agathokles and Neanthes from Kyzikos, the mathematician and astrologer Apollonios from Perge, the sculptor Epigonos (maker of the bronze Galates, copied for Caesar and known thanks to these statues in Rome), Apollodoros from Athens, Krates of Mallon, etc. All were connected with the splendid library, built in the northern stoa of the sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros on Pergamon's acropolis.

Chapter II discusses the sculptural group of Prometheus freed by Herakles, probably once adorning the northern portico of the library. Massa-Pairault gives a captivating interpretation of the group as the symbolical expression, as propagated by Stoic philosophers, of good kingship to be practiced by Attalos II, in which Herakles is the good King freeing people and bringing bounty, and Prometheus represents philosophy and wisdom freed from invisible fetters and introduced into Attalos' realm. The two of them, moreover, have a tight relationship with Athena and their position in the sanctuary can be explained by stressing the good qualities of the two heroes. Athena herself in this context is an intermediary between Zeus and the two, first binding, then freeing Prometheus. However, many authors tend to recognize Mithridates of Pontos in the Herakles (ultimately C. Vorster in R. Grüßinger et al., *Pergamon. Panorama der antiken Metropole*, Berlin 2011, 13-137).

Krates from Mallon is the subject of Chapter III. He is known as an important scholar in the court of the Pergamene Kings. Since his works are only known in fragments and paraphrases, Massa-Pairault is cautious in her analysis of Krates' thinking. After a long section on various aspects of his work, she arrives at a connection of his thoughts and those of other Stoics with a mosaic from the royal palace, now in Berlin, showing garlands, theatrical masks, and parrots. These elements would express 'voice, language, speech and style' (p. 59), hence a very intellectual representation of important values, apt for the King's residence. This may be true, but the association remains highly speculative and cannot be proved at all.

In Chapter IV the same Krates is connected with the statue of Menelaos carrying the corpse of Patroklos, better known as the Pasquino Group type. A relief on Menelaos' helmet of the version in Florence would represent his long travel from the Peloponnese towards the East (India, Ethiopia), studied by Krates. The centauromachy depicted on the hero's helmet itself would refer to Herakles, but also to famous works of art in Athens. Finally, Menelaos' rescue of Patroklos corpse from the battlefield took place under the benign custody of Athena. A position of the original in an Athena sanctuary in Pergamon, therefore, might be explained by these details. Massa-Pairault remains cautious about possible political connections and, consequently, dates of creation of the original, most probably in the first quarter of the 2nd century BC (p. 67). Again, I want to agree with these ideas, but miss the sound basis to accept these theories.

Sosos' famous dove mosaic combined with the motif of the unswept room is topic of Chapter V (see on that motif also my La bellezza dell'immondezza. Raffigurazioni di rifiuti nell'arte ellenistica e romana, in X. Dupré Raventos/J.A. Remolà (eds), *Sordes Urbis. La eliminación de residuos en la ciudad romana*, Rome 2000, 75-94 and B. Andreae, *Antike Bildmosaiken*, Mainz 2nd edition 2012). Massa-Pairault connects the representation with Krates' philosophy in a reasoning that is not easy to follow in all its aspects and shows many flaws in the use of evidence, simply since there is almost none. Following her reasoning, Sosos must have been an experienced philosopher, considering the thorough knowledge Massa-Pairault assumes of some of the most difficult among Plato's Dialogues and works by Aristoteles. The enigmatic shade under the handle of the golden basis would be an Eros, possibly a Platonic *daimon*.

Chapter VI is dedicated to the Gigantomachy of the Grand Altar and Krates' influence on its programme (see more extensively the monograph quoted above). There are no connections with the Telephos frieze in this section. Allegory is the main instrument the author suggests, to fully understand the programme, highly determined by astronomy ad astrology.

The illustrations are greyish and of very low quality. The in various cases not updated bibliographies (e.g. on

the Villa of the Papyri in Herculaneum) are articulated according to themes. There is no general bibliography and the notes have unpractical abbreviated references for which the reader must seek in previous notes and cannot check a full list of quoted works (cf. that in Grüßinger et al., *Pergamon*, as quoted, 578-591). More seriously, the reasoning is very esoteric and prevents from entering easily into the mental world the Pergamene elite would have had according to Massa-Pairault.

Eric M. Moormann

MARCELLO BARBANERA, *The Envy of Daedalus: Essay on the Artist as Murderer.* München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2013. 60 pp., 10 figs and 6 pls; 21.5 cm (Morphomata Lectures Cologne, 4). – ISBN 978-3-7705-5604-5.

This slim booklet contains the reworked text of a lecture held at Cologne in the Morphomata collegium. The author focuses on the myth of Perdix, who invented important tools for artists and changed into a partridge after having been thrown from the Acropolis in Athens by his jealous uncle and patron Daedalus (Ovid, *Met*. 8.236-259). The artist himself went into exile to Crete. The scene was rarely, if ever, depicted in antiquity - Barbanera rejects all older proposals. An often discussed painting from Pompeii (fig. 6, pl. 4) would show a killed Perdix in front of Daedalus, but Barbanera rightly sees the figure as a statue, a suggestion I also proposed some decades ago (*La pittura parietale romana come fonte di conoscenza per la pittura antica*, Assen/Wolfeboro 1988, 170 cat. 198c; for the traditional interpretation, see still M. Torelli, in F. De Angelis et al. (ed.), *Kunst von unten? Stil und Gesellschaft in der antiken Welt von der „arte plebea" bis heute*, Stuttgart 2013, 61-76). Barbanera then tackles the question why artists were (and are) related with crime out of envy (*phthonos*) or jealousy (*zelotoupia*). From Hephaistos onwards talented craftsmen and artists were considered as manipulators of nature in the form of the material they changed into works of arts. The foremost artists, however, often felt the threat of their talented pupils who allegedly created better works and were, for that reason, put to death by them. Other artists misused models by torture or starvation, in order to manipulate them as sources for depictions of slaves, tortured persons and the like. Many of these tragedies originated from the problem that each artist had to do his best in representing the truth (*mimesis*). Barbanera finishes with an open question: how and why could these artists get out unpunished from their deeds? For the sake of artistic freedom or for that of representing the truth? Similar aspects of the artist's relationship to his artistic inventions are the main theme of Stijn Bussels, *The animated image. Roman theory on naturalism, vividness and divine power*, Leiden 2012. Let's hope that Barbanera will continue his quest in future publications and not leave the reader in awe with a *hemitelos* artistic masterpiece that is this essay.

Eric M. Moormann

R.R.R. SMITH, *Aphrodisias VI. The Marble Reliefs from the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion*. Darmstadt/Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2013. XVI, 376 pp., 275 figs, 175 pls; 29.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-8053-4605-4.

This monograph contains the full publication of the architecture and sculptures of one of the most spectacular Roman buildings excavated in the last decades in Asia Minor: the Sebasteion or the cult monument of the Julio-Claudian dynasty in Aphrodisias. The first finds date back to 1979 and fragments were found up to 2005. Many elements of the architecture and its sculptures have been presented in separate articles and play a role in the scholarly literature on imperial representation in Asia Minor. Smith proposes a highly probable reconstruction of this complex which we must imagine as a large courtyard or wide street accessible through an elaborate propylon and leading to a temple dedicated to Aphrodite Prometor and the *theoi sebastoi*, that is Aphrodite as the mother of the emperors and the *diui augusti*. The sides of the area are flanked by the North and South buildings, each adorned with two horizontal series of reliefs. This layout recalls the slightly earlier Forum Iulium in Rome. The buildings collapsed due to earthquakes in late antiquity and many elements were reused in a late-antique fortification wall. Reliefs were mutilated by cutting faces and genitals of the male figures and ruining cult scenes; this probably happened in the late fifth century, when the Christian community finally expanded its hegemony (p. 48-49; passim).

The Propylon (chapter 2) was a massive 'columnar screen' (p. 28, 68) containing at least 16 statues of members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty - already published in Smith's catalogue of portraits from Aphrodisias (*Aphrodisias* 2, Mainz 2006) - as well as Aeneas, Aphrodite, and Zeus. The dynastic display contained many members, recognizable by means of inscriptions on their pedestals and apparently relevant in the local context. The bond between Aphrodite and the Iulii is stressed by the iconography and the associations. I would like to make a small observation regarding the models of P1, Livia, and P3, Aemilia Lepida: they follow the same type rather than two different ones, as Smith suggests at p. 67.

The North and South buildings show some architectural differences but display the same design; the differences might be explained by the available spaces. They have three floors in subsequently Doric, Ionic and Corinthian order. The lower storey could be used as a depot but mainly served as the basis (p. 30: 'by-product') of the two other storeys which displayed the sculpture decors.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to the North building, erected on behalf of Eusebes and Menandros, but restored after an earthquake after Nero's ascendance to the throne in AD 54 by Eusebes' wife Apphias, her daughter and her two grandsons. Its second storey contained some fifty relief representations of geographical personifications of 'Nations of Empire' (p. 71). The female figures, worked almost in the round, stand on bases bearing their names, and act like a 'line

of statues in a colonnade' (p. 86). Smith argues that this set had a source of inspiration in Augustan Rome like the monument *ad nationes*. Some bear names in nominative form, but most in genitive combined with ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ('of people'), which he explains by referring to the gender of the female figures contrasting with the neuter of ΕΘΝΟΣ.

The third storey has Nero crowned by his mother Agrippina in the guise of Abundance and gods like Hemera, Okeanos, the three Graces and Nike. On the bases of these few tassels, Smith suggests that there must have been counterparts like Nyx (to Hemera) and Ge (to Okeanos) who symbolized the Roman power encompassing the entire and eternal cosmos. Concerning the Graces, there is relief A4 with two of them substantiated by an inscription, while their missing companion might stand on A5, but I observe some stylistic dissimilarities between the slabs and A5's iconography is strange for a Grace figure (cf. Smith's own hesitations on pp. 83 and 84). The isolated Θ on A4 is puzzling in this respect (Smith's reference on p. 83 to a similar situation on B4 and B6 cannot be substantiated: there such single letters are lacking).

Chapters 4 and 5 discuss the reliefs of the South building. Gods and emperors occupy the third storey (chapter 4), while myths are represented in the second one (chapter 5). Here Menandros' sons Attalos and Diogenes were responsible for the 51 reliefs of which there are remains of 44 (see fig. 78). The portraits display the official Roman iconography and are typical rather than iconographically liking, while the nudity of Augustus and other male figures follows a local tradition. The dynasts are represented as *sebastoi* or *diui* and execute good works for the state like offering to the gods and taming rebellious tribes (the famous Nero and Britannia, C4). I cannot follow Smith in characterizing the Claudius in the Amazonomachy of C10 as 'middle-aged' (p. 146, pl. 62): he looks very young. I have less problems than Smith in seeing portrait features of Tiberius and Livia in C16 and C17 (p. 155: ideal). The author makes clear that he emperor of C29, dominating land and sea, is Claudius rather than Augustus, as he and others have previously proposed. He was flanked by Asklepios (C28) and Hygieia (C30) and the three of them occupied the middle of the row, thus bringing bounty and wealth (p. 173). Smith concludes that the hole impressive set represents the emperors and their splendors in an eastern guise, i.e. in heroic nudity and involved in activities as if they were the peers of the gods represented next to them (pp. 189-195).

The 51 mythical scenes (Chapter 5; D1-D51) of the South building consisted of sets of one large and two smaller reliefs each. The ensemble represents one of the largest sets of mythical stories known from antiquity. As for the previous scenes, I cannot present, let alone discuss them here in detail. The descriptions and discussions leave little to desire and form a good basis for further studies. The Troy saga and Aeneas play a major role on the first slabs (D1-3), albeit in a peculiar, locally invented iconography. Some heroes cannot be identified with certainty, but Smith's connection with the *ktistes* of Aphrodisias, Ninos, and his wife Semiramis is very attractive (D7-10). Various scenes refer to (myths circling around) Herakles, Dionysos, Apollo, and Trojan vicissitudes. In his lengthy discussion of this series (p. 291-307), Smith reconstructs the order of the scenes and stresses the connection of Aphrodisias with gods and heroes. They might represent qualities incorporated by the emperors who protect the Aphrodisians and give them a prosperous existence. On the basis of a masterly synthesis of sets of mythical episodes in the Greco-Roman world, he observes the absence of a red line within many cycli and concludes that free associations might be more important than firm sequences of fitting episodes. One may add to this logical suggestion that the spectator's gaze ran over the lengthy series and connected scenes from one spot with those of another section, so that he had to go back to previously seen scenes. An attentive look was stimulated by such a seemingly dismembered order. Besides, the length of the façade prevented from seeing all fifty one scenes as a set (p. 303). Chapter 6 brings all findings together in a brief, but clear conclusion.

The photos are excellent and all pieces of architectural sculpture and statuary are presented on the same black background. Those showing the excavations and the anastylosis should bear dates (as in pl. 1), since the often impressive changes and restoration interventions are not all described in the text. Throughout the text line drawings help the reader to read the images on the plates. A good subject register and a full bibliography close this important contribution, not only to the knowledge of early-imperial Aphrodisias, but also to Roman art in the eastern part of the Empire in that period.

Eric M. Moormann

Daniela Baldoni, Fede Berti, Marco Giuman (eds), *Iasos e il suo territorio* (Atti del convegno internazionale per i cinquanta anni della Missione Archeologica Italiana, Istanbul, 26-28 Febbraio 2011). Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2013. XIV + 263 pp., 84 pls; 29.5 cm. – ISBN 978-88-7689-275-**2.**

Italian archaeology in Asia Minor has at least two brilliant pearls in its crown: the long-standing and immensely rewarding excavations in Phrygian Hierapolis and in Carian Iasos. The present volume contains the text of seventeen papers presented during the celebration of fifty years of excavations at Iasos. They range from the late Bronze Age to the Roman Imperial period and cover many aspects of the city: archaeological (e.g. the city's fountains; the West-Stoa of the agora; a commercial zone near the exedra of Artemis; votive finds from the agora and from the temples of Zeus Megistos and Demeter/Kore; tombs and necropoleis; mosaics in a Roman house), epigraphical (chronology of Iasian decrees; sale of the priesthood of the Mother of the Gods; epigraphists and other ancient travellers since 1600) and historical (foreign judges in Carian cities: three pages by S. Önder and M.H. Sayar which do not reveal any new insights; funerary rites in Iasos). Since the reviewer cannot claim competence in

all these fields, he selects contributions dealing with themes for which he does not hold himself to be totally incompetent.

Let us begin with the article of R. Fabiani and M. Nafissi on 'La pubblicazione dei decreti a Iasos: cronologia ed topografia' (37-60). Since the publication by W. Blümel (*Die Inschriften von Iasos*; 1985), many new inscriptions have been discovered in Iasos (see e.g. *SEG* LVII 1040-1094). Ca ninety honorary decrees have been found during the excavations, from the period between ca 400 and 200 BC, most of them for foreigners; only four or five concern citizens. F. and N. focus on the places and especially the monuments chosen by the *dēmos* for publication of the decrees ('una storia topografica della pratica di pubblicazione dei decreti iasei'; 38). In more detail the problem, together with many other probably more interesting ones, will be dealt with in Fabiani's *I decreti onorari di Iasos. Cronologia e Storia* (forthcoming in the Vestigia series in Munich). The authors present a detailed and convincing analysis of the various places where honorary decrees were erected and of the various types of stones used for those decrees: free standing stelai or so-called *parastades* (door-posts or large pilasters placed against walls) of temples or other public buildings (*archeia*; *bouleuterion*; stoas of temples). In some cases the authors are able to establish a relation between the content of the inscriptions and the place where the stones carrying the inscriptions are erected. Decrees in honor of foreign judges and their home-cities are usually erected on stelai in the temple of Artemis Astias, the main deity of the city, as the epithet indicates, and apparently the appropriate place for documents attesting what John Ma recently called 'peer-polity interaction'. Later decrees, which officially ratify the gift of citizenship to the judges already announced in the earlier decrees, were engraved on a *parastas*, together with many other decrees, in another, less prominent temple. The article provides useful information about the location of various temples and public buildings mentioned in the city's inscriptions and splendidly shows what the combination of archaeological and epigraphical evidence can achieve.

G. Maddoli (75-80) presents a tantalizing report on a new inscription (ca 200-150 BC), found during excavations in Iasos' agora, and recording the sale of a priesthood of Meter Theon. He gives a photo but no text; for the latter we have to wait for a forthcoming fascicle of *Parola del Passato*. From a report by F. Berti on 'Iasos, 2009 Campaign' in the Turkish periodical *KST* 32 (2010) 176-187, we learn that the statue of the goddess was found nearby. The priest of Meter Theon is supposed to take care also of the cult of Meter Phrygia, which shows that, although apparently related to each other, the two deities were clearly felt to be distinct entities. The overlap between the Mother of the Gods and Phrygian Kybele, often emphasized in recent research, becomes somewhat questionable in the light of the new text. H.-U. Wiemer and D. Kah, *EA* 44 (2011) 1-54, recently published a new inscription from Priene, recording the sale of a priesthood of the Meter Phrygia in that city; just as in Iasos this Meter existed side by side with the Meter Theon; the deities had separate temples in Priene. The Iasian document contains the so-called *diagraphē* of the priesthood, a common term in documents concerning sales of priesthoods and appropriately translated by Wiemer as 'Pflichtenheft'. The *diagraphē* itself is based on pre-existent laws (*nomoi*), especially the *hieros nomos* of this specific cult. The *diagraphē* contains the obligation of the priestess to sacrifice to the deity on a specific day and to lead a procession starting at the Prytaneion - a clear link between city and religion -, and her perquisites (parts of the sacrificial animals and - interesting detail - all the things put by the sacrificers on the sacrificial table, except gold, silver and clothes; for the latter she is supposed to make an inventory in case contestations arise). Religion often is to a certain extent business: the city derives benefits from the sale, the priestess is allowed to earn back the sale's price and to benefit from (the sale of) the perquisites.

In her contribution on Iasian tombs and the objects found in them D. Baldoni points out that there are no marked differences in the typology of the tombs and the quantity of the grave-gifts in the Hellenistic period, and that this reflects the absence of 'forti squilibri sociali e accentuate disparità economiche all'interno della comunità dei vivi' (117). This sounds audacious. Perhaps in specific (parts of) necropoleis people of comparable social status have been buried, but surely it goes too far to conclude that Iasian society at large was characterized by socio-economic equality. Such a view would fly in the face of all that we know about ancient urban societies, Hellenistic and otherwise.

N. Masturzo presents an overwiew of ancient travellers (epigraphists; artists) visiting the ruins of Iasos from 1600 AD onwards. As is always the case with such reports (and its photos), it is astonishing to see how much that was still visible during the Ancien Regime, has now disappeared. Ancient sites were - and still are - ideal sources of building materials and provided unexpected results for illegal diggers. There was in past centuries so much to be seen in the ruins of ancient Iasos that several travellers missed things which were noticed by later travellers. In 1843 Philippe Le Bas discovered dozens of inscriptions inscribed on the entrance gate of the theatre, which apparently went unnoticed by three predecessors during thirty years. The wealth of antiquities still visible in the early 19th century was apparently so impressive that things could be missed easily. In the late 19th century the Ottoman navy began plundering the ruins for building material to be used in Constantinople. Many inscribed blocks had been built into the mediaeval wall which surrounds the peninsula. Fortunately, the then director of the Imperial Museum in Constantinople managed to save these blocks from being used as material for the construction of a mole in Istanbul. Various inscriptions concern activities in a Iasian gymnasion. A remark by W.R. Paton, who visited the site in 1887, deserves to be quoted: 'were it [i.e., the mediaeval wall] carefully destroyed, we should probably possess more inscriptions from Iasos than from any site in Turkey'!; and, we may add, mutatis mutandis, the same applies to many small Turkish villages situated in the vicinity of ancient sites, which is not to say that the present reviewer reommends such an operation!

All in all, this volume is a fitting hommage to fifty years of patient and rewarding excavations by our Italian colleagues. Working one's way through it (and, for that matter, through many publications on the excavations in Hierapolis), one cannot help regretting that after the Second World War the Dutch are almost entirely absent in the archaeological paradise that Turkey has been and still is for Greco-Roman sites. The Dutch archaeological institute's focus on prehistory and Ottoman history may help to explain that absence. It remains, however, regrettable.

H.W. Pleket

O. Dally, Fr. Fless, R. Haensch, F. Pirson, S. Sievers (eds), *Politische Räume in vormodernen Gesellschaften. Gestaltung-Wahrnehmung-Funktion* (Internationale Tagung des DAI und des DFG Exzellenzclusters TOPOI vom 18.-22. November 2009 in Berlin). Rahden/Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, 2012. VIII + 300 pp., 119 illustrations; 29.5 cm (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Menschen-Kulturen-Traditionen. Studien aus den Forschungsclustern des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 6) – ISBN 978-3-86757-386-3.

This book is the result of a marriage of sorts between 'Forschungscluster 3' of the DAI, focusing on how certain spaces ('Räume') evolved into political spaces as vectors of 'political Organisation', and the 'Excellenzcluster TOPOI' investigating the 'Interdependenzen von Raum und Wissen in den Zivilisationen der Alten Welt': the sort of bombastic terminology frequently used in modern research-projects and probably indispensable, if one wants to catch a big 'financial' fish in the increasingly (inter)national and competitive pond of (inter)national research-organisations.

The editors claim a lot: interdisciplinarity (of course!) between archaeologists and philologists and a diachronic comparative approach focusing on the ancient Orient and Graeco-Roman antiquity, with outlooks on the Middle Ages and the early modern period. The claims are more or less realized, except for the 'Ausblicke' and the comparative approach: one contribution on the Roman pagus addresses the transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages and another concerns problems with the frontiers in early modern Europe (W. Kaiser, 'Grenzgänger. Die Grenze als Ressource in der frühen Neuzeit'). Most papers deal with problems in the ancient Orient and in the Graeco-Roman world; and in this volume, as in many other similar ones, the problem is that publication in one volume of, say, five or six articles on related problems in different societies, does not always lead to a comparison; juxtaposition is not necessarily the same as compar son.

Anyhow, six papers focus on roads, which are supposed to have been important for the 'Konstituierung und Erschließung politischer Räume'; another six concern frontiers, held to be 'dynamische Größen und Ressourcen'; five contributions deal with 'residences' ('einzelne Residenzen') and their role as vectors of 'das Politische' (another impossible vague German concept). Residences clearly is a broad container-concept in this volume. Under this label are subsumed the Palatine in Rome, an Assyrian fortress ('Festung') and the political urban space in Priene and Gadara.

The remaining eight articles are an incoherent hotch-potch of themes like 'Social space in pre-literate and early literate periods', 'Metrical standardisation: an administrative dimension of political space in the ancient Near East' [standardisation goes hand in hand with the pre-existence of an area controlled by the power which introduces standards but does not create such an area; the spatial dimensions seem to have been dragged in by the head and shoulders], the 'Ordo Mundi of Roman landsurveyors', 'What exactly is a map? How maps render space and why Ptolemy is seen as the founding father of scientific cartography?' and so on and so forth.

This reviewer has decided to resist the temptation to try to find some sort of meaningful common denominator under which the 25 contributions can be subsumed and some sort of general principle which on the basis of sound comparative work can be held to have governed the birth and use of political spaces. Instead he prefers to draw the attention of the reader to a few contributions which focus on comprehensible phenomena. Anne Kolb - a wellknown expert on Roman roads and the *cursus publicus* - writes about 'Rule by means of accessing and exploiting space: Rome and its Empire' (71-85). Under this lofty title lurks the justifiable insight that road-building (and occasionally also canal-building) made territorial space accessible and ready for pacification and exploitation by the Roman authorities (and, according to Aelius Aristeides, *Eis Rōmēn* 26.9, also for a civilized and well-ordered existence). The road-network of the Empire consisted of a complicated system of large *viae publicae* and local/regional roads, all in all ca 300.000 km. in length. The large public roads, built by the Roman authorities, created direct connections, as straight as possible, and surmounted obstacles by means of elaborate constructions (e.g. tunnels). Roadbuilding followed conquest and served to secure newly conquered territory. After the conquest of a territory local road-networks were further developed and ameliorated 'Zum Zweck der administrativen Durchdringung'. Although K. does not specifically addresses the question, it seems that economic possibilities were a result of but not a reason for Rome's road-building acitivities. Surprisingly, in an article on pre-Roman roads in the same volume the authors concluded that one of the objectives of Roman road-building was 'die ökonomische Entwicklung des Reiches zu stärken' (67).

Incidentally, to subsume road-building operations under the term 'Politische Räume' may be defensible but it surely does not open new vistas on the history of the Empire. In her article on Roman milestones from the Iberian peninsula C. Campedelli (87-93) seems to acknowledge this, with tongue in cheek: after having discussed the motives of Augustan road-building policies on the peninsula (propaganda; pacification; consolidation of Roman power), she hastens to add that 'in as much as the geographical space served as a

chessboard - of Roman roadbuilding policy -, one *could also define them as political spaces*' (87; italics added).

Two contributions concern a very concrete example of 'political space': the imperial palace on the Palatine in Rome. R. Haensch (267-276) deals with the written sources referring to Rome and the Palatine as *caput imperii*, whereas U. Wulf-Rheidt (277-289) focusses on the archaeological evidence. H. is interested in the ancient perceptions of the characteristics of an imperial centre, as evidenced by the literary sources. In a dense and balanced study he concludes that there was a 'very minimal awareness of the Palatine as a centre of government and administration of the Roman Empire' (267). The monarchy was simply too veiled for a powerful centre to come into existence with a standard number of imperial buildings thought of as signs of Rome's centrality. Nevertheless, H. admits (272) that from the Flavian period onwards the concept of a palace on the Palatine, as the place where political and administrative decisions were made, became important 'im generellen Bewusstsein'. He considers institutional changes to be more important in this connection and writes that archaeological explorations did not reveal 'viel Präzises' (272) about the building-policies of Domitian. Pliny the Younger, quoted by H. (270) called Domitian's Palatine a 'fortress' (*arx*) and contrasted it with what in his perception became a *communis domus* under Trajan. Although he admits that the contrast between Domitian and his successor(s) may well have been much smaller than Pliny suggests, he nevertheless seems to believe that Pliny formulated the principles to which the emperor should adhere, if he wanted to be accepted by the 'Reichsführungsschichten' and in that context he argues that in practice the Palatinian palace was reasonably accessible (270).

U. Wulf-Rheidt succinctly summarizes what recent archaeological work on the Palatine has revealed. Domitian's building projects resulted in an impressive complex, with a large *aula regia* ('Thronsaal'; 1000 m^2 large), a large multi-functional auditorium and a large *vestibulum* (probably for *salutationes* and great banquets). Domitian's Palatine transcended 'alles, was aus dem aristokratischen Wohnungbau bekannt war' (284) and was taken for granted in all its majesty. Criticism, voiced by contemporary authors, soon stopped. Access to the palace was not facilitated after Domitian by architectural rearrangements. Pliny's idea about Domitian's *arx imperii* turned into a *communis domus* cannot be substantiated by archaeological research. The relative inaccessibility of the palace should not be related exclusively to Domitian's a-typical paranoia: archaeological research does not reveal a policy of increased accessibility afterwards.

In the end I tend to conclude that, irrespective of the views of literary authors about the nature of imperial building-policy on the Palatine and of the extent to which they may have been shared by others, archaeological research seems to have shown that from the Flavians onward the Palatine came to contain an impressive complex of imperial buildings which increasingly reflected its inaccessibility and, thereby, its majesty. It may not have been perceived as an *arx* but it certainly was not a *communis domus*. Another urgent question is to what extent we are entitled to speak about an 'imperial court' and, if so, how it compares to later royal courts in early modern Europe and whether there is a demonstrable difference in architecture related to a difference in the social status of courtiers (e.g. aristocrats versus freedmen) (cf. A. Winterberg's *Aula Caesaris. Studien zur Institutionalisierung des römischen Kaiserhofs in der Zeit von Augustus bis Commodus,* Munich 1999, referred to by both authors).

H.W. Pleket

Manuela Puddu, *Cittadini a Confronto. I rilievi funerari con figure di politai nell'Asia Minore ellenistica e romana*. Roma: Scienze e Lettere, 2013. X +188 pp., 10 Pl.; 24 cm. – ISBN 978-88-6687-029-6.

According to M. Puddu there are two main types of funerary *stelai*. The first group consists of reliefs representing standing or seated male adults, properly clothed, accompanied by family-members (and servants) and surrounded by specific accessories (cultural items like bookrolls, writing equipment *vel sim*. for men, toilette-articles in the case of women). These reliefs in fact continue the line of the statues of standing or seated poets, orators and philosophers of the Classical period, above all from Athens. To the second group belong *stelai* with so-called funerary banquets. On Plate 3 the reader is confronted with statistical data concerning the number of *stelai* of both groups preserved for eight cities: Byzantium, Chios, Kyzikos, Ephesos, Lesbos, Rhodes, Samos and Smyrna. In eight separate chapters P. describes the two types and presents brief summaries about the inscriptions, the necropoleis and the historical and institutional context. Political institutions are especially important for P., since she consistently tries to interpret the message of the *stelai* and their representations against the general background of the urban societies concerned. The sections on the 'istituzioni civiche' admittedly contain not much more than succinct information about the existence of a *boulē*, an *ekklēsia* and various magistracies, but for the 'uninitiated' archaeological and iconographical specialists they are certainly useful.

Returning to the above-mentioned two groups of *stelai*, one cannot help being impressed by the quantitative differences. In Samos, Byzantium and Kyzikos Type 2 prevails; in Chios, Ephesos and Rhodes the two types are more or less in balance, whereas in Lesbos and Smyrna Type 1 predominates. The average reader's reaction may well be: 'so what?'. P. has an answer: Type 1 represents people who adhere to the 'virtù canoniche del buon cittadino' (also called 'virtù "borghesi" e, per così dire, "laiche"') and believe in 'valori comuni a tutta la cittadinanza' (23). These values may have been shared by the entire 'cittadinanza' but somehow - so P. - they were not sufficiently 'relevant' for them to prevail in the 'autorappresentazione funeraria' (23) in general. In the latter the values, connected with the heroization of the deceased in Type 2, were much more popular and successful; according to P. they were 'di altro genere' (24), they were more private than public.

Even if P.'s analysis would be acceptable, the title of the book is somewhat misleading to the extent that it suggests that it is only in Type 1 that we come across *politai*. In the statistics on Pl. 3 we have '*politai*' (*stelai*) and 'funerary banquets'. In fact we have, of course, in both cases full-fledged citizens who opt for different reliefs without, however, tying themselves down to two mutually exclusive value-systems. In several *politai*-reliefs we find accessories referring to 'heroic' values. On Lesbos, where we have nineteen politai-reliefs versus eight banquet-reliefs, twelve of the former have an inscription with 'chreste, chaire' (120). According to P., this formula implies a belief in an afterlife and 'l'eroizzazione di un defunto' (121). Incidentally, her suggestion that it is the official heroization of great benefactors by the *dēmos* which trickled down to the lower strata of society and led to a sort of *imitatio domini*, surely is interesting but it can neither be proved nor disproved. On Chios on three of the eleven politai-reliefs we find 'chreste, chaire' (83). In addition we have nine banquet-*stelai* with heroization-symbols. We have thus twelve out of twenty *stelai* where heroization, either of itself or in combination with the symbolism of politai-*stelai*, plays an important role. It is not quite clear how P. can conclude that the 'borghesi'-values of the *politai-stelai* predominated. In Kyzikos we have seventeen *politai-stelai* against 52 banquet-scenes (those are the figures on Pl. 3; on 131 P. all of a sudden writes about more than 100 funerary banquet-*stelai*!). On three of the seventeen there are heroic 'overtones' and in a fourth we find a 'chaire', implying a belief in an afterlife. Pfuhl and Möbius on whose *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* (Mainz 1977-1979) P.'s work is based, write in a section on Hellenistic *stelai* representing standing persons (= P.'s *politai-stelai*) about 'eine eigene Sepulkralwelt' in those *stelai*. Conversely, symbols like book-rolls or writing equipment, regularly present on politai-reliefs and symbolizing the cultural achievements or ambitions of the deceased, can also be found on banquet-reliefs. So all in all we seem to have a system of funerary *stelai* with a set of values which do not mutually exclude each other.

As to the political interpretation of the *politai-stelai* I wonder whether P. does not perhaps over-interpret the representations. The main prop for her approach is the firm conviction that the standing or seated persons on those reliefs are a direct continuation of the Classical, Athenian statues of poets, orators and philosophers. Attributes on the *politai-stelai*, however, emphasize the cultural rather than the political aspirations of the deceased; and the inscriptions merely contain names with(out) patronymics (plus an occasional epigram) and do not mention any political activities whatsoever. We are confronted with a sort of middle-class people, not so poor as not to be able to allow themselves a nice stele, but certainly not belonging to the rich, who after their death could afford building a heroon of their own. Are we then entitled to believe that, more than two centuries after the classical paradeigmata of statues of Demosthenes, the great tragedians and philosophers, people still attached the same message to the miniature imitations of the classical predecessors?

Whatever one thinks of P.'s otherwise eloquent interpretations of the *politai-stelai*, her remarks about the fate of those *stelai* in the Roman Imperial period are worthy of note: the *stelai* ceased to be produced in the coastal Greek cities of Asia Minor on which her book focuses. The explanation is that incorporation of the cities in the empire and its administrative structure reduced the citizens to the status of subdued people ('sudditi'; 173); in that situation pride on civic, 'borghese' virtues was inappropriate. This is an interesting but ultimately unconvincing theory. If the abundant epigraphical evidence about political life in the cities of imperial Asia Minor shows anything at all, it is that their inhabitants still presented themselves as politically active beings; in spite of increasing oligarchization in the form of a wealthy minority dominating the political scene and of citizens being ideologically subordinated to that minority as children to their parents, the *ekklēsia* still had some power, as H. Fernoux's recent monograph on *Le Demos et la Cité. Communautés et assemblées populaires en Asie Mineure à l'époque impériale* (Rennes 2011) has amply demonstrated. The idea of the Greek citizens as being in a subordinate position to Rome is anachronistic. The disappearance of the *stelai* in the 'old' centres of Asia Minor may have been a matter of changing fashions and taste which not always or necessarily can be explained by linking them to fundamental changes in the underlying society.

H.W. Pleket

LUCINDA DIRVEN (ed.), *Hatra Politics, Culture and Religion between Parthia and Rome*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013. 363 pp., 77 figs; 24 cm (Oriens et Occidens 21). – ISBN 978-3-515-104212-8.

At the end of February 2015, the world was shocked by a video released by the terrorist organisation known as Islamic State (IS). The footage showed armed men destroying ancient Assyrian statues in the Museum of Nineveh in northern Iraq. Aside from inflicting horrible atrocities towards local populations, the Islamic State is known for the smuggling and black market dealings in archaeological artifacts.

In the region of northern Iraq, some 80 kilometers south of Mosul, well within IS controlled territory, lies the archaeological site of Hatra, a city famous for its location between the competing Roman and Parthian (later Sassanidian) Empires. Although frequently mentioned in historic sources, the number of documented excavations is lower than expected, mainly due to the decades of instability in the region. Moreover, data of some excavations in the second half of the 20th century has been lost, or survived only partially. In December 2009 a conference on Hatra was held at the University of Amsterdam. The 2013 publication bundling the papers presented at this conference is the subject of this review.

The conference was organised 'to establish the status quo of research on Hatra, to determine the lacunae in our knowledge and to formulate the main topics of future research.' The ensuing publication has the same

goal, aside from trying to keep the memory of Hatra alive for new generations of scholars. It is important to notice that one of the Iraqi archaeologists responsible for excavating in Hatra, Hikmat Basheer al-Aswad, was present at the conference and contributed to the book with an article. Its importance lies in the large body of information on Hatra not being available to Western scholars. This, in 2013, gave hope for the future.

After a short introduction to the history of the site and a description of its excavations, the volume presents the articles subdivided into three themes. First of all, the regional context of the city of Hatra is explored in 'Between Parthia and Rome'. In this part, the city is approached through, mainly Roman, historic sources. Trade routes, reportedly the source of Hatra's great wealth, are being reconstructed. A specifically interesting paper tries to uncover the irregular position of Hatra within the Parthian Empire as a powerful city-state, answering directly to the Parthian King of Kings, instead of answering to a lower, regional, liege lord.

With the reader now having a firm grasp on the ins and outs of the historical context, the second part dives into the site itself: 'The City and its Remains'. The chronologically ordered articles in this chapter use the archaeological materials to answer crucial questions. Why was Hatra founded on its location, and what made the city so successful? Serious doubts are presented whether Hatra was the caravan-hub it is usually thought to be. The following articles show Hatra's settlement history by focusing on its defensive walls, the temple areas, and architectural decorations. Ending this part with a bang, the final paper describes the impressive Sassanidian siege works that were part of Hatra's demise. Siege works were usually dismantled after the siege was won or lost. The fact that these are still in place makes them unique, and may offer archaeologists a great source of information on classical warfare.

The third and final category is 'Culture and Religion on the Crossroads'. The common denominator of the articles in this part is relating Hatra's remains to other cities and cultural groups in the surrounding region. Attempting to break down the construction of Hatra 'between Rome and Parthia', the first paper, named Hatra and the Parthian Commonwealth, scrutinises the importance of Roman influenced art, pointing out that Hatra was primarily part of the Parthian world. An article, titled Hatra and Palmyra: the monumentalization of public space, compares the use of public space in Hatra with Palmyra, showing interesting parallels, and, perhaps even more interesting, dissimilarities. In other articles, cult images, weapons and marital interactions are being explored, all leading to a rich and diverse image of Hatra.

The publication of *Hatra: Politics, Culture and Religion between Parthia and Rome* does what it promises, giving a diverse overview of the history and archaeological remains of Hatra. The articles are informative, the arguments sound, and also very accessible to a reader who is no specialist of this city, nor its region. This is an important volume in its own right, shedding light on an archaeological site which for too long has spent in the lime light.

However, reading the volume's introduction again in the grim reality of February 2015, and knowing that the excavations of Hatra lie within the area controlled by the Islamic State, it might be stated that this publication may yet become crucial in supplying information on the state of the site as it used to be. Indeed, now, more than ever, it is important to keep the memory of Hatra alive. Publications like these do not only ensure that, they are also responsible for documenting important archaeological data, which, hope forbid, may otherwise be lost to us forever.

Marten Jesse Pot

MICHÈLE DAUMAS, *L'or et le pouvoir. Armement scythe et mythes grecs*. Nanterre: Presses universitaires de Paris Ouest, 2009. 200 pp., 81 figs, 16 pl., 3 cartes; 28 cm. – ISBN 978-2-84016-042-7.

Dans cet ouvrage, M. Daumas envisage de justifier sa nouvelle lecture artistique de quatre carquois (*gorytes*) et de trois fourreaux d'épée qui les accompagnent, presque identiques, trouvés dans des kourganes d'Ukraine et de Russie méridionale, ainsi que de deux carquois de même modèle, mais avec une iconographie différente. Ces objets, tous datés de la fin du quatrième siècle avant J.-C., ont fait débat à cause de leur iconographie qui semble résister à toute interprétation. L'auteur offre ici une tentative courageuse et bien documentée qui donne un bon aperçu de la littérature pertinente ; elle suit un plan relativement strict, ce qui permet de retrouver facilement des parties spécifiques au sein d'une argumentation complexe et fort détaillée. Pourtant, elle ne réussit que partiellement à convaincre.

La première partie est consacrée aux quatre carquois du type 'Tchertomlyk'. Trouvés dans les kourganes de Tchertomlyk, Il'intsy, Mélitopol en Ukraine et dans la tombe 8 de la nécropole des Cinq-Frères en Russie, c'est l'exemplaire de Mélitopol qui a été le mieux conservé et qui fournit matière à discussion iconographique. Deux frises montrent dix-neuf personnages, la plus frappante desquelles est une femme dansante avec un des seins dénudé. Le décor principal est entouré de motifs floraux et de divers animaux et griffons. Pour le décor principal, l'auteur suit l'identification habituelle, à savoir une représentation du mythe d'Achille dans le gynécée de Skyros, présentée d'abord par C. Robert (*AA* 1889), en précisant toutefois de manière convaincante que les interprétations habituelles de Diomède et Achille doivent être inversées, et que la danseuse doit être interprétée comme un Achille travesti. La scène en haut à droite montrerait Agamemnon et Achille à Aulis. La frise du bas dépeindrait (de gauche à droite) Iphigénie et Clytemnestre en voyage à Aulis, la guérison de Télèphe, et Clytemnestre avec son enfant ; en conséquence, toutes les scènes peuvent être attribuées à l'épopée perdue *Cypria*. Néanmoins, en regardant de plus près, certaines identifications ne résistent pas à l'examen. Par exemple, l'identification du voyage des femmes à Aulis est fondée sur la conjecture, insuffisamment étayée, que la loi d'isocéphalie ne permettrait pas de mettre en scène un char (pp. 42-44), et

que les deux objets tenus par Télèphe symboliseraient les itinéraires d'Europe et d'Asie, malgré l'absence d'un bon parallèle (pp. 59-60).

Suit une discussion des trois fourreaux d'épée, dont deux ont été découverts à côté des carquois de Tchertomlyk et des Cinq-Frères, et qui formaient sans doute un ensemble cohérent avec les carquois. Ils montrent des scènes de combat entre des Grecs et des personnes d'aspect oriental, identifiables comme des Perses et des Scythes. Pourtant, l'auteur voudrait voir ici une représentation de la bataille du Caïque en Mysie, où Télèphe a été blessé. Même s'il est attrayant de rechercher une association thématique entre les iconographies des carquois et des fourreaux, rien ne prouve ici qu'il s'agisse d'une représentation du mythe de Télèphe (pp. 95-96), faute d'un parallèle iconographique. Comme l'ont remarqué des auteurs précédents, les scènes ne peuvent être assignées avec certitude à une bataille historique ou mythique précise.

La deuxième partie du livre traite des deux carquois de type 'Vergina', trouvés à Vergina en Macédoine et à Karagodeouachkh en Russie méridionale. Ces carquois présentent également une scène de bataille habituellement identifiée comme l'Ilioupersis, mais l'auteur l'assigne à une destruction du temple des Cabires à Thèbes, en raison de la présence de cygnes et de *piloi* (chapeaux de feutre). Or, quand bien même il s'agirait véritablement de *piloi* (ce qui n'est pas certain), cette identification de la scène n'est pas obligatoire: le *pilos* était un chapeau de voyageur ordinaire, associé à Ulysse, à Héphaïstos, et aux Dioscures (entre autres), et peut être confondu aisément avec le bonnet phrygien, chapeau habituel de toute sorte de peuples orientaux dans l'iconographie grecque. En outre, malgré des spéculations de la part de l'auteur, la destruction du temple des Cabires n'a aucun bon parallèle ni dans l'art, ni dans la littérature grecque. Néanmoins, cette explication permet à l'auteur d'établir une discussion à l'issue du livre concernant l'identification du défunt de la tombe II de Vergina, et de proposer un scénario historique, aussi ingénieux qu'hypothétique, qui expliquerait la large distribution des artefacts étudiés dans le livre: une tentative des Macédoniens de familiariser les Scythes au monde grec (pp. 162-164).

En fait, tout au long du livre, on perçoit un certain refus d'accepter le contexte scytho-iranien («mondes inconnus», p. 28) des objets étudiés. Mais le fait que le décor soit grec pour l'essentiel n'empêche pas que l'iconographie soit comprise différemment dans un monde étranger. Par exemple, l'auteur (pp. 73-76) fait valoir l'importance du griffon dans l'art grec, qui ne saurait certes être ignorée ; mais l'accent porté dans les objets étudiés au combat entre griffons et animaux divers ne peut qu'être connecté au goût spécifique de l'élite scythe. Les décors principaux, eux aussi, avec leurs thèmes héroïques, et les guerriers répondent très bien à ce qui peut être attendu d'un roi guerrier des steppes, qu'il saisisse toutes leurs subtilités mythologiques ou non. Ailleurs, l'auteur essaie de rapprocher les mythes représentés au monde scythe, mais de nouveau du point de vue grec: une des raisons invoquée sans fondement serait que Télèphe «était fils d'Héraclès qui, selon certaines traditions, était confondu avec Targitaos, auquel on attribuait trois fils, dont Skythès, ancêtre des Scythes» (p. 114).

Pour conclure, le livre pourrait fonctionner comme une bonne analyse générale de ces objets d'art extraordinaires, mais échoue à convaincre le lecteur dans toutes ses identifications spécifiques. En outre, les accumulations d'hypothèses dans les chapitres qui concernent le contexte historique sont pour la plupart des spéculations, fondées sur des associations forcément fragiles et sur un mépris du contexte scytho-iranien dans lequel la plupart des objets a évidemment fonctionné. Tout ceci semble procéder d'une volonté de trouver une clé de compréhension universelle pour les iconographies, ce qui nous semble plus séduisant que nécessaire.

J.Z. van Rookhuijzen

MIKO FLOHR, *The World of the Fullo. Work, Economy and Society in Roman Italy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 401 pp., 137 figs, 22 plans; 24 cm (Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy). – ISBN 978-0-19-965935-7.

Gegenstand der umfangreichen Studie ist das Handwerk des Walkers in allen seinen Facetten, besonders aber in seiner topographischen und sozialen Einbettung in Stadt und Gesellschaft. Die Wahl des Verfassers ist auf dieses Gewerk gefallen, weil für die Arbeitsvorgänge eine Reihe von Vorrichtungen nötig waren, welche sich archäologisch gut nachweisen lassen und deshalb eine eindeutige Benennung der Werkstatt (*fullonica*) zulassen. Da die Wollstoffe gereinigt, gespült und getrocknet werden mußten, finden sich überall die charakteristischen Becken, in denen die Arbeiter die Stoffe mit den Füßen getreten und eben gewalkt haben, wobei auch Zusätze von Urin belegt sind. Methodisch geht Flohr sehr sorgfältig vor. Er benutzt als Quellen nur antike Texte, epigraphische Denkmäler wie Inschriften und Graffiti, sowie Darstellungen der Arbeitsvorgänge in der Wandmalerei und in einzelnen Reliefs. Hinzu kommen die realen Funde an Werkstätten in den Vesuvstädten und je eine in Rom und in Ostia. Forschungsgeschichtlich knüpft der Verfasser damit an die Publikationen vom Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts an, als die Realienkunde in unserem Fach ihren Höhepunkt erreicht hatte. Leute wie Hugo Blümner konnten damals noch auf die seit dem Mittelalter nur wenig veränderte Tradition des Walkerhandwerks zurückgreifen, gerieten dabei aber auch in die Gefahr, frühneuzeitliche Sichtweisen auf die Antike zurückzuprojezieren und damit natürlich die Befunde zu verfälschen. Diese Fehler vermeidet die vorliegende Untersuchung und der Verfasser zeigt zugleich, wie die Verbindung der altertumswissenschaftlichen Disziplinen nach langer Spezialisierung zu neuen Ergebnissen führen kann, 'Contextualizing the Data' ist hier der Begriff (S. 35).

Kapitel 2 (The Economy of Fulling) geht vor allem der Frage nach, welche Rolle die Walkerei in Italien spielte, ist es doch erstaunlich, wenn sich Walkereien vorwiegend in Italien finden und noch dazu schwerpunktmäßig in Pompeji. In den großen nordafrikanischen Grabungsstädten wie Thamugadi oder Cuicul,

die flächenmäßig nicht hinter Pompeji zurückstehen, finden sich dagegen keine vergleichbaren Anlagen.

Man hat deshalb in Pompeji ein Zentrum der Gewandherstellung sehen wollen, was der Verfasser mit seinem Material aber gut widerlegen kann. Bei den *fullonicae* in den Vesuvstädten handelt es sich um kleinere bis mittlere Betriebe, die in der Regel mit einem Verkaufsraum verbunden sind und vor allem für die kundennahe Reinigung der Gewänder gedacht waren. Bereits an dieser Stelle wird deutlich, daß die Häufung der Walkereien in den beiden ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten in Italien auf die Bedeutung der Kleidung für den sozialen Stand des Trägers zurückzuführen ist, von deren sauberem und strahlendem Aussehen eine besondere Signalwirkung ausging.

In einem langen Kapitel, welches 'The Rational Workshop' überschrieben ist, geht es um die Organisation der Werkstätten. Dabei ist das grundlegende Problem darin zu sehen, daß praktisch alle *fullonicae* der Vesuvstädte in bereits existierenden Häusern eingerichtet wurden. Natürlich kann man nachvollziehen, wie der Naß- und der Trockenbereich so eingebaut wurden, daß sich die Arbeiter (*fullones*) nicht gegenseitig behinderten und auch der Verkaufsraum gut erreichbar war, aber eine typische Werkstatt läßt sich hier nicht rekonstruieren.

Interessant, aber natürlich auch gut nachvollziehbar ist, daß anscheinend bei den ganz kleinen Werkstätten nur die Reinigung in den eng gebauten Bottichen stattfand, während zum Spülen und natürlich auch zum Trocknen öffentliche Brunnen und öffentliche Flächen benutzt wurden. Das führt nun bereits zu der im folgenden breit diskutierten Frage, wie sich das Treiben der Walker in das gesamte wirtschaftliche und soziale Ambiente einer kleinen Landstadt wie Pompeji einfügte. So spielte sich dieses Handwerk, vor allem der Verkauf von Produkten nicht nur in der meist engen bottega ab, sondern auch auf dem Gehsteig vor dem Laden, wie uns die beiden Reliefs in Florenz mit den Ladenszenen zeigen. Dazu kommen Arbeiten der kleinen fullonicae am öffentlichen Brunnen ebenso wie die Männer, welche das Gestell zum Trocknen und die feuchten Stoffe zur Bleiche tragen. Was der Verfasser nicht ausdrücklich erwähnt, sind die Sklaven, die wohl mangels geeigneter Räume in der Werkstatt selbst jeden Morgen und Abend von ihrer Schlafstelle irgendwo am Stadtrand zur fullonica und zurückgeführt werden mußten. Die Größe eines Werkstattbetriebes wurde so den Bewohnern täglich recht deutlich vor Augen geführt. Richtig große Werkstätten im Sinne von Manufakturen gab es nur in Rom und Ostia. Diese Beispiele sind aber zu singulär, um eine Systematik zu entwickeln.

Die Diskussion, inwieweit Werkstätten und Läden mit erheblicher Geruchs- und Rauchentwicklung, aber auch mit umweltbelastenden Geräuschen in der Stadt selbst angesiedelt waren oder an den Rand gedrängt wurden, ist im Grunde eine moderne Fragestellung und darf als erledigt angesehen werden: Lärm gehörte einfach zum Stadtleben, und wir finden schon in den Städten des 4. Jhs.v.Chr. in Griechenland Schmiede und ähnliche Gewerke mitten in der Stadt, wie das Beispiel Kassope im Epirus zeigt.

Über weite Strecken gibt Miko Flohr ein Paradebeispiel für sorgfältige Interpretation, etwa wenn er aus winzigen Resten von Reparaturen darauf schließt, daß die Anlagen der Walker wegen der vielen Wassernutzung sehr wartungsintensiv gewesen sein müssen. Bei den letzten beiden großen Abschnitten über die soziale Vernetzung innerhalb und außerhalb der fullonica lassen sich allerdings aufgrund der Informationen nur Vermutungen äußern, die nicht über das hinausgehen, was wir auch von anderen Untersuchungen zu römischen Handwerkern kennen: Daß die Arbeitsschritte von unterschiedlich qualifizierten Leuten ausgeführt worden sind, liegt nahe. Ebenso dürfen wir davon ausgehen, daß das Nebeneinander von Sklaven, Freigelassenen und Freigeborenen zu einer mehr oder weniger gemeinsamen Lebens- und Wertewelt führten, wie wir sie auch von den Grabsteinen der Handwerker her schon kennen. Dies schmälert aber nicht die Leistung des Verfassers. Um die römische Stadt, wie wir sie von der Grabungswirklichkeit und den rein architektonischen Rekonstruktionen kennen, mit Leben zu erfüllen, brauchen wir noch mehr solcher sorgfältigen Untersuchungen einzelner Handwerkszweige.

Gerhard Zimmer

Books received

Michel Aberson/Maria Cristina Biella/Massimiliano di Fazio/Manuela Wullschleger (eds), *Entre archéologie et histoire: dialogues sur divers peuples de l'Italie préromaine. E pluribus unum? L'Italie, de la diversité préromaine à l'unité augustéenne*, vol. 1. Bern: Peter Lang, 2014. 362 pp., figs; 30 cm (EGeA vol. 2). – ISBN 978-3-0343-1324-7/ISSN 2296-8628.

Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene vol. 90, Serie III, 12, 2012. Athens: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 2013. 358 pp., figs; 31 cm. – ISSN 0067-0081.

Tamás Bezeczky with contributors Peter Scherer and Roman Sauer, *The amphorae of Roman Ephesus*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013. 269 pp., 100 pls, 6 tables and graphs, figs in text; 29.5 cm (Forschungen in Ephesos XV/1). – ISBN 978-3-7001-7062-4.

Ruth Bielfeldt (ed.), *Ding und Mensch in der Antike. Gegenwart und Vergegenwärtigung*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2014. 377pp., 68 figs; 23.5 cm (Akademiekonferenzen 16). –ISBN 978-3-8253-6274-4.

Maria Cristina Biella, *Impasti orientalizzanti con decorazioni incisi in Agro Falisco*. Trento: Tangram Edizioni Scientifiche, 2014. 429 pp., 42 figs, 85 pls, graphs in text; 29.5 cm (Aristonothos 2). – ISBN 978-88-6458-085-2.

Dorian Borbonus, *Columbarium Tombs and Collective Identity in Augustan Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. 294 pp., 71 b/w figs; 26 cm. – ISBN 978-1-107-03140-1.

Alessandra Bravi, *Griechische Kunstwerke im politischen Leben Roms und Konstantinopels*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014. 357 pp., 21 figs; 24.5 cm (KLIO BH 21). – ISBN 978-3-05-006458.

Laurent Bricault/Richard Veymiers, *Bibliotheca Isiaca* III. Bordeaux: Ausonius Éditions, 2014. 486 pp., figs; 29.5 cm. – ISBN 978-2-35613-121-8.

Friederike Bubenheimer-Erhart, *Die Etrusker*. Darmstadt: Philipp von Zabern, 2014. 191 pp., figs; 32.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-8053-4805-8.

Mathilde Carrive/Marie-Adeline le Guennec/Lucia Rossi (eds), *Aux sources de la Méditerranée antique. Les sciences de l'Antiquité entre renouvellements documentaires et questionnements méthodologiques*. Marseilles: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2014. 282 pp., figs; 24 cm. ISBN 978-2853-999281.

Olivier de Cazanove/Sophie Féret/Anna Maria Caravelli, *Civita di Tricarico* II. *Habitat et artisanat au centre du plateau*. Rome: École française de Rome, 2014. VIII+262 pp., 206 figs, 28 cm (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 483). – ISBN 978-2-7283-1044-9/ISSN 0223-5099.

Hélène Dessales, *Le partage de l'eau. Fontaines et distribution hydraulique dans l'habitat urbain de l'Italie romaine*. Rome: École française de Rome, 2013. XIV+602 pp., figs; 28.5 cm (BEFAR 351). ISBN 978-2-7283-0944-3.

Klaus Fittschen/Paul Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom, IV*, 2 volumes: text and illustrations. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2014. Textvolume: 200 pp.; illustrations volume: 176 figs, 22 appendices; 35 cm (Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Archtektur, 6). – ISBN 978-3-11-035362-4.

Eugenia Gerousi-Bendermacher, *Sepulkralkultur auf der Insel Thera (Santorin). Der spätantike Friedhof in Perissa und seine Ausgrabungsfunde unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Tonlampen*. Marburg: Archäologisches Seminar der Philipps-Universität Marburg, 2013. 221 pp., figs; 30.2 cm (Marburger Beitage zur Archäologie Band 1. – ISBN 978-3-8185-0513-4/ISSN 0342-1244.

Manuel Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power. The Transformation of the Iron Age Societties in Northeast Gaul*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014. 288 pp., figs, 30.5 cm (AAS 21). – ISBN 978-90-8964-597-5.

Vibeke Goldbeck, *Fora Augusta. Das Augustusforum und seine Rezeption im Westen des Imperium Romanum*. Regensburg: Verlag Schnell & Steiner, 2015. 268 pp., 39 figs; 28.5 cm (Eikoniká, Kunstwissenschaftkiche Beitrage 5). – ISBN 978-3-7954-2878-5.

Chrystina Häuber, *The Eastern Part of the Mons Oppius in Rom. The Sanctuary of Isis et Serapis in Regio III, the Temples of Minerva Medica, Fotuna Virgo and Dea Syria and the Horti of Maecenas*. Rome: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2014. XXXII+945 pp., 277 figs, DVD with 18 plans, 28 cm (Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma, supplementi, 22). – ISBN 978-88-913-0492-6.

Annette Haug/Dirk Steuernagel, *Das Haus XV B (Maison 49, 19) von Megara Hyblaia. Zur architektonischen und funktionalen Gliederung von Zweifhofhäusern im hellenistischen Silizien*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2014. 93 pp., 89 figs, maps; 32.5 cm (Studien der antiken Stadt 140). – ISBN 978-3-95490-044-2.

Robert B. Heimann/Marino Maggetti, *Ancient and Historical Ceramics. Materials, Technology, Art and Culinary Traditions*. Stuttgart: Schweizerbart Science Publishers, 2014. XXII+550 pp., 303 mostly coloured figs, 47 tables; 24cm, ISBN 978-3-510-65290-7.

Cornelia Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos in Classical Athens. An Understanding through Images*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

290 pp., 118 figs, 24 cm (religious in the Graeco-Roman World 181). – ISBN 978-90-04-27011-4.

Adam Izdebski, *A Rural Economy in Transition. Asia Minor from late Antiquity into the Early Middle Ages*. Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2013. 261 pp., 21 figs, 23.5 cm (JJA supplement XVIII). – ISBN 978-83-925919-8-6.

Musa Kadioğlu, *Das Gerontikon von Nysa am Mäander. Forschungen in Nysa am Mäander 3*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2014. VIII, 204 pp., 84 figs, 81 Tafeln, 13 maps; 31.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-8053-4851-3.

Sascha Kansteine/Klaus Hallof/Lauri Lehmann/Bernd Seidensticker/ Klaus Stemmer, *Der Neue Overbeck. Die antiken Schriftquellen zu den bildenden Künsten der Griechen* (5 Bänder). Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014. 4280 pp., 24.5 cm. Band I: *Früzeit. Archaik. Frühklassik. Bildhauer und Maler von den Anfängen bis zum 5. Jh. v.Chr.* LXIX+617 pp., figs. Band II: *Klassik. Bildhauer und Maler des 5. Jhs. v.Chr.* VI+915 pp., figs. Band III: *Spätklassik. Bildhauer des 4. Jhs. v.Chr*. VII+801 pp., figs. Band IV: *Spätklassik, Hellenismus. Maler des 4./3, Jhs. v.Chr., Bildhauer des 3./2. Jhs. v.Chr.* VIII+776 pp., figs. Band V: *Späthellenismus, Kaiserzeit. Bildhauer und Maler vom 2. Jh. v.Chr. bis zum 5. Jh. n.Chr.* X+858 pp., figs. – ISBN 978-3-11-018233-0.

Antonis Kotsonas (ed.), *Understanding standardization and variation in Mediterranean ceramics: mid 2nd to late 1st millennium BC*. Leuven: Peeters Publishers. 2014. 196 pp., figs, tables, graphs; 27.5 cm. – ISBN 978-90-429-3091-9/ISSN 0165-9367.

Marianne Mathys, *Architekturstiftungen und Ehrenstatuen. Untersuchungen zur visuellen Repräsentation der Oberschicht im späthellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Pergamon*. Darmstadt: WGB, 2014. XLVI+192 pp., 23 figs, 24 pls; 31.5 cm (Pergamenische Forschungen 16). – ISBN 978-3-8053-4802-7.

Maria Elisa Micheli/Anna Santucci (eds), *Gypsa. Atti delle Giornate di Studio Urbino 22-23 marzo 2012*. Pisa: Edizioni ETS 2014. 189 pp., figs; 24 cm. – ISBN 978-884673946-9.

Jean-Marc Moret con la collaborazione di Domingo Gasparro, *I marmi di Garaguso. Vittorio di Cicco e l'imbroglio della loro scoperta*. Venosa: Osanna Edizioni, 2014. 348 pp., 51 figs; 24 cm. – ISBN 978-8888-167381X.

Yasmin Olivier-Trottenberg, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Deutschland*, Band 96, München, Antikensammlungen, ehemals Museum Antiker Kleinkunst, Band 17. *Etruskisch Schwarzfigurige Keramik*. Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2014. 164 S., 9 Abb., 16 Beil., 87 Taf.; 32.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-406-66656-8.

Felix Pirson, *Ansichten des Krieges. Kampfreliefs klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit im Kulturvergleich*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2014. 344 pp., 51 figs, 60 pls; 30 cm (Archäologische Forschungen 31). – ISBN 978-3-95490-035-0.

Stefan Schmidt/Matthias Steinhart (eds), *Sammeln und Erforschen. Griechische Vasen in neuzeitlichen Sammlungen*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2014. 174 pp., figs; 30cm (Beilage zum Corpus Vasorum VI). – ISBN -978-3-406-66400-7.

Stine Schierup/Victoria Sabetai (eds), *The Regional Production od Red-figure Pottery: Greece, Magna Graecia and Etruria*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2014. 358 pp., figs; 25 cm (Gösta Enbom Monographs 4). – ISBN 978-87-7124-393-2/ISSN 1904-6219.

Hilke Thür/Elisabeth Rathmayr (eds), *Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos. Die Wohneinheit 6. Baubefund, Ausstattung, Funde*. 2 Textbände + 1 Tafelband. Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014. Textbände: 866 pp., Textabbildungen, 39 cm; Tafelband: 443 Tafel + DVD, 39 cm (Forschungen in Ephesos VIII/9). – ISBN 978-3-7001-7355-7.